

Vol. XIII]

[Part I

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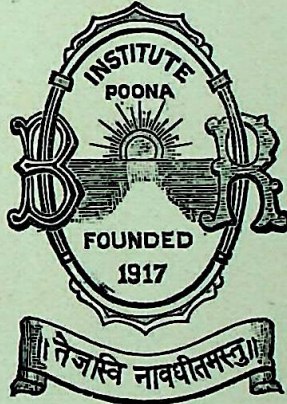
**Volume XIII
1931-32**

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Vol XIII]

October 1931

[Part I

KR̥ṢṆA KUTŪHALA NĀTAKA

BY

PRALHAD C. DIWANJI, M. A., LL. M.



SOURCE

This is one of the works mentioned along with Advaitasiddhi, Advaitaratnarakṣaṇam, Vedāntakalpalatikā, Siddhāntabindu &c. under the head *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* in Vol. I of the Catalogus Catalogorum of Theodor Aufrecht at page 427 thereof. As it had not been published till I wrote my article on *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī; His Life and Works* which was published in Vol. VIII Part II of these "Annals" at pp. 149-57, I had not been able to see a copy thereof and had not therefore expressed therein any definite opinion as to whether the author of this work and the other works above-mentioned were identical or different. Recently I happened to know of the existence of a Ms. copy thereof at the Sanskrit Library, Baroda and having taken it as a loan went through it with a view to decide that question, if possible, from internal evidence. I am glad to say that my effort has not been fruitless.

DATE AND APPEARANCE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

That Ms. seems to have been prepared by one Baladeva on Friday the 14th day of the bright half of the month of Āśvin in the year Samvat 1846 corresponding with Śaka 1711 (A. D. 1790) and consists of 78 folio pages containing 2,000 lines. The size of each page is 9 " × 4½ " and all except the first and the last are written on both sides. The Ms. is complete except for the facts that p. 30 has been left partly blank, pp. 30 and 31 are missing altogether and some of the pages after 60 are partly.

destroyed by worms with the result that a few words at pp. 4⁵ and 4⁷ are missing. The context however gives a sufficient clue as to the substance of those parts of the text and therefore this Ms. does not fail to give an idea of the contents of the whole work. I give below the one which I have been able to form from it, after making some general remarks.

NATURE OF THE WORK

The Śāstri who may have prepared its label seems to have noted on it that the work is a dramatic representation of the slaying of Kamsa by Śrī Kṛṣṇa but on a closer perusal I have found that such is not the case but that it aims in the first six acts at depicting the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana and in the seventh artfully gives a foretaste of what he was destined to do after he quitted that life and entered a new phase the scene of which was at Mathurā.

ITS AUTHORSHIP

With regard to the authorship of the work the colophon reads:—

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमधुसूदनसरस्वतिविरचितं रुष्णकुतूहलं नाम नाटकं समाप्तम् ॥

From this and from the facts that the celebrated author of the Advaitasiddhi, Siddhāntabindu, Vedāntakalpalatikā and other works was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa and used to live at Benares for the greater part of his later life one is tempted to conclude that this must be the work of the same author. But on a closer examination of this work itself it appears that there are certain data therein which militate against such a conclusion. Thus the Sūtradhāra says in the introductory passage:—

(सभ्यान्समुद्दिश्य) भो भोः किं ब्रूत ? कोऽसावुनद्वपुण्यजन्मा निर्वर्णितः प्रबन्धनिर्माता यत्कौशलविलोकनाय भगवतोऽप्येतावान्निर्बन्धः ? समाकर्णयन्तु ।

षट्त्रिंशद्विरसनाञ्चलः कविगुरुर्योऽरुन्धतगिर्भजः

शाण्डिल्यान्वयमण्डनो द्विजमणेर्नारायणस्याङ्गजः ।

शिष्यः रुष्णसरस्वतीयतिपतेराशैशवं वण्णवः

संन्यासी मधुसूदनः सुरगुरोर्द्वैतं स किं न श्रुतः ॥ (p. 2)

It is quite clear from this that the author of this work was a son of Arundhati and Nārāyaṇa of the Śāṇḍilya Gotra, that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu from his childhood and that he was a disciple of Kṛṣṇa Sarasvatī. Further as to how the idea of composing this drama occurred to him he says:—

Kṛṣṇa Kutūhala Nāṭaka

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वाराणसीवरवर्णिनीकण्ठाभरणीरुतसुरतरङ्गिणोमुकालतेन्द्रनीलाङ्कुरतरलेन जगदा-
नन्दकन्देन भगवता बिन्दुमाधवेन स्वप्नान्तराले समनुगृहीतोऽस्मि यद्रवाद्भिः रुष्णकुतूहलं
नाम प्रबन्धनमभिनयद्भिः स्वीयभुवनरञ्जनाभिधानोचितमाचरणयिमिति ॥ (p. ½)

This shows that he was specially devoted to Viṣṇu in the particular form of Bindumādhava, a name which reminds one of the shrine of that name at Benares. Then speaking about his said Guru in the first act he says that he had composed several dramas namely, Gopracāraṇa, Kāmakuṭūhala, Dānavinodana, Taraṇīvihāra and others. (p. ½). In the same act he further says that his Paramaguru, Mukunda, was a great devotee of Viṣṇu and that he had been passing his time in devotion at Vṛndāvana. (p. ½). These autobiographical details ill-accord with the facts we know about the famous Madhusūdana Sarasvatī which are that he was one of the four sons of Purandarācārya Miśra, a Kanoja Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa Gotra residing at the village Koṭālīpādā in the Faridpur District of Eastern Bengal, that his mother's name was unknown, that he never mentioned his parents' names, or his place of nativity in any of his works in strict obedience to the rules of conduct applicable to the order of Saṁnyāsis that none of them should maintain any connection with one's relations and place of birth after initiation in that order, that he could not have been a Vaiṣṇava from childhood because his father is known to have been a devotee of Śrī Dakṣiṇāmūrti Kālīkā, that he was a disciple of Viśveśvara Sarasvatī since initiation and of Śrī Rāma and Mādhava probably before that and that the name of his Paramguru is not known from any of the sources from which other information about him can be gathered.¹ It would therefore be right to conclude that this is not a work of the celebrated Madhusūdana but of some other Saṁnyāsī of the same name residing in Benares. That he is not also one of those other authors of the same name who are found mentioned in the Catalogus Catalogorum Vol. I at p. 427 is also clear from the fact that the above biographical details do not tally with those of the others which are given in that work and that is very natural since this work was by mistake put down in the said Catalogue under the name of the famous author of the same name.

1 Vide the article on *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī; His life and Works* in the A. B. O. R. I. Vol VIII Part II pp. 149-57, 152, and Vol. IX Parts II-IV Miscellanea, pp. 309-10.

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DATE OF THE AUTHOR

As to when this author could have lived and composed this drama, I regret I cannot express any conclusive opinion because the work gives no clue to that fact except that he had composed this drama with a view to get it enacted before the idol of Bindu-mādhava at Benares. I am not aware and have not yet been able to gather when that temple was erected. If that can be traced the earliest date that can be assigned to him can be fixed. The latest date is of course the date of the Ms. itself namely, A. D. 1790.

MERITS OF THE WORK

Although this is not a work of the famous Madhusūdana it has its own merits and deserves the attention of Sanskritists in my opinion. I therefore propose to give a short summary of the plot thereof with a few extracts in order to give the readers an idea as to its contents.

THE PLOT-ACT 1

The play begins in the orthodox fashion with a Nāṇḍī. Then enter the Sutrādhārā and Nāṭī who in the course of an introductory conversation give ideas as to the genesis of the work, the name, percentage and qualifications &c. of the author. This over, there enters Sadantaka, an employee of Kāṁsa, singing the praises of his master. While entering he hears the names of Kṛṣṇa and Kāṁsa from the lips of the Nāṭī in the course of a reference to the possible slaying of the latter by the former and therefore feels annoyed and gives vent to his wrath in hot words. While he is doing so there enters Nala-Kūbara muttering the praises of Kṛṣṇa. He asks him whether he owes allegiance to any other master than Kāṁsa and thereupon the latter tells him that he takes pride in obeying Kṛṣṇa and after further questioning describes the exploits of that hero in the forests on the other side of the Yamunā. Sadantaka is thereupon filled with a curiosity to know and see Kṛṣṇa. Immediately after that enters Kṛṣṇa with his friends Śrīdāma, Sudāma, Vasudāma, Kinkinīdāma and others. On seeing him Sadantaka is convinced that he who does not see him has his life wasted. He gazes at him for some time and then departs. Then follows a beautiful description of the forest at the invitation of Kṛṣṇa by the following verse :—

कुलचम्पककर्णिकारकिकसञ्चाम्पेयकान्तिच्छटा
वासन्ती नवमल्लिकुन्दकुटजश्रीमत् स्मितोन्मेषिनी ।

Kṛṣṇa Kutūhala Nāṭaka

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रक्षाशोकपलाशपाटलिजषाप्रोद्भिन्नरागोदयाः

स्वच्छन्दं कलयन्तु भोः प्रियसखाः कान्तावनान्तश्रियः ॥

Thus for instance, Sujaya describes Vṛndāvana in these words :—

मदाकलितकोकिलाकलितपञ्चमोदञ्चितं

विपञ्चितविपञ्चिकोत्तरलचञ्चरीकस्वनम् ।

सुपर्वततरुगर्वाभित (!) कुसुमितद्रुमालंरुतं

विधेः^१ सकलकौशलं किमिदमेव वृन्दावनम् ॥

Pracanda referring to the southern breeze says :—

मलयहृदयजातः सोदरश्चन्दनानां कुसुमविशिषमन्त्री बान्धवो माधवस्य ।

यदिह वहति पद्मासद्यनां पद्मिनीनां प्रणयस्वननदक्षो दक्षिणो गन्धवाहः ॥

Further on he exclaims :—

वृन्दाटव्यटवीषु पात्रिषु शिखी शैलेषु गोवर्धनः

पुष्पेषु प्रियकः सरिस्सु यमुना श्रव्येषु वंशीध्वनिः ।

गोधुग्वंशज निर्जनेषु वयसः संपत्सु कैशोरिमा

श्यामं धामसु निर्भरं कथमहो चेतश्चमत्कारभूः ॥

ACT II

Here ends the first act which is named Sādanandanah (?).

Just as the first act introduces to the audience Kṛṣṇa and his friends so the second introduces to it Rādhā and her friends. After some conversation takes place between them they move aside and there enters Kṛṣṇa with his friends. The friends begin to prepare the audience for acquaintance between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā from a distance by describing the good parts of young and beautiful damsels in words like these :—

विकाशयन्ते हासेन कुमुदं मुदमेव च ।

संतर्पयन्ति रूपेण तरुणं चाशरीरिणम् ॥

And also

चरणौ कमले कमले च करौ युगलं कुचयोरपि तन्मुकुले ।

वदनं कमलं नयने कमले सुतनोः कमलात्परिबलैव तनुः ॥

After a time this man's attention is drawn to the Gopīs and asks his friends to make him acquainted with them. They one by one make known to him the several damsels who are seen there by describing each of them separately by references to her name, features, the development of her limbs and the natural beauty of the surroundings. The verses containing this description are full of puns, alliterations and other figures of speech.

The names themselves are very suggestive. Some of them are:—Campakakalikā, Kamalamālā, Kāmāmkurā, Ambujalatā, Śṛṅgārasarasi, Rasatarāṅgiṇī, Surataruvallārī and Kumkuma-mañjarī. This over Kṛṣṇa, Śrīdāma and others move aside and Rādhā and her friends come to the forefront. She had seen Kṛṣṇa from the place where they were resting and had already been smitten with love for him. She therefore gives expression to that sentiment by the following verse:—

अनङ्गस्फीताङ्गाः कति न तरुणाः सन्ति जगति
प्रवीणा वा तन्त्रे कति न रतिनाथस्य कृतिनः ।
तथापि प्राचीनैरविगणितपुण्यैर्मृगदशा—
मसौ याशोदेयः प्रियससि दृशोरेति सविधम् ॥

Thereafter Bhādrāmukha who acts as the Vidūṣaka goes to the place where they are sitting and returns after a time, crying. On Kṛṣṇa asking him the reason for doing so he says that he had gone to pluck some flowers and was prevented by the ladies from doing so on the ground that it would be a theft if he did so. Kṛṣṇa thereupon goes there and under the pretext of going to quarrel with the ladies begins to talk with Rādhā and eventually first holds her hand and then her garment. At the same time some one calls out Rādhā and Candrāvalī and thereupon all the ladies depart. So Kṛṣṇa says:—

चिरदिनचितैः पुण्योत्कर्षैः सरोरुहलोचना
प्रियतममधियं मय्यानन्दं तमुदैत्यथचान्तिकम् ।
करतलगतां चेद्राधां ममाधिमहौषधीं
विधिरपहरेत् काशा प्राणेष्वनङ्गभुजङ्गमात् ॥

He broods over the situation for a time and then says that they had been out for a long time and should therefore return home. Then all depart. Here ends the second act named Mugdhamadhusūdanaḥ.

ACT III

The third act begins with a prologue between one Rucimati and a Sylvan deity wherein the latter asks the former whether Rādhā was alright. She replies:—

स्वपिति न शयने न वा धरण्यां न च नालिनेषु न पल्लवेषु नाङ्गे ।
कलयति सकलं विषेण तुल्यं हरिहरिकेन कृतास्ति चित्तशून्या ॥

Questioned by her the deity says about the state of Kṛṣṇa:—

Kṛṣṇa Kutūhala Nāṭaka

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क्रीडासु प्रकटकितासु सखिभिर्न प्रीयते प्रीणय-
 त्वेनान्नो मुरलीस्वनैर्न च परीहासोपयुक्तोक्तिभिः ।
 नो रज्यत्यलिगुञ्जितेन न (च) कलं केलीशुकोज्जल्पने
 प्राणानामपि रक्षणे प्रतिपदं मन्दादरो नन्दजः ॥

The description of the love-smitten condition of both the spouses contains many other beautiful verses but the above are given as specimens. That over, the sylvan deity departs and the maid goes to the locality in which there is the mansion of Nanda and strolling about says how pitiable the condition of Rādhā had become. Thereupon Yaśodā comes out with two maids Sucaritā and Subhāṣiṇī. They talk about suitable and unsuitable matches and in the course of that conversation one of them says :—

कविता सुता च साध्वी सगुणालङ्कारशालिनी सरसा ।
 जनयति जनकविषादं कुपुरुषनिहिता यदा भवति ॥

Then enters Nanda with Kṛṣṇa and his friends. Nanda asks Kṛṣṇa to go to his mother. When he goes there she asks him to go for a bath. He prefers to go to a lake and there sees a Hamsī who had been kept for sport by Rādhā and is attended by a female keeper. He enters into some conversation with her from which he gathers the nature and extent of her mistress's love for him. He then, enters the lake for bathing. While he is still doing so, there comes Rādhā with her friends. On seeing Kṛṣṇa there she casts a glance at him and he admires her beauty thus:—

साम्राज्यं मदनस्य वामनयनास्तत्रापि नव्याः परं
 भव्याः सुव्रजसुध्रुवः स्मरकलालावण्यकेलिभुवः ।
 तन्मध्येऽपि शिरीषसोदरतनुः प्राणाधिका राधिका
 राधायां च मुसं मुसंऽपि किमपि स्निग्धस्मितालोकितम् ॥

And also

वर्णस्वर्णान्यधरवलसद्दीप्तयः पद्मरागा
 दन्तामुक्तास्मितलवलसत्कान्तयश्चन्द्रकान्ताः ।
 नेत्रद्वन्द्वद्व्युत्तिरिहमहानीलरत्नाल्लिरेतत्
 पण्यस्थानं मदनवणिजो राधिकायाः किमङ्गम् ॥

Then roaming about, Kṛṣṇa meets the ladies near a garden and asks one of Rādhā's friends why they were coming there often. She replies that she had gone there to ask him to prescribe a medicine for their friend Rādhā who was suffering from a

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disease of a long standing. Kṛṣṇa replies that he would do that according to the view of Suśruta and having said so draws near Rādhā. Her friends gauging the situation move aside. Availing himself of that opportunity Kṛṣṇa makes overtures to her and at last they probably enter into a Gandharva form of marriage I say 'probably' because the copyist has left a portion of p. $\frac{30}{1}$ blank and pp. $\frac{30}{2}$ and $\frac{31}{1}$ are missing altogether. Here ends the third act named Susnigdhamādhavaḥ.

ACT IV

The fourth act begins with a prologue between Brahmā and the gods as to the exploits of Kṛṣṇa. That over, there enters Kṛṣṇa with friends. This scene seems to have been laid in some far off forest in the valley of the Himālayas and the season is summer. So Kṛṣṇa referring to the natural surroundings says :—

निदाघेनाघूर्णन्दिमगिरिसमीपं दिनकरः
प्रयाति स्वस्थानादटाति न पटीराद्रिपवनः ।
विसृज्य प्राख्यं स्मरनरपतिश्चैष रमते
सरितीरे रम्ये क्षितिधरगुहायां तलगृहे ॥

The description of the forest through Kṛṣṇa and his friends occupies many pages. Seeing palmyra palms his friends being desirous of eating their fruits ask for Kṛṣṇa's permission to pluck them which he gives. In going to pluck them they become separated from him. While moving hither and thither some of them meet a demon and become terrified. Baladeva who is with them gives them consolation that he will kill him and proceeds to do so. They therefore go into the interior to eat fruits and Baladeva goes, kills the demon and joins them again. After a time they all depart. In the next scene Kṛṣṇa appears with Candrāvalī. The season then being the monsoon, they talk over the characteristics of that season for some time and then as it seems likely to rain. Kṛṣṇa takes Candrāvalī into a bower and there says :—

व्योमव्याप्तमिदं पयोदपटलेर्दिङ्मण्डलं विद्युतां
द्योतैः स्फूर्जथुन्निस्तथान्धतमसैस्त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मिगृहम् ।
उच्चं नीचमिति प्रतीतिविषयो नैव क्षमामण्डले
किं मध्यं किमधः किमूर्ध्वमभितः संभार एवाम्भसाम् ॥

And further

Kṛṣṇa Kutūhala Nāṭaka

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श्रोत्राभ्यामुदिराम्भसां परमसौ सेव्योऽपि भव्यो ध्वनिः ।
 नेत्राभ्यां निविडान्धकारपटलान्यापश्य द्युद्युतौ ।
 घ्राणाभ्यां च रसज्ञपाय्यनुपदं त्वग्निश्च चित्तेन च
 प्रायः प्राणसमैव भोग्यमाखिलं वर्षास्विवह प्राणिनाम् ।

Accidentally then they drift into a conversation about Rādhā and she to the surprise of Kṛṣṇa suddenly appears. On seeing him with Candrāvali in that lonely place she rebukes him for his inconstancy and he tries to justify his conduct and persuades her not to forsake him by saying:—

कलानाथः कामं व्रजति बहुदोषाङ्कितरुचं
 कुमुद्वत्यास्तस्मिन्नपि भवति किंन्नाम न रुचिः ।
 न पद्मिन्यामोदः किमु समुदयत्युष्णमहासि
 प्रिया प्रौढप्रेमा न गणयति दोषान्प्रणयिनः ॥

She would not however forgive him and continues to reprimand him but is ultimately convinced that Kṛṣṇa there was Subala, a Gopa and Candrāvali, another Gopa, in disguise and all her wrath melts away. There ends the fourth act called Sāmodadāmodarah.

ACT V

The fifth act begins with a dialogue between a Śuka and a Śuki who are Kinnaras. After a time the Vidūṣaka Bhadrāmukha comes in. He after some introductory remarks says to himself:—

प्रायः परपुरुषानुरागशालिन्यो विलासिन्यः ।

Thereupon Kṛṣṇa says to himself:—

कथं व्रजवनितानामप्यनुरागशालितानेन समलक्षि ।

Then seeing Rādhā from a distance he does not recognize her and exclaims:—

धन्यं धन्यं कुसुमधनुषः कौशलं यत्कृशाङ्गन्याः
 सर्वाङ्गिना द्युतिरुदयिनी नेत्रपात्रमिवन्ति ॥
 कोऽन्यो धन्यास्त्रिजगति युवां मादृशाद् भूरिपुण्यो
 यस्मिन्नस्या नटति कुटिला दृष्टिपीयूषवृष्टिः ॥

After a time he recognizes her and says:—

लावण्यामृतवाहिनी मनसिजश्रेयोऽर्थचिन्तामणिः
 'सौन्दर्यद्रुमवाटिकाखिलकलारत्नैकसंपत्स्वतिः ।
 शृङ्गारद्रुममाधुरी त्रिजगतश्चेतश्चमत्कारभू-
 र्मूर्ता सर्वविलासवर्गनगरी राधेति बुध्यामहे ॥

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Then gazing at the different parts of her body he admires them thus :—

श्रोणिः पृथ्वीदशनवसनं यत्रपानीयमङ्गः
प्रोयज्ज्योतिमुखसरसिजश्रजिगत्प्राणसारः ।
मध्यं व्योम स्फुरति किमियं नर्मनिर्माणधातुः
काप्येतस्यां कुसुमधनुषः सृष्टिशक्तिः प्रसूता ॥

Then he goes into the interior of the forest and there lures the Gopīs by the melodious notes of his flute. They remain at a distance for a time and Kṛṣṇa gets acquainted with them one by one through his Vidūṣaka and describes the peculiar charm of each. Thereafter they draw nearer to him and he cunningly asks them whether it was proper for such young damsels as they were to repair to a lonely forest at night-time and they reply :—

धैर्यं धिक्कुरुते (धिक्कुरुते) त्रपा विधुनुते कौलं यशः प्रोञ्छति
प्रत्येकं गुरुगर्वगञ्जनशतं विस्मारयत्यञ्जसा ।
साध्वीनामतिराकरोति भवनं भर्तुर्विधत्ते विषं
किं किं नो विदधाति नाथ सुदृशां त्वत्प्रेयसि वंशिका ॥

So to test their intensity of their love he says :—

यशोनाशः स्वस्य श्वसुरपितृवंशेऽपि कलुषं
वचः शल्यं श्वश्र्वाः श्रुतिकटु ननान्दुश्च वचनम् ।
सपत्न्याः स्मेरत्वं प्रियपरिजनस्याप्यभिभवः
कुलस्त्रीणां स्वैराचरणलतिकायाः फलमिदम् ॥

And they come out successful by replying :—

यशोनाशः स्वस्य श्वसुरपितृवंशेऽपि कलुषं
वचः शल्यं श्वश्र्वाः श्रुतिकटु ननान्दुश्च वचनम् ।
सपत्न्याः स्मेरत्वं प्रियपरिजनस्याप्यभिभवः
समस्तं तच्छस्तं रमण करुणावान्यदि भवान् ॥

And one of them exclaims :—

नाथ ज्ञाता वचनरचना चातुरी यन्मनोज-
बहिज्वालाज्वलितहृदेय स्त्रीजने धर्मशिक्षा ।
हास्यं न स्यात्कुजनसरसामीदृशां यत्प्रसङ्गात्
आनङ्गार्धिं प्रशमय तथा जीवितं वा गृहाण ॥

So Kṛṣṇa yields and dances the Rāsa dance with them in the moonlit night. While doing so he draws their attention to the reflections of the moon in the waters of the Yamunā in language containing a pun on the word Candrāvali and hinting that he loved her. Rādhā takes umbrage at it and therefore Kṛṣṇa in order to break her pride

moves to a distance. The Gopīs therefore roam about hither and thither in search of him, asking the trees, the creepers,³ the wind, the river, the moon &c; whether they had seen the object of their love just as Pururavā in Vikramorvaśīya asks the inanimate objects whether they had seen Urvāśī.¹ The verses which they utter are couched in a very melodious language. Thus to the river they say,—

समन्दः कालिन्दिस्फुटमनुसृतस्त्वां कुमुदिनी
वर्नाभ्राम्यद्भङ्गी चयनयनभङ्गीचयसे ।
अहो मन्दं मन्दं हससि विकसत्कैरवकुल-
च्छलात्तत्किं न त्वं वदसि भगिनि कास्ति चपलः ॥

On feeling a draught of the southern wind one of them says:—

अये भ्रातर्जातो मलयगिरितश्चन्दनवनी
सनाभिः कावेरी नवकमलिनीकैलिरसिकः ।
तमन्तः संतप्तः कथय किमिदं दक्षिणमरुत् ।
सखे ज्ञातं रुष्णस्तव मम च भोगी न सुखदः ॥

It is while the Gopīs are thus pining and struggling to find out Kṛṣṇa that the fifth act named Rāsavilāsa ends.

ACT VI

The Sixth begins with a prologue in which Kālindī and the sylvan deity enter and talk over the separation of the Gopīs from Kṛṣṇa. While this conversation is proceeding some one sings behind the curtain:—

गोपीनां वचनामृतैरतितरामातर्पितः प्रोशुस-
द्रोमोद्ग्रेदभराङ्कुरः स्मितलवोत्फुल्लप्रसूनान्वितः ।
स्वेदाम्भः कणानिर्गलन्मधुकरः कंदर्पसेलाफलः
संमोदं वितरेन्मनो मधुलिहां शृङ्गारकल्पद्रुमः ॥
मंजीरवज्रं कङ्कणावलिचलत्काञ्चीकला सिञ्चते
वीणावेणुमृदङ्गशर्करोत्ताले दिशश्चुम्बति ।
चन्द्रे चन्द्ररजस्विषाञ्चति जगन्निर्याति नीवीगुणे
देवीनां कुसुमानि वर्षति सुरे रासे हरिः क्रीडति ॥
वनितायुगलावलितो मधुजिन्मधुजियुगलावलिता वनिता ।
आल्पितै (!) मणिभिः कनकावलीभिर्मदनेन रुता किमु हारलता ॥

The two thereupon move aside announcing the arrival of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs and suggesting thereby that they had met together

1. Cf. also Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa X. First half, chapter 30.

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again. On entering they express mutual joy at reunion. While they are doing so Kṛṣṇa remarking that the night was over and the day was dawning, disappears. After his departure the Gopīs having talked amongst themselves for some time, depart. Then again enter Kṛṣṇa with Gopas preparing to go to graze cattles. Then they repair to a forest for that purpose and while the cattle are grazing they are terrified on seeing a big forest bull and speak of it to Kṛṣṇa. He encounters the animal and kills him. Then they go to the bank of the Yamunā and there the Sage Nārada appears and asks Kṛṣṇa why he had been leading this simple peasant-life and implores him to relieve the Ṛsis residing in that forest of the pest of a demon named Keśī. Kṛṣṇa thereupon hunts out the demon and kills him and then Nārada prepares him for another adventure by inviting him to witness the performance of a drama composed by him and he accepts the invitation. Here ends the sixth act named Kesi Vināśaḥ.

ACT VII

The seventh act begins with a prologue in which Sudarśana enters in an aerial car accompanied by Kātrīmatī. They talk about events in the kingdom of Indra. After a time they look down and Kātrīmatī on seeing the Gopas and Gopīs jubilant, asks her companion why it was so and he informs her that the play Kāmsavidhvāmsana composed by the Sage Nārada is to be acted before Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Then enter Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva and the Gopas and Gopīs and the performance is commenced by the actors. In the prologue, it is said that this drama had been composed by the Sage Nārada the author of other dramas named Madanavinodanam, and Nāṭavinodanam. The scene is laid in Mathurā where Kṛṣṇa slays Kāmsa later on. It is said that in this play the Sage Bharata acted was the Sūtradhāra, the Sage Vātsyāyana as the Parapārśvika (Assistant to the stage-manager), the Sage Bādarāyana as Akrura, Asita and Devala as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, Indra and others as cowherd-boys, the Apsaras as the wives of Gopas, Kāśyapa and Aditi as Nanda and Yasoda, Aṣṭāvakra as the Vidūṣaka and the Gandharvas as the songsters and musicians. On seeing the Nāṭa-Kṛṣṇa of the subsidiary play enter the city somebody exclaims:-

धातुनिर्मितिकौशलं रसिकता मूलं मनोजन्मन-
 आश्रित्य मनसः समस्तसुदृशः साक्षात्कलं चक्षुषः ।
 औज्ज्वल्यं भुवनस्य कर्मणविधेर्वैपुल्यमेकस्थलं
 सर्वाश्चर्यसमुन्नतेः कलयत श्यामं किमेतन्महः ।

The city is described by verses like these :—

इतो मीमांसानां श्रुतिविषयमामांसनमितः
समीक्षा साङ्ख्यानां मतमलघु वैशेषिकमितः ।
इतो वेदान्तानां प्रतिवचनासिद्धान्तनमितः
पुराणाद्या विद्या त्रपयति निवासं सुरगुरोः ॥
अमी पञ्चाध्यायीनयविपिन संचारचतुराः
परिस्फुर्जन्त्यश्चावयवचपदंष्ट्राच्छलसटाः ।
सदोदं च तर्कप्रकरणखरा धीरहरयः
परित्रस्ताभ्यो ये सुरगुरुमुक्ता वादिकरिणः ॥

The objective for going to that city is stated by the Nāṭa-Kṛṣṇa in the following verse :—

रे कुलाङ्ग दुर्बुद्धे !

यत्साधूंस्तुदासि स्वधर्मनिरतान्यद्वाधसे यादवान्
यद्देवानुपमर्दयस्यनुपदं यद्वर्धयस्युत्पथान् ।
यच्चास्मत्पितरौ तथा स्वपितरं बध्नासि कंसाचिरात्
तत्तत्कर्मतरोरवाप्स्यसि फलं स्याच्चेद्दृशोर्गोचरः ॥

The author seems also to have taken occasions in this act to insert some verses on the Vedānta philosophy like the following:—

सजातीयविजातीयस्वगतद्वैतवर्जितम् ।
यद्ब्रह्मोपनिषद्देयं तद्ब्रह्मेदं विराजते ॥

There is one verse showing that he had also studied the Yogasūtras of Patanjali, the words Kṛeṣa, Karma, Vipāka and Āsaya occurring in one verse being technical terms used therein in peculiar senses. It is this :—

न क्लेशैः कर्मभिर्नापि न विपाकर्न वाशयैः ।
यः परामृश्यते कश्चित्तं नमस्कुर्महे पुरः ॥

The below-mentioned verses somewhat resemble the 7th verse of the Mahimnastotra :—

याज्ञेया यज्ञपुरुषं वैष्णवाः पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
निरावरणमप्येनं संकिरते दिगम्बराः ॥
शिवः शैवैर्विश्वकर्मा शिल्पकल्पितजीवनैः ।
सर्वज्ञश्चैष विज्ञेयः सौगतागमकोविदैः ॥

After Kamsa is killed the courtiers ask Nāṭa-Rama and Nāṭa-Kṛṣṇa to think over who should be installed on the Gādi

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of Mathurā and the said Kṛṣṇa says that they should go for the time being and be prepared for the staging of another drama called Ugrasenābhiseka. He then asks them what boon they expected of him and they say :—

सन्तः सन्तु निरापदस्तवपदद्वन्द्वे तदास्तां रति-
माभूत्कश्चनमत्सरः परगुणैर्नन्दन्तु सारग्रहाः ।
कुर्यात्सुकविताः स्वर्गलधियश्चित्रान्प्रबन्धानमूर्
भूयांसो विनयन्तु नाट्यकुशलाः पुष्पन्तु विज्ञाश्रितान् ॥

The Nāṭa-Kṛṣṇa confers the boon and the actors depart. Thereafter Nārada appears before the Rāma and Kṛṣṇa of the main drama and asks them whether they had been pleased with the performance. They reply in the affirmative and eulogize the sage. The latter then prays to them to inspire several young poets to sing their praises and all depart. Here ends the seventh act named Kamsavidhvamsanam.

COMPARISON WITH THE CONTENTS OF BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA
X. 4 TO 40.

When we compare this story of Kṛṣṇa's life in Vraja with that narrated in the chapters 4 to 40 of first the half of the tenth Skandha of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa we can at once see that the author has made some material additions and alterations in order to adapt it to the stage. One material alteration is that Kṛṣṇa has been painted by him as being liable to be overpowered by the amorous instinct in man on seeing young girls whereas in the Purāṇa, Bādarāyaṇa has depicted him as a superhuman being, an embodiment of universal love and virtue and has also taken care to put in at the end of the description of the Rāsakṛīḍā a word of caution thus :—

नैतत्समाचरेज्जातु मनसाऽपि ह्यनीश्वरः ।

विनश्यत्याचरन्मौढ्याद्यथा रुद्रोऽब्धिजं विषम् ॥ १०. पू. ३३. ३१. ॥

Another such alteration is that whereas in this drama Kṛṣṇa has been shown to have been specially attached to Rādhā and probably to have even entered into a Gāndharva form of marriage with her, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa Kṛṣṇa has been depicted as the common centre of attraction of all the Gopa boys as well as of the Gopīs and women in general wherever he went, Bādarāyaṇa has also taken care to explain that the story of his

dalliance with them has been inserted only in order to illustrate the truth that whoever constantly thinks of God and is willing to stake his or her all for His sake is sure to be one with him in course of time. Thus in XXIX, 15-16 Śuka says :—

नृणां निःश्रेयसाथाय व्यक्तिर्भगवतो नृप ।
 अक्ययस्याप्रमेयस्य निर्गुणस्य गुणात्मनः ॥
 कामं क्रोधं भयं स्नेहमैक्यं सौहृदमेव च ।
 नित्यं हरौ विदधतो यान्ति तन्मयतां हि ते ॥

In fact as you read that beautiful poem from chapter to chapter the one idea that becomes confirmed in your mind is that Kṛṣṇa was a very handsome and at the same time an extraordinary personality and that blessed were those men and women who had the good fortune to come in direct contact with him, whether they looked upon him as a child, as a playmate, as a friend, as the manifestation of Brahma or even as a foe. On reading this drama however the idea that is impressed on one's mind is that the author's intention was to depict Kṛṣṇa as a hero of the type of Duṣyanta or Purūravā. Even his descriptions of the seasons unlike those in Chapter XX of the same Skandha of the Purāṇa are all filled with sentiments which are apt to promote love for the fair sex rather than for the pure self who is the fountain of universal love. There are no doubt references to the slaying of the oppressors of mankind such as Kuvalyaṇḍa, Keśi, Kamsa and others in the prologue to the first act and in the last two acts but they pale into insignificance before the elaborate and interesting descriptions of Kṛṣṇa's love-adventures. Perhaps he had the author of the Gitagovinda, or Abhijñānaśākuntala or Uttararāmacarita rather than that of Bhāgavata Purāṇa before his mind's eye as an ideal and if that is true then it must be said that he has succeeded in achieving it to a great extent because his work has its own merits as a work of art as the illustrations and the summary of the plot above-given amply testify.

CONCLUSION

Such being my opinion I would be glad if it could be published. The Ms. above-mentioned though likely to be of great assistance in preparing and even to serve as a basis for a critical edition, is on account of the deficiencies above-noted by itself insufficient for that purpose, even if all the necessary corrections are made therein. It is therefore necessary to obtain other Mss.

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of the same work from other sources. With a view to get a clue as to their whereabouts I have searched through several Catalogues of the Ms. collections at Benares, Mysore, Madras and Jammu but the search through all of them except the first has proved fruitless. The first too only mentions 3 Mss. namely, K. 70; NP.X. 16; and Lahore. 6. None of these is available to me. I must therefore rest content with writing this article on that work and leave the task of editing it to some one having better facilities than myself for doing so.

ON THE TEXT AND INTERPRETATION OF SOME PASSAGES IN THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA OF PATAÑJALI

BY

K. B. Pathak, B. A., Ph. D.

Dr. Kielhorn was the most competent scholar to undertake to edit the Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. The German scholar enjoyed special facilities for this purpose. He was famous for his industry and accuracy. Besides he had the advantage of sitting at the feet of Anantshastri Pendharkar who was unsurpassed in his knowledge of the science of grammar as taught by Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Kielhorn's edition of this literary monument of ancient India is regarded as most authoritative. I therefore make no apology for examining critically some passages in this edition. Dr. Kielhorn's 2nd edition Vol II, p. 90, has the following passage

पुल्लुचौ ॥ ३१।१।१३३ ॥

किमथश्चकारः । स्वरार्थः । चितोऽन्त उदात्तो भवतीत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं यथा स्यात् नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । एकाजयं तत्र नार्थः स्वरार्थेन चकारेणानुबन्धेन । प्रत्ययस्वरेणैव सिद्धम् ॥ विशेषणार्थस्तर्हि । क्वविशेषणार्थेनार्थः । अप्तृन्तृजिति । तृ इत्युच्यमाने मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत । स्वसृनप्तृ ग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति । एतयोरेव योनिसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनिसंबन्धानामिति ॥ सामान्यग्रहणाविधातार्थस्तर्हि । क्व सामान्यग्रहणाविधातार्थेनार्थः । अत्रैव । यदेतत्तृन्तृचोर्ग्रहणमतत् इति वक्ष्यामि । यदि तृ इत्युच्यते मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत । स्वसृनप्तृग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति । एतयोरेव योनिसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनिसंबन्धानामिति ॥

Comparing this text with the same passage as it appears in the Benaras edition, we find the following addition :—

तुच्छन्दसि तुरि मेयः स्विति चोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात् ।

It must be admitted here that Dr. Kielhorn in the appendix to his second volume, p. 453, says.

२२ E g B after संबन्धानामिति, तुच्छन्दसि तुरिमेयः स्विति चोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्. See P. V. 3, 59; VI, 4. 154.

But Dr. Kielhorn has omitted this addition from his text.

The question that arises here is whether this addition is a necessary or integral part of the passage. In order to answer this question we must try to understand the subject treated of. For this purpose I shall divide the passage as it is a dialogue between two persons.

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First person asks :—

किमर्थश्चकारः ।

Second person replies :—

स्वरार्थः । चितोऽन्त उदात्तो भवतीत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं यथा स्यात्

First person objects

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । एकाजयं तत्र नार्थः स्वरार्थेन चकारेणानुबन्धेन ।

प्रत्ययस्वरेणैव सिद्धम् ॥

Second person suggests

विशेषणार्थस्तर्हि ।

First person asks :—

क विशेषणार्थेनार्थः ।

Second person replies.

अप्तुन्तृजिति । तृ इत्युच्यमाने मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत ।

First person denies this and says :—

स्वसृनप्तृग्रहणं नियमार्थं भविष्यति । एतयोरेव योनिसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनि-
संबन्धानामिति ॥

Second person says :—

सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थस्तर्हि ।

First person asks :—

क सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थेनार्थः ।

Second person replies:—

अत्रैव । यदेतत्तृचोर्ग्रहणमेतत् इति वक्ष्यामि—

First person interrupts: you have already said:—

यदि तृ इत्युच्यते मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत ।

Second person reminds him of his solution: स्वसृनप्तृग्रहणं निय-
मार्थं भविष्यति एतयोरेव योनिसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनिसंबन्धानामिति and then
completes his own sentence ending with वक्ष्यामि

तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयः स्वितिचोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात् ।

Here the sentence ending with वक्ष्यामि is incomplete; therefore I have used a dash after it. The subordinate clause that completes the sense is तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयः स्विति चोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्. The previous sentence ending with वक्ष्यामि is the principal sentence with the subordinate clause तुश्छन्दसि &c dependent upon it. Between these two sentences there are parenthetical clauses which must be shown thus:

अत्रैव । यदेतत्तृचोर्ग्रहणमेतत् इति वक्ष्यामि —(यदि तृ इत्युच्यते मातरा
मातरः पितरौ पितरः अत्रापि प्रसज्येत ।

स्वसृजन्महणं नियमार्थं भविष्याति एतयोरेव योनिसंबन्धयोर्नान्येषां योनि-
संबन्धानामिति)— तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयः स्वितिचोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात् ।

On the principle अर्थक्रमः पाठक्रमाद् बलीयान् we must interpret the passage as above. सामान्यग्रहण means तृ without the indicatory letters न् and च्, which denotes both तृन् and तृच्. In this sense तृ is used by Pāṇini in his two later sūtras तुश्छन्दसि V, 3, 59 and तुरिष्ठेमे यःसु VI, 4, 154. But in the sūtra ण्वुल्तृचौ only तृच् is employed as it appears in कर्ता and हर्ता, with the udātta accent on the syllable तृ. The position of the accent will not be affected if तृ in stead of तृच् is employed in ण्वुल्तृचौ because as a प्रत्यय तृ will have the same accent (III, 1, 3). But if Pāṇini had adopted this course, he would have laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency by attaching two different values to तृ in the three sūtras under consideration. सामान्यग्रहण means तृन्तृचोर्यत् समानं रूपं तस्य ग्रहणम्. With a view to preserve this सामान्य ग्रहण adopted in तुश्छन्दसि and तुरिष्ठेमेयः सु, तृच् with च् is used in the sūtra ण्वुल्तृचौ, which is thus explained in the Kāśikā :—

चकारः सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थः । तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयस्विति III, 1, 133.

From the facts set out above the conclusion is inevitable that the passage as it is given in Dr. Kielhorn's edition is defective without the concluding clause तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयःस्विति चोभयोर्ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

Against the proposed use of तृ the objection is twice urged
मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः

because the rule in अप् तृन्तृच् which teaches the lengthening of अ in कर्तारौ कर्तारः does not apply to the Unādi words मातृ पितृ which form मातरौ मातरः पितरौ पितरः not मातारौ &c though they end in तृ only as the Kāśikā says.

पितृमातृशब्दावुणादिध्वन्तोदात्तौ निपातितौ

Pāṇini VI, 2, 11.

Kaiyaṭa on ण्वुल्तृचौ says,

मातराविति । उणादिषु तृप्रत्ययान्ता मात्रादयो निपातिता इति भावः । स्वसृजन्महणमिति । नप्तृग्रहणं नियमार्थं स्वसृशब्दस्तु ऋन् प्रत्ययान्तत्वाद्विध्यर्थमेव । सामान्यग्रहणाविघातार्थत्वं चकारस्य स्थितम् । तुश्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयःस्वित्यत्राप्येतत् प्रयोजनसद्भावात् ।

Three reasons for attaching च् to तृच् in ण्वुल्तृचौ are given. The first reason consists in making तृ अन्तोदात्त. This is easily overruled by saying that as a प्रत्यय of one syllable only तृ becomes उदात्त (आद्युदात्तश्च III, 1, 3). The second reason for attaching च् to तृच् is

found in distinguishing it from the Unādi termination त् appearing in मात् पित् according to the Unādi Sūtra.

This is also overruled by saying that Pāṇini (VI, 4 II) mentions only स्वस् नत् by way of restricting the operation of his sūtra to these two Unādi words and excluding therefrom other Unādi words मात् and पित्. The third reason, which is the final decision, is that Pāṇini has committed himself by using त् as a substitute for both तन् and तच् in his later sūtras तुच्छन्दसि तुरिष्ठेमेयः सु. If त् were now used for तच् only in this sūtra (III, 1, 133), his position would be illogical, and he would expose himself to ridicule. It is thus evident that the additional words are essential to complete the sense intended; and they must be restored at the end of the passage in Dr. Kielhorn's edition.

In the dialogue between two persons, as explained above, the agreement is unanimous that Pāṇini is the author of the two Unādi sūtras. Without this the whole passage would be entirely meaningless. In the words अत्रैव the reference is made by Dr. Kielhorn to अप्त्तृच्. This is not only positively wrong but misleading. Here अत्रैव means अस्मिन्नेव सूत्रे in this very sūtra, namely, ष्वत्तृचौ, where च् is added to त् in order to preserve its form त् as a substitute for तन् and तच् elsewhere.

I shall now proceed to deal with a second passage. Dr. Kielhorn in his preface to his first edition which is also reproduced in his second edition, says,

"Without the different commentaries on the Mahābhāṣya, the Vākyapadīya, the Kāśikāvṛtti, Siddhānta Kaumudī etc., each of which has proved useful in turn, my labour would have been much greater than it has been, yet sometimes all have failed me when I should have most prized their assistance. On a passage like ईदृशौ वध्नौ कुरु । ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुरु । on p. 36,9, they say nothing." The whole passage referred to runs thus:—

यदि कश्चित्कुर्वतः प्रयोजको नाम भवति तेनैतत्तुल्यम् ॥ यदि तर्हि सर्व इमे स्वभूत्यर्थं प्रवर्तन्ते कः प्रयोज्यार्थः । यदभिप्रायेषु सज्जन्ते । ईदृशौ वध्नौ कुरु । ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुरु । आदित्यश्चास्याभिप्राये सज्जते । एष तस्याभिप्राय उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयेयेति तं चास्याभिप्रायमादित्यो निर्वर्तयति ॥

This passage appears in the Benaras edition as follows:—

यदि कश्चित्प्रयोजको नाम कुर्वतो भवति तेनैतत्तुल्यम् । यदि तर्हि सर्व इमे स्वभूत्यर्थं प्रवर्तन्ते कः प्रयोज्यार्थः । यदभिप्रायेषु सज्जन्ते ईदृशौ वध्नौ कुरु ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुरु इति । आदित्यश्चास्याभिप्राये सज्जते एष तस्याभिप्राय उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयेय इति तं चास्यादित्योभिप्रायं निर्वर्तयति ।

Here the word इति appears after पुटकौ कुरु. But it is omitted by Dr. Kielhorn as it is not found in the mss. examined by him. I wanted to inquire whether there is any manuscript of the Mahābhāṣya containing this reading. For this purpose I went to Mysore. And I am glad to say that a manuscript belonging to the family of Kashi-Sesha-Subrahmanya Shastri, contains the word इति after पुटकौ कुरु. The Shastri is an old man. He is a professor of grammar in the Sanskrit College in the city of Mysore. He has inherited this manuscript from his grand father who enjoyed the patronage of the last Peshwa Bajirao II. The ms. has been in the possession of the family for 150 years. The passage under discussion which is found in this ms. reads:—

यदि कश्चित्कुर्वतः प्रयोजको नाम भवति तेनैतत्तुल्यम् यदि तर्हि सर्व इमे स्वभूत्यर्थं प्रवर्तन्ते कः प्रयोज्यार्थः यदभिप्रायेषु आसज्जन्ते ईदृशौ वध्नौ कुरु ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुर्वन्ति ।

leaves 18 (b) and 19 (a)

The Sanskrit word इति is here necessary. It stands at the end of a noun clause which is in apposition to the noun अभिप्रायेषु. It may be noted that इति is a conjunction and resembles the English conjunction "that". While the English word introduces a subordinate clause, the Sanskrit word stands at the end of such a clause. On the other hand यत् exactly resembles the English word "that", as it introduces the subordinate clause in यदभिप्रायेषु सज्जन्ते &c. इति is used in the next sentence in this very passage एष तस्याभिप्राय उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावये वेति. The preceding sentence also must be similarly explained कः प्रयोज्यार्थः? What is the meaning of प्रयोज्य? (एष तस्यार्थः] 'यदभिप्रायेषु सज्जते' "ईदृशौ वध्नौ कुरु ईदृशौ पुटकौ कुरु" इति. Here it may be remarked there are two subordinate clauses.

The word वध्नी वध्निका or वध्न means a leather strap

वध्नी वध्नी वरत्रा स्यादश्वदेस्ताडनी कशा ॥ ३१ ॥

वधन्ते दीर्घाभवति चर्मरज्जुत्वाद्धर्मी विनियते अनया वरत्रा

Kṣīrasvāmi on Amarakos'a Oka's ed. p. 163.

वध्निका चर्ममयी वरत्रा

Gaṇaratnamahodadhi.

Benares ed, p. 127.

पुटक means पुट एव पुटकः पत्रनिर्मितः

Idem p, 28.

a hollow cup made of leaves. The word वध्नी appears as वादी and पुटक as पुडका or पुडा in Marathi.

The third passage that attracts our attention is the following
 स्पृशोऽनुदके किन् ॥ ३।२।५८ ॥ किमर्थो नकारः । स्वरार्थः । जिनतीत्याद्युदा-
 त्तत्वं यथा स्यात् । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । एकाचोऽयं विधीयते तत्र नार्थः स्वरार्थेन
 नकारेणानुबन्धेन । धातुस्वरेणैव सिद्धम् ॥ यस्तर्ह्यनेकाच् दधृगिति । वक्ष्यन्त्येतदृषे
 द्विवचनमन्तोदात्तत्वं च निपात्यत इति ॥ विशेषणार्थस्तर्हि । क्व विशेषणार्थेनार्थः ।
 किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः [८. २. ६२.] इति । किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुरित्युच्यमाने संदेहः स्याद्विषे-
 प्रत्ययः किं ब्वेति संदेहमात्रमेतद्भाति सर्वसंदेहेषु चेदमुपातिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रति-
 पत्तिर्नहि संदेहादलक्षणमिति किन्प्रत्ययस्येति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

Kielhorn's 2nd ed. Vol II. p. 106. On referring to the Benares edition we find किनिति व्याख्यास्यामः instead of कि प्रत्ययस्येति व्याख्यास्यामः Which is the correct reading? The Nyāsakāra Jinendra-buddhi says—

नकारः किन् प्रत्ययस्य कुरित्यादि । कि प्रत्ययस्य कुरित्युच्यमाने किपोऽपि-
 ग्रहणं स्यात् । अतो नकारोऽनुबध्यते ।

Kaiyata says—

संदेहः स्यादिति । किमेकपकारको निर्देश उत द्विपकारक इत्यर्थः । व्याख्यानत
 इति । तदनुबन्धकपरिभाषया च किपो ग्रहणाभावः ॥

Haradatta says—

एवंतर्हि किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुरिति विशेषणार्थः । किन्प्रत्ययस्येत्युच्यमाने सन्देहः स्यात्
 क्रेः किपो वा निर्देश इति, क्रेरपि निर्देशोपकारस्थानचि चेति (VIII. 4.47.) द्विवच
 [न] स् ॥

The correct reading, which deserves to be adopted, is किनिति व्याख्यास्यामः.

The fourth passage which I propose to discuss is the following

संप्रोदश्च कटच्च ॥ ५।२।२९ ॥

कटचप्रकरणेऽलाबूतिलोमाभ्यो रजस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

कटचप्रकरणेऽलाबूतिलोमाभ्यो रजस्येभिधेय उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । अलाबूकटः
 तिलकटः उमाकटः ॥

भङ्गायाश्च ॥ २ ॥

भङ्गायाश्चेति वक्तव्यम् भङ्गाकटः ॥

गोष्ठादयः स्थानादिषु पशुनामादिभ्यः ॥ ३ ॥

गोष्ठादयः प्रत्ययाः स्थानादिष्वर्थेषु पशुनामादिभ्यो वक्तव्या गोगोष्ठम् अविगोष्ठम्
 कटच्च वक्तव्यः । अविकटः उष्ट्रकटः पटच्च वक्तव्यः अविपटः उष्ट्रपटः ॥ गोयुगशब्दश्च
 प्रत्यया वक्तव्यः उष्ट्रगोयुगम् ॥ खरगोयुगम् तैलशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः । इङ्गदतैलम्

सर्षपतैलम् ॥ शाकटशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः । इक्षुशाकटम् मूलशाकटम् शाकिनशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः । इक्षुशाकिनम् मूलशाकिनम् ॥

उपमानाद्वा सिद्धम् ॥ २ ॥

उपमानाद्वा सिद्धमेतत् । गवां स्थानं गोष्ठम् । यथा गवां तद्वदुष्टाणाम् ॥ कटज्वक्तव्य इति यथा नानाद्रव्याणां संघातः कट एवमवयवः संहता अविकटः ॥ पटञ्च वक्तव्य इति । यथा पटः प्रस्तीर्ण एवमवयवः प्रस्तीर्णा अविपटः ॥ गोयुगशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य इति गोयुगं गोयुगम् । यथा गोस्तद्वदुष्टस्य । उष्ट्रगोयुगम् तैलशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य इति प्रकृत्यन्तरं तैलशब्दो विकारे वर्तते । एवं च कृत्वा तिलतैलमित्यपि सिद्धं भवति ॥ शाकटशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य एव । शाकिनशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य एव ॥

Mahābhāṣya

Kielhorn's 2nd ed. Vol II, p. 376, 377

Up to the end of the explanation of the 2nd Vārtika the text given above is identical or nearly so with that found in the Benares edition. From the beginning of the 3rd Vārtika up to the end of the whole passage, there are variations. In order to ascertain the correct text we must try to understand what Kaiyaṭa says

गोष्ठादय इति । प्रयोगसमवायिप्रत्ययरूपं निर्दिष्टम् चकारस्तु स्वार्थोनुबन्ध आसङ्गव्यः । तथाहि । समासाश्रयेण प्रत्ययाः प्रत्याख्यायन्ते तत्र चित्स्वरसमास-स्वरयोरभेदादेकफलत्वमारम्भप्रत्याख्यानयोरुपपद्यते ।

In the 3rd Vārtika the forms गोष्ठ &c. of the terminations गोष्ठच् &c. as they appear in living speech or spoken Sanskrit, are given by Kātyāyana. But the letter च् indicating अन्तोदात्तस्वर requires, never the less, to be affixed in the explanatory portion of the Bhāṣya. The reason for this is as follows. Under the 3rd Vārtika forms like गोगोष्ठ are explained as affixes ending in च् and having the अन्तोदात्तस्वर according to Pāṇini चित्ः (VI. 1. 163). This method is, however, refuted under the 4th Vārtika by treating forms like गोगोष्ठ as compounds according to Pāṇini's Sūtra समासस्य (VI, 1, 223) which teaches that compounds have अन्तोदात्तस्वर. Whichever method is adopted, the result is the same namely, the position of the अन्तोदात्तस्वर remains unchanged. For this reason in the Bhāṣya under the 3rd Vārtika the three expressions underlined गोष्ठादयः गोयुग शब्दश्च and तैलशब्दश्च should be corrected into गोष्ठजादयः गोयुगच् शब्दश्च and तैलच् शब्दश्च. But the expressions शाकट शब्दश्च and शाकिन शब्दश्च do not undergo this change for a reason which will be given later.

Let us now turn to the Bhāṣya under the 4th Vārtika. Here we have the प्रत्याख्यान or refutation of the first method by regard-

24 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

ing forms like गोगोष्ठ as compounds. Refutation is indicated by inserting न thus, कटज्वक्तव्य इति should be corrected into कट न वक्तव्य इति, which then means, "In order that कटच् प्रत्यय may not be adopted here" we must take कट as a noun meaning नाना-द्रव्याणां संघातः कटः. So अविक्त as a compound has the अन्तोदात्तस्वर. पटश्च वक्तव्य इति should be corrected into पटच् न वक्तव्य इति. गोगुगशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य इति should be changed into गोगुगश्चशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो न वक्तव्य इति. And तैलशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य इति should be altered thus

तैलश्चशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो न वक्तव्यः ।

Here इति should be omitted because it is not wanted by what follows and because the omission is supported by the ms. K. Therefore we must read

तैलश्चशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो न वक्तव्यः । प्रकृत्यन्तरं तैल शब्दो विकारे वर्तते । एवंच कृत्वा तिलतैलमित्यपि सिद्धं भवति.

As regards the words शाकट and शाकिन no change is to be made in them, as they are governed by Pāṇini's Sūtra चूर्णादीन्यप्राणि षष्ठ्याः (VI, 2. 134) according to which शाकट and शाकिन when they form the second members of a षष्ठी तत्पुरुष compound, have the उदात्त स्वर on their first syllable. They thus exactly resemble affixes with उदात्त स्वर on the first syllable.

We have therefore

शाकटशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य एव ।

शाकिनशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य एव ।

The use of the word एव here emphasises the fact that in the case of the preceding compounds we must expect प्रत्ययो न वक्तव्यः

The corrections suggested above are amply supported by the manuscript evidence recorded by Dr. Kielhorn as well as by the unanimous testimony of the commentaries. In the previous portion of this passage also there are variations. But they do not affect the meaning intended by Patañjali and they are pointed out in the Appendix.

THE TEXT OF THE JAINENDRA-VYĀKARAṆA
AND
THE PRIORITY OF CANDRA TO PŪJYAPĀDA
by

Dr. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

It is a well-known fact that there are two redactions of the Jainendra sūtras. One of these is preserved in Somadeva's commentary called Śabdārṇavacandrikā and the other is given by Abhayānandin in his Mahāvṛtti. Dr. Kielhorn maintained that Somadeva's recension of the sūtras cannot be the original one. Among the Jaina community itself opinion is divided on this point. Under these circumstances it is most essential to settle this problem, as it is interesting both from a literary and historical point of view, especially as its solution has an immediate bearing on the date of the Buddhist grammarian Candragomin as will be seen later.

The first and earlier redaction of the Jainendra sūtras is found in the Śabdārṇavacandrikā of Somadeva who composed his commentary in Śaka 1127. This commentary is always called वृत्ति and not लघुवृत्ति in the opening and concluding verses and in the prose passage at the end of the work, which gives the date. There are two manuscripts of the Śabdārṇavacandrikā in the Deccan College collection one written on palm-leaves and the other on paper. In both of these manuscripts, at the end of each pāda of the five Adhyāyas into which the work is divided we find the words इति जैनेन्द्रव्याकरणे शब्दार्णवचन्द्रिकायां वृत्तौ. But in a recent edition of the Śabdārṇavacandrikā published at Benares, though at the end of the third pāda of the fourth Adhyāya and at the end of all the pādas of the fifth Adhyāya, the words शब्दार्णवचन्द्रिकायां वृत्तौ are given, still the expression वृत्तौ is replaced by लघुवृत्तौ at the end of all the pādas of the other Adhyāyas. However it is easy to see from the remarks made above in regard to the two manuscripts belonging to the Deccan College collections, that the word लघुवृत्ति is an interpolation only suggested by the name of Abhayānandin's commentary called Mahāvṛtti.

The second and later redaction of the Jainendra sūtras appears in the Mahāvṛtti of Abhayānandimuni, who says :—

देवदेवं जिनं नत्वा सर्वसत्त्वाभयप्रदं ।
 शब्दशास्त्रस्य सूत्राणां महावृत्तिर्विरच्यते ॥ १ ॥
 यच्छ (च्छ) षडलक्षणमसुब्रजपारमन्यै-
 रव्यक्तमुक्तमभिधानविधौ दरिद्रैः ।
 तत्सर्वलोकहृदयप्रियचारुवाक्यै-
 र्व्यक्तीकरोत्यभयनान्दिमुनिः समस्तम् ॥ २ ॥

In the first half of the last verse Abhayānandin attacks his predecessor Somadeva and speaks of his own commentary as महावृत्ति or the larger commentary because it is more extensive than the work of Somadeva, which is on that account called लघुवृत्ति by some scholars.

Somadeva mentions Guṇānandideva, who preceded him in the work of explaining the Jainendra Sūtras. The latter's work is called जैनेन्द्रप्रक्रिया which reproduces as many sūtras as are practically helpful to beginners of Sanskrit. It is obvious that the Jainendra Prakriyā is an abridgment of some complete commentary on these sūtras either by Guṇānandin himself or some other Jaina author. Guṇānandin says:—

नमः श्री पूज्यपादाय लक्षणं यदुपक्रमं
 यदेवात्र तदन्यत्र यन्नात्रास्ति न तत्कचित् ॥

Jainendraprakriyā, Benares ed. p. 268.

We are told that his teacher was Śrutakīrti the lord of poets.

सोयं यः श्रुतकीर्तिदेवयतिपो भट्टारकोन्तस्स को
 रंम्यान्मम मानसे कविपतिः सद्राजहंसश्विरं ॥

Jainendra-prakriyā, Benares ed. p. 300.

Śrutakīrti, the lord of poets may be identified with Śrutakīrti-traividya, who was living in Śaka 1040. After this year the Jainendra-prakriyā must have been composed. Guṇānandin borrows his explanation of the sūtra विधिनिमन्त्रणा &c II, 3, 152 from the Amoghavṛtti IV, 4, 125, and seems to be indebted for his line.

यदेवात्र तदन्यत्र यन्नात्रास्ति न तत्कचित्

to the introduction of the Cintāmaṇi of Yaśasvarman, who says,

तदिहास्ति समस्तं च यन्नेहास्ति न तत्काचित् ।

This must have been suggested by the following well-known verse in the Mahābhārata.

धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।
यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न कुत्र चित् ।

Ādiparva, Chap. 62, verse 26.

It is needless to state that the Jainendra-prakriyā belongs to the earlier redaction of the Jainendrasūtras as known to us from the Śabdārṇava-candrikā of Somdeva.

As I have said above, the second and later redaction of the Jainendra Sūtras is found in the Mahāvṛtti of Abhayadeva-muni. To this redaction also belongs the Pañcavastuka, which derives its Sūtras from the Mahāvṛtti. There is a third recension of the Jainendra Sūtras which is preserved by the Śvetāmbara community, who believe that the Sūtras emanated from the Tirthaṅkara Mahāvīra himself, who taught them to his pupil Indra. Each pāda begins thus: स भगवानिदं प्राह. This Śvetāmbara collection of sūtras is called भगवद्वादिनी. If this Śvetāmbara setting is removed, the sūtras are found to be entirely identical with those in the Śabdārṇavacandrikā. Being independently preserved, these sūtras are most valuable, as they afford a good criterion to judge of the genuineness or otherwise of the two redactions of the sūtras mentioned above.

There is another interesting fact which deserves to be mentioned in this connection. Many of these sūtras are borrowed by Śākaṭāyana and Hemacandra, and are thus found in the Amoghavṛtti, Cintāmaṇi and the Bṛhadvṛtti, as has been already proved in my paper entitled Jain Śākaṭāyana contemporary with Amoghavarṣa I. Nor should we omit to mention Bhaṭṭākalaṅka who frequently cites Jainendra sūtras, in his Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana written in Śake 1526.

We have now ample material at our disposal, which will enable us to ascertain the genuine text of the Jainendravvyākaraṇa. Pūjyapāda defines the technical term इत्थुः thus.

अप्रयोगीत् 1, 2, 3.

The accuracy of this sūtra as given above is vouched for by the following nine authorities:

- अप्रयोगीत् 1. Jainendraprakriyā, Benares ed. p. 2.
2. Śabdārṇavacandrikā, „ p. 9.
3. Śvetāmbara recension.
4. Amoghavṛtti I, 1, 5.
5. Cintāmaṇi I, 1, 5.
6. Hemacandra I, 1, 37.

7. Rūpasiddhi.

8. Śakatāyanaprakriyā } p. 1.
of Abhayacandra

9. Śabdānuśāsana of Bhaṭṭakalaṅka p. 39.

As regards these authorities it is of importance to note that the Śvetāmbara recension and Hemacandra are Northern while the remaining seven authorities belong to southern India of which Pūjyapāda was a native. It is thus abundantly evident that in the time of Hemacandra and even later both in Southern and Northern India the above form of the Sūtra that we are discussing, was considered genuine; and, what is still more important, in Southern India, to which the Digambara Jainas of Delhi and Jaipur look up as the land where their great teachers flourished and as the repository of the literary monuments of their community, this form of the sūtra and this alone was recognised as genuine up to Śaka 1526 or A. D. 1604, the year which saw the composition, by Bhaṭṭakalaṅka, of his celebrated Sanskrit commentary on his own Sanskrit sūtras dealing with the grammar of the Kannaḍa language. If we turn to the Mahāvṛtti we see that this sūtra is written as,

कार्यार्थो प्रयोगीत्

and is thus copied into the Pañcavastuka. From the evidence set fourth above it is obvious that Abhayānandin has interpolated the expression कार्यार्थ into the text of the sūtra. This expression he must have borrowed from the commentaries of Guṇānandin and Somadeva, who preceded him.

Let us now proceed to examine the Jainendra sūtra

शश्लोमि V. 4, 55.

and compare it with the forms it assumes at the hands of the writers belonging to the Pāṇinian school.

Pāṇini says:—

शश्लोमि VIII, 4, 63.

Kātyāyana remarks छत्वममि

Patañjali explains:—

छत्वममिति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । तच्छ्लोकेन तच्छ्रुतेति ।

The Kāśikā borrows these remarks and Haradatta explains:—

शश्लोमितीति अटीत्यपनीयामीति वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः । तच्छ्लोकेन तच्छ्रुतेत्यत्र लकारमकारपरस्यापि शकारस्य भवति ॥

Padamañjarī, Benares. ed

Part II, p 1034

Jñānendrasarasvatī says

“ शश्छोटि ” इति सूत्रं “ शश्छोमि ” इति पठनीयमित्यर्थः

Tattvabodhini

Nirnaya sāgara ed p. 28.

In the face of these facts one would suppose that, like Candragomin, Pūjyapāda, who had before him the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali to guide him, would have written शश्छोमि instead of शश्छोटि. That Pūjyapāda did really write शश्छोमि and not शश्छोटि is amply proved by the following authorities.

शश्छोमि	Candra VI, 4, 157	
”	{ Jainendraprakriyā	{ Pūjyapada's
”	{ Śabdārnavaśandrikā	{ sūtra V, 4, 65.
”	{ Svetāmbararecension	
”	Amoghavṛtti	{ Śākāyāna's
”	Cintāmaṇi	{ sūtra I, 1,
”	Śākāyānaprakriyā	{ 144.

It is thus clear that Pāṇini's sūtra शश्छोटि is inadequate to account for such expressions as तच्छोकेन, तच्छुष्णा. Haradatta therefore remarks:

यद्विस्मृतमदृष्टं वा सूत्रकारेण तत्स्फुटम् ।

वाक्यकारो ब्रवीत्येवं तेनादृष्टं च भाष्यकृत् ॥

अत एव च पाणिनीयमेतत् त्रिमुनिव्याकरणं वदन्ति सन्तः

Padamañjarī, Benares ed. part I, p. 7.

On the other hand Abhayanandin borrows the inaccurate sūtra शश्छोटि and tries to pass it off on the literary world thus :

शश्छोटि.

अथः पदान्तादुत्तरस्य शकारस्य अटि परतः छक (का) रो भवति वाक् छोमते धर्मविच्छेते । ककुब्धोभते ॥ पक्षे न भवति । वाक् शोभते । धर्मवित् शेते ककुब्धोभते । केचित् शश्छोमीति पठन्ति ॥ तेन तच्छो (?) कः तच्छा (?) सनमिति ॥

महावृत्ति

D. C. ms. No. 590 of 1875-76 p. 75 a and b.

D. C. ms. No. 1140 of 1884-87, p. 402 b.

This sūtra is borrowed by the Pañcavastuka which adds, अटितिकिम् । वाक् श्लक्ष्णः—

Pañcavastuka. D. C. Ms. No. 589 of 1875-76 p. 14 (b)

Sometimes Abhayanandin copies a spurious sūtra with its vārtika attributed by the Kāśikā to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana and tells us that these were composed by Pūjyapāda himself.

Patañjali says:—

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहाय्यस्तल्ल IV. 2, 43.

गजसहाय्यां च ।

गजसहाय्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् । गजता । सहायता

The Kāśikā, on the other hand, says.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहाय्येभ्यस्तल्ल IV, 2, 43

गजाच्चेति वक्तव्यम्

Kāśikā, Benares ed, part I, p. 391.

This well-known Sūtra and its vārtika, as they appear in the Kāśikā, are reproduced by the Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi while they are altogether omitted from the Benares edition of Haradatta's Padamañjarī. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita remarks,

वृत्तिरुता तु वार्तिकान्तर्गतः सहायशब्दोपि सूत्रे प्रक्षिप्तः

And this view is endorsed by Jñānendrasarasvatī in his *Tattvabodhinī*, Nirṇaya sāgar ed. p. 235.

Let us now turn to Abhayānandin. He says:

ग्रामजन ब (बं) धु सहाय्येभ्यस्तल्ल ॥

ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्भवति तस्य समूह इति वर्तते ।

ग्रामाणां समूहः । ग्रामता । जनता बन्धुता सहायता ।

गजाच्चेति वक्तव्यं गजता ।

This sūtra and its vārtika in the form in which they appear in the Kāśikā, could not possibly have been composed by Pūjyapāda, who lived more than a century before the authors of the Kāśikāvṛtti, as I have proved in my paper entitled *Jaina Śākaṭāyana*, contemporary with Amoghavarṣa I. This fact affords the clearest proof that Abhayānandimuni has tampered with the text of the Jainendravākarana. The genuine form of the sūtra which has just been discussed appears in the Śabdārnavaśandrikā and the Śvetāmbara recension, and is supported by many authorities, as will be seen from the following table.

ग्रामजनगजबन्धुसहायात्तल्ल ।

Candra III, 1, 59.

गजग्रामजनबन्धुसहायात्तल्ल ।

Śabdārnavaśandrikā and

Pūjyapāda III, 4, 143.
Śvetāmbara recension.

ग्रामजनबन्धुगजसहायात्तल्ल ।

Śakatāyana II, 4, 143.

Amoghavṛtti and Cintāmaṇi.

ग्रामजनबन्धुगजसहायात्तल्ल ।

Hemacandra VI, 2, 28.

Sometimes Abhayanaṇḍimuni entirely omits a genuine Jainendra sūtra the historical importance of which he fails to realise. I need only refer to the well-known sūtra

गुरुदयाद् भाद् युक्तोद्दः III, 2, 5.

which teaches the formation of such expressions as पौष संवत्सर, फाल्गुन वर्ष, or माघसंवत्सर. There is not a shadow of a doubt as to the genuineness of this Sūtra, which is amply corroborated by the testimony of the Jainendra-prakriyā, the Śabdārṇavacandrikā, the Śvetāmbara recension, the Amoghavṛtti, the Cintāmaṇi and the Bṛhadvṛtti of Hemacandra. I lay great stress on this sūtra of fascinating interest, which has enabled me to solve most satisfactorily the problem of the epoch of the Gupta era over which there had raged a heated controversy for nearly a century, and to offer a spirited vindication of Alberuni against the attacks made on him by his numerous critics of the nineteenth century.

It will be sufficient for my present purpose to notice some more Jainendra sūtras. Pāṇini says that the word धार्मिक is formed by adding the suffix ठक्.

धर्मे चरति IV, 4, 41.

अधर्माच्च ॥ १ ॥

अधर्माच्चिति वक्तव्यम्

Mahābhāṣya, Kielhorn's ed. vol II p. 337.

Kātyāyana here tells us that आधार्मिक is similarly formed. It is natural to expect all subsequent grammarians to condense the teaching of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana into one single sūtra. That is exactly what has actually occurred, as is seen at a glance from the following comparison of the sūtras: धर्माधर्मौ चरति Candra III, 4, 39.

धर्माधर्मौ चरन्

Pūjyapāda III, 3, 193.

Śabdārṇavacandrikā and Śvetāmbara recension.

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धर्मो धर्मौ चरति

Śakatayana III, 2, 40.
Amoghavṛtti and Cintāmaṇi

धर्मा धर्माश्चरति

Hemacandra VI; 4, 49, Brhadavṛtti

On the other hand Abhayānandin makes Pūjyapāda say :—

धर्मं चरति

अधर्माच्च इति वक्तव्यम् ।

This is absurd. It is inconceivable that Pūjyapāda, who so frequently quotes the Mahābhāṣya in his Sarvārthasiddhi, could have copied Pāṇini's incorrect sūtras leaving it to later writers or Abhayānandin to correct them, as is evident from the following passages :—

यथा धर्माद्विरमतीत्यत्र य एष मनुष्यः संभिन्नबुद्धिः स पश्यति दुष्करो धर्मः
फलं चास्य श्रद्धामात्रगम्यमिति स्वबुद्ध्या संप्राप्य निवर्तते

Sarvārthasiddhi, Nīṭvṛsed p. 99.

Mahābhāṣya I, 1, 24.

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वेति

Sarvārthasiddhi pp. 5, 62, 124.

Mahābhāṣya (I, 1, 42)

सिद्धे विधिरारम्भमाणो नियमार्थ इति

Sarvārthasiddhi p. 66.

Mahābhāṣya V1, 2, 80

अल्पात्तरादभ्यर्हितं पूर्वं निपतति

Sarvārthasiddhi pp. 3, 64

Mahābhāṣya Nirnay s. ed. vol II p. 473

व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिरिति

Sarvārthasiddhi p. 264.

Mahābhāṣya Nirnay s. ed. vol II, p. 147

तद्विषयग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । न कर्तव्यम् । प्रकृतं विषयग्रहणम् । क प्रकृतम् !

Sarvārthasiddhi p. 74.

Mahābhāṣya Nirnay s. ed vol. II. p. 149.

स्त्यायत्यस्यां गर्भं इति स्त्री सूते जनयत्यपत्यामिति पुमान्

Sarvārthasiddhi p. 112.

Mahābhāṣya IV, 1, 3.

I shall now cite some passages from Bhaṭṭakalāṅka who wrote in Śaka 1526, and who was a profound grammarian in Dr. Kielhorn's opinion.

यथाह भगवान् देवनन्दी
मिडा एकार्थे वा

(Jainendra I, 4, 65)

Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana, 1st ed. p. 138.

जैनेन्द्रमते तु मिडं त्रिशोऽस्मद् युष्मद् अन्या इति

(Jainendra I, 2, 179.)

Idem. p. 230

अन एवासूत्रयद् अवान्यार्थेनेकं चम् इति भगवान् देवनन्दी

(Jainendra I, 3, 89)

Idem p. 174

These three Jainendra sūtras as quoted above, are found in the Śabdārṇavacandrikā, Jainendra-prakriyā and the Śvetāmbara recension. But in the Mahāvṛtti, though the first two sūtras appear as cited above, the third sūtra is thus transformed by Abhayānandin.

अन्यपदार्थेनेकं चं

I, 3, 86.

Pāṇini says :—

सप्तमी शौण्डैः II, 1, 40.

It is proposed to correct शौण्डैः into शौण्डादिभिः so that it may apply to all the words enumerated in the शौण्डादिः group. But Patañjali says this is unnecessary,

बहुवचननिर्देशाच्छौण्डादिभिरिति विज्ञास्यते

But this defence is unacceptable because Pāṇini himself more frequently uses forms like व्याघ्रादिभिः (II, 1, 56.) and श्रवणादिभिः

II, 1, 70.) Another sūtra of Pāṇini पञ्चमी भयेन (II, 1, 37.) is not adequate to explain the words वृकभीतः वृकभीतिः and वृकभीः. Therefore it needs correction. Accordingly, Somadeva gives Pūjyapāda's corresponding sūtras thus :—

का भ्यादिभिः I. 3, 33.

ईप् शौण्डादिभिः I, 3, 35.

These certainly must be the genuine sūtras. Let us turn to Abhayānandin.¹ He makes Pūjyapāda say :—

Jainendraprakriyā Benares ed. part I. p. 137, foot-notes.

का भीमिः I, 3, 32.

ईप् शौण्डैः I, 3, 35.

These must be considered spurious because शौण्डैः was ambiguous even in the days of Patañjali, while भीमिः not being used by Pāṇini was invented by Abhayānandin himself in imitation of Pāṇini's ambiguous style.

The most convincing proof that Abhayānandin has tampered with the text of the Jainendra is found in his sūtra आप औडः which is a copy of the well-known sūtra

औड आपः

Pāṇini VII, 1, 18.

in which Pāṇini teaches that feminine nouns ending in आ, such as खट्वा, माला form their nominative and accusative duals in ई as खट्वे माले. Pāṇini affixes ड् to औ in order that it may denote both औ and औड. Here he appears to have forgotten that in so doing he has brought this sūtra under the operation of the sūtra याद् आपः VII, 3, 113, which applies to डित् terminations. But the forms खट्वे, माले do not take the augment याद्. This mistake is so palpable that all the later grammarians have tried to avoid it thus:—

औरिम् Kātantra sūtra 211.

आप औतः शीः Candra II, 1, 17.

आप औतः Śabdārṇavacandrikā. } V, 1, 15.
Jainendra-prakriyā.

आटश्च औतोः गीः Śakaṭāyanā, Cintā- } I, 2, 19,
maṇi,
Śakaṭāyana-prakriyā.

औता Hemacandra 1, 4, 20.

If we turn to Abhayānandin, we find that he presents this incorrect sūtra आप औडः as that of Pūjyapāda, without trying to understand the interesting discussion which it has elicited from Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya. Having thus placed beyond controversy the genuineness of Somadeva's text of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa, we shall proceed to prove the priority of Candra to Pūjyapāda.

1st proof.

Pāṇini in the following sūtra

नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाच्चेः VII, 3, 34

Idem, pp. 56 and 57, foot-notes.

tells us that the form विश्रम alone is correct and not विश्राम. The Kāśikā says सूर्यविश्रामभूमिरित्येवमादिकं प्रयोगमन्याय्यमेव मन्यन्ते. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita calls such forms अपाणिनेय. Candrar, on the contrary, says

मः सेतो नावम्यमिकमाचमविश्रमः VI, 1, 42

that विश्राम alone is correct, but not विश्रम. Pūjyapāda, who had before him these conflicting statements of Pāṇini and Candrar, regards both forms, विश्रम and विश्राम as correct, and is followed by Śākatāyana and Hemacandra:—

विश्रमो वा V, 2, 41. Śābdārṇavacandrikā.

विश्रमो घञि IV, 1, 233. Śākatāyana, Amoghavṛtti.

विश्रमेर्वा IV, 3, 56. Hemacandra

2nd proof

Pāṇini sanctions the forms प्रजुः and सजुः

प्रसम्भ्यांजानुनोर्ज्ञैः V, 4, 129.

Candrar, on the contrary, says that प्रज्ञः and सज्ञः are correct.

संप्राज्जानुनोर्ज्ञैः IV, 4, 119.

Pūjyapāda regards all the four forms as correct and is followed by Śākatāyana and Hemacandra:—

संप्राज्जानुनोर्ज्ञैश्चैव IV, 2, 164 Śābdārṇavacandrikā, and Śvetāmbara recension.

संप्राज्जानुनोर्ज्ञैश्चैव II, 1, 222 Śākatāyana's Amoghavṛtti.

संप्राज्जानुनोर्ज्ञैश्चैव VII, 3, 155 Hemacandra.

3rd proof.

Pāṇini does not sanction पद्मनाम, ऊर्णनाम. The Kāśikā remarks तदेतत्सर्वमिह योगविभागं कृत्वा साधयन्ति Kāśikā (V, 4, 75)

Benares ed. Part II, p 120.

Candrar sanctions such words in the following Sūtra

नामेः IV, 4, 104.

Pūjyapāda improves upon it and is followed by Śākatāyana and Hemacandra thus.—

नामेः खौ IV, 2, 152 { Śābdārṇavacandrikā and Śvetāmbara
recension.

नामेर्नाम्नि II, 1, 195. Śākatāyana, Amoghavṛtti and Cintāmaṇi.

नामेर्नाम्नि VII, 3, 134. Hemacandra

This sūtra is thus explained.

नाभ्यन्ताद् बहुव्रीहेर्प् भवति नाम्नि संज्ञाविषये हिरण्यनाभः । पद्मनाभः
नाम्नीति किं । विकसितवारजिनाभिः ।

Cintāmaṇi.

4th proof.

Let us compare

परिमध्ये षष्ठ्या वा Pārini II, 1, 1. Candā II, 2, 11.

परिमध्येऽन्तस्तया Jainendra I, 3, 15.

परिमध्येऽन्तः षष्ठ्या Śakatāyana II, 1, 9.

परिमध्येऽन्तः षष्ठ्या वा Hemacandra III, 1, 30.

These four proofs will suffice to convince Sanskrit scholars that Candā lived before Pūjyapāda. I have proved that the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa belongs to the latter half of the fifth century A. D. when the twelve-year cycle was simultaneously used in Northern and Southern India, in the time of the Early Kadambas and their contemporaries, the early Guptas of the Imperial Dynasty. As Dr. Liebick has satisfactorily shown that the Candravṛtti was composed by Candragomin himself, the victory over the Hūṇas mentioned therein was the one gained by Skandagupta about A. D. 455. On these grounds we may conclude that Candragomin was contemporary with Skandagupta and that Pūjyapāda lived a few years later but before the end of the fifth century A. D.

SUBHACANDRA AND HIS PRAKRIT GRAMMAR

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

— X —

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It is not abnormal [in the lines of Jaina teachers that one and the same name¹ is borne by many authors belonging to different periods of time and as such, the students of Jaina Literature will have to be cautious in ascribing a particular work to a particular author. There have been many Jaina saints bearing the name Śubhacandra, and we have been able to list about eight Śubhacandras including the Prakrit grammarian with whom this paper is mainly concerned. We may note here the bare facts that we know about these various Śubhacandras.

(1) Śubhacandra, the author of Jñānārṇava. His work is very popular but very little is known about his spiritual genealogy. There is a tradition, recorded in the Bhaktāmaracarita of Viśvabhūṣaṇa, that Śubhacandra and Bhartṛhari were brothers .

1 There have been three or four Samantabhadras and about twenty Prabhācandras (See Manikchanda Granthamālā . (M. G. M.) vol. XXIV, Introduction).

and contemporaries of Bhoja and Muñja. Leaving aside this tradition, inconsistent as it is in portions, we should try to settle the date of Śubhacandra. In Jñānārṇava he pays respect to Samantabhadra (Circa second century A. C.) Devanandī (alias Pūjyapāda, about 500. A. C.) Bhaṭṭakalāṅka (Circa 8th century) and Jinasena (9th century A. C.) Then Āśādhara quotes some verses from Jñānārṇava in his Sk. Commentary on Iṣṭopadeśa of Pūjyapāda and this Commentary is composed before 1228. A. C. So Śubhacandra must have lived somewhere between Jinasena and Āśādhara.

(2) Śubhacandra¹ the Guru of Kulacandra. He was a contemporary of King Uddyotakesari of Orissa. He is mentioned in a cave inscription at Udayagiri. It is inferred that he belonged to the 10th century A. C. Pt. Jugalakishor holds that this Śubhacandra, in all probability is the same as author of Jñānārṇava.

(3) Śubhacandra Saiddhāntika² the disciple of Gaṇḍa-vimukta-maladhāri-deva. He died in Śaka 1045 (1123. A. C.) and a Niṣadyā in his memory was built by king Viṣṇuvardhana Poysala. Būcirāja³ also is his disciple who died in 1115 A. C. He is famous as the Guru of many male and female disciples whose Niṣadyā inscriptions are preserved at Śravaṇa Belgōla. His disciple Gaṅga-Camūpati⁴, who was a commander of the army of the Poysala King Viṣṇuvardhana, has built some Jaina temples and with reverence he mentions the name of Śubhacandra. Thus this Śubhacandra appears to have been very popular claiming many disciples from royal families; he caused many temples to be built and idols to be erected.

(4) Śubhacandra⁵ the pupil of Devakīrti. He is mentioned in an inscription of 1163. A. C.

(5) Śubhacandra⁶ the disciple of Rāmacandradeva. He died in Śaka 1235 (1313 A. C.) Padmanandī and Mādhavacandra were his disciples. He is known as Ādhyātmika-Śubhacandra.

(6) Śubhacandra⁷ the disciple of Māghanandī Vratī. He had two pupils Cārukīrti and Sāgaranandī.

1 See Archaeological S. I. Annual Report 1902-3 p. 40.

2 Epigraphica Carnatica II. Inscription Nos. 117, 125 &c.

3 EC. II. 126.

4 EC. II. 130, 74. and in many other inscriptions.

5 EC. II. 64.

6 EC. II. 65, 384 &c.

7 EC. II. 380; 471.

(7) Śubhacandra the successor of Padmanandisūri. His successor was Jinacandrasūri the teacher of Pt. Medhāvī who speaks of all these three in quite glorious terms in the Praśasti of his Dharma-Saṁgraha-Śrāvākācāra¹, which was completed in the year 1541 V. era (1484. A.C.). So this Śubhacandra might have flourished at the beginning of the 15th century.²

We are unaware of the literary activities of most of these Śubhacandras. There is a belief in some circles that the Prakrit grammarian is the same as the author of Jñānārṇava-only to show how groundless this understanding is, we had to enumerate all the known Śubhacandras. At the outset it may be said that the grammarian Śubhacandra is altogether different from these and a quite recent author as proved below.

Śubhacandra, the Prakrit grammarian, at the end of most of his works has given his spiritual genealogy, sometimes in short and sometimes at a full length. He belonged to Nandi-saṅgha, a sub section of Mūla-Saṅgha, and Balātkāragana. The genealogy begins from Kundakunda of venerable antiquity and runs as below :—

Kundakunda
|
Padmanandi
|
Sakalakīrti
|
Bhuvanakīrti
|
Jñānabhūṣaṇa
|
Vijayakīrti
|
Śubhacandra

Some of the predecessors of Śubhacandra were great writers. Traditionally Kundakunda is said to have composed eightyfour Pāhuḍas but only about a dozen of his works have come down to us. Some of them like Pravacanasāra and

1 Published by Jaina-Siddhanta-Pracharaka-Mandali. Benares 1910. The translator gives 1561. V. era which is a mistake. The chronogram in the Praśasti runs thus :—

‘ चन्द्राब्धिवाणैकमितेऽत्र वत्सरे ’

Verse No. 21.

2 The Saudatti Inscription of Śaka 902 mentions one more Śubhacandra, disciple of Bāhubali—thus he will be the eighth. See Journal B. B. R. A. S. X. p. 171 &c.

Samayasāra are big works while others like different Pāhuda are very short treatises. All his works are in Prakrit (Jaina Śauraseni). Kundakunda flourished about the beginning of the Christian era. We are not told how much time elapsed between Kundakunda and Padmanandī. Padmanandī was another name of Kundakunda but that is out of consideration here. There have been many Padmanandis¹ and the most popular one is the author of twentyfive small books of which Ekatva-Saptati is oft quoted. The problem of the date² of this author is very intricate; in all probability he flourished at the end of the twelfth century. It is possible that he is the same as our Padmanandī of the genealogy. Considering the gap between Padmanandī and Kundakunda there is scope for conjecture that the line of Śubhacandra began really from Padmanandī and only as a tradition they might have claimed descent from Kundakunda. Kundakunda was a Southerner while from Sakalakīrti onwards all of them have been Bhaṭṭarakas at Śākavāṭa (modern Sāgavāḍa) in Rajaputana. We think that Padmanandī perhaps was a Southerner and in all probability, he migrated into North and established the Paṭṭa at Sāgavāḍa. Then comes Sakalakīrti³ who is a voluminous writer. Not less than twenty-eight works are ascribed to him. Some of which are:—Mūlācāra-pradīpaka, Śrīpāla-carita, Yaśodhara-carita, Tattvārtha-Sāra-dīpaka⁴ etc. He is spoken as *Purāṇa-mukhyottama-śāstrakārī* and *Mahā-kavitvādi-kalāpraviṇaḥ*.⁵ Śubhacandra speaks of him in his Pāṇḍava-purāṇa,

कीर्तिः कृता येन च मर्त्यलोके
शास्त्रार्थकर्त्री सकला पवित्रा ॥

There are many works current in the name of Sakalakīrti and all of them should not be indiscriminately put in the fourteenth century as there was one more Sakalakīrti⁶ who flourished in the 19th century. We do not know any literary activities of

1 About six are mentioned in Śravana Belgola inscriptions. E. C. II.

2 We propose to take it in our paper on Nimba-Sāmanta.

3 We are aware that there appears to be an unusually longer period of time between Padmanandī and Sakalakīrti when we take into consideration that the latter is generally assigned to the end of the 14th century. But our words on the date and identification of Padmanandī are only tentative.

4 See. Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84; Peterson's Report. IV and Jaina Hitaishi vol. XII. p. 90.

5 See J. H. Vol. XII p. 90.

6 J. H. XII. p. 90

Bhuvanakīrti. Then Jñānabhūṣaṇa was a far famed author, who according to a Paṭṭāvalī¹ is said to have travelled all over India. Though he was occupying the Bhaṭṭāraka chair at Sāgavāḍa, it appears from the Paṭṭāvalī that he had many disciples in the south also. He is the author of Tattva-jñāna-taraṅgiṇī (completed in 1503. A. C.), Pañcāstikāyaṭikā, Nemi-nirvāṇa-kāvyatīkā and some other ritualistic works. In 1503 A. C. he had already vacated the pontifical chair in favour of Vijayakīrti² as pointed out by Pt. Premijī³. Then we pass on to Śubhacandra the grammarian.

We know very little about the personal history of Śubhacandra. It is quite unusual with Jain monks to leave a record of facts of their household life. Thus naturally we come to lose the names of their fortunate parents and what we possess about Śubhacandra is his spiritual genealogy which in short is given above. A Gurvāvalī is published in Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara IV where a line of about 103 teachers is glorified beginning with Gupti-gupta and ending with Padmanandī. In that line Śubhacandra is numbered as the 90th teacher and is glorified in brilliant terms. He was a Bhaṭṭāraka at Śākavāṭa, the Bhaṭṭārakaship of which place was subsidiary to that of Īḍara.⁴ Śākavāṭa as noted above is the same as modern Sāgavāḍa where at present there is no Bhaṭṭāraka chair : there are some Jaina families and a pretty Paṭhaśālā.

The huge number of books that have come down to us from Śubhacandra's pen testifies to his scholarship and wide learning. Śubhacandra is an all round literary enthusiast. He is said to have been well-versed in three lores—grammar, logic and metaphysics and a master of six languages.⁵ The following

1 Published in Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara IV.

2 शुभचन्द्राचार्यशुर्वावली (जै. सिं. भा. IV. प. 54) speaks of विजयकीर्ति in this manner.

विजयकीर्तियतिर्जितमत्सरो
विदितगोम्मतसारपरगमः ।
जयति तत्पद्मासतशासनो (?)
निखिलतार्किकतर्कविचारकः ॥

यः पूज्यो नृपमहिर्सेरवमहादेवेन्द्रमुख्यैर्नृपैः
षट्कर्तृगमशास्त्रकोविदमतिर्जाग्रदशस्त्रन्द्रमाः ।
भव्याम्भोरुहभास्करः शुभकरः संसाराविच्छेदकः
सोऽव्याच्छीविजयादिकीर्तिशुनिपो मदारकाधीश्वरः ॥

3 Introduction to M. G. M. Volume XXI.

4 Shri Pannalal Saraswati Bhavana Report IV. p. 87.

5 This title might have been given to him after he composed his Prakrit grammar.

extract from the *Pattāvali* tells us that he had mastered many works on Logic, Grammar, Metaphysics and Rhetorics. He wandered over various parts of the country, maintained a band of pupils, defeated in disputes many logicians and had an accurate knowledge of his religion as well as that of others. The passage, interesting as it is for the mention of many works studied by Śubhacandra, runs thus:—

“ तत्पट्टप्रकटचतुर्विधसङ्घसमुद्रोल्लासनचन्द्राणां, प्रमाणपरिक्षा¹-पत्रपरीक्षा²-
पुष्पपरीक्षा³-परीक्षामुख⁴ -प्रमाणनिर्णय⁵ -न्यायमकरन्द⁶-न्यायकुमुदचन्द्रोदय⁷-
न्यायविनिश्चयालंकार⁸ -श्लोकवार्तिक⁹ -राजवार्तिकालंकार¹⁰ -प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड¹¹-
आप्तमीमांसा¹²-अष्टसहस्री¹³चिन्तामणिमीमांसाविवरण-वाचस्पतिनित्यकौमुदप्रमुखक-
शतकं जैनेन्द्र-शाकटायनेन्द्र-पाणिनि-कलाप-काव्यस्पष्टविशिष्टसुप्रतिष्ठासुलक्षण-
विचक्षण-त्रैलोक्यसार¹⁴-गोमटसार¹⁴-लब्धिसार¹⁴-क्षपणसार¹⁴-त्रिलोकप्रज्ञप्ति¹⁵-
सुविज्ञप्ति¹⁶-अध्यात्माष्टसहस्री¹⁷-छन्दोऽलंकारादिशास्त्रसरित्प्रतिपारप्राप्तानां, शुद्धचिद्वृष-
चिन्तनविनाशिनिद्राणां, सर्वदेशविहारावाप्तानेकभद्राणां, विवेकविचारचातुर्वर्ग्याभिर्य-
धैर्यवैर्यगुणगणसमुद्राणां, उक्तशृपात्राणां, पालितानेकशश्छात्राणां, विहितानेकोत्तम-
पात्राणां सकल-विद्वज्जनसभाशोभितगात्राणां, गौडवादितमःसूर्य-कलिङ्गवादि-
जलदसदागति-कर्णाटवादिप्रथमवचनखण्डनसमर्थ-पूर्ववादिमतमातङ्गमृगेन्द्र-तौलववा-
दिविडम्बनावीर-गुर्जर-वादिसिन्धुकुम्भोद्भव-मालववादिमस्तकशूल-जितानेका सर्वगर्व-
त्राटनवज्राधाराणां ज्ञातसकलस्वसमयपरसमयशास्त्रार्थानां, अङ्गीकृतमहावतानाम-
भिनव-सार्थकनामधेय-श्रीशुभचन्द्राचार्याणाम् ॥ ”

Even a glance at the range of subjects covered by his books brings home to our mind the width of his comprehension and spontaneity of his zeal as an author. Some of his compositions especially on ritual might not be appreciated in the 20th

1-2 Of Vidyānanda

3 Perhaps lost to us.

4 Of Mānikyānandi

5 Of Vādirāja.

6 Perhaps lost to us

7 Of Prabhācandra—a com. on *Laghīyastrayam* of Akalaṅka

8 Of Vādirāja—a commentary on *Nyāyaviniścaya* of Akalaṅka.

9 Of Vidyānanda

10 Of Akalaṅka

11 Of Prabhācandra—a commentary on *Parīkṣāmukha* above

12 Of Samantabhadra

13 Of Vidyānanda

14 Of Nemicandra

15 Of Yati Viṣṇu

16-17 Perhaps lost to us

century. That only shows how Bhāṭṭarakas of the sixteenth century tried to keep intact the Jaina community, not so much by checking popular superstition and imitatory inclination of the mass but by accommodating them in a thorough Jaina colour. Certainly it was their weakness but the tide of time was too strong. Ritualistic festivities are always fascinating and it is no wonder if the general run of the mass attempts to find spiritual consolation even in rituals. Even the most orthodox Pandita will have to admit, he does so unawaringly when he says that the modern Jainas are not observing their ritualistic routine, that the Jaina rituals had grown to such an extent from 12th century onwards that even some of the best Jaina authors have composed treatises on rituals. Subhacandra is only a popular author like Sakalakīrti; his works are more of an explanatory and popular character than profound and original contributions.

In his Pāṇḍavapurāṇa, Subhacandra has given a list of works composed by him before 1608 V. era. (1551 A. C.) the year in which he completed his Pāṇḍavapurāṇa.¹ There he gives names of twentyseven works of which the following are Jaina purāṇas:—1 Candraprabha Carita, 2 Padmanābha Carita, 3 Pradyumna Carita, 4 Jivāṃdhara Carita, 5 Candanā Kathā, 6 Nāndīśvarī Kathā, 7 Pāṇḍavapurāṇa. Then the works on rituals are as below:—1 Trimśat-catur-vimśati-pūjā² 2 Siddhārcanaṃ, 3 Sarasvatīpūjā, 4 Cintāmaṇipūjā, 5 Karma-dahana-Vidhāna,³ 6 Gaṇadharavalaya-Vidhāna,⁴ 7 Palyopama Vidhāna, 8 Cāritra-suddhi-vratodyāpana, 9 Sarvatobhadra-vidhāna. Then the following are the commentaries:—1 Pārśvanātha-kāvya-pañjikā-ṭīkā, 2 Āśādhara-pūjāvṛttiḥ, 3 Svarūpa-sambodhana-Vṛttiḥ. 4 Adhyātma-padya-vṛttiḥ. Then there are some polemic and philosophical works:—1 Saṃśaya-vadana-vidāraṇa, 2 Apaśabda-khaṇḍana, 3 Tattva-nirṇaya, 4 Śaḍvāda. Then there is Aṅgaṇṇatti, a work in Prakrit giving a traditional survey of Jaina Literature; a Prakrit grammar called Cintāmaṇi and a collection of Stotras—we may put these three works under the miscellaneous group.

1 There is a Ms. of Pāṇḍavapurāṇa written in 1623 V. era.—only 15 years after its composition. See Sarasvatī Bhavana Report. Vol. II. p. 79.

2 There is another Tri. by Bhāṭṭaraka Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

3 We have seen many Mss. of Karma; but nowhere the name of the author is given.

4 There is another by Āśādhara

His literary activities did not terminate with the completion of Pāṇḍavapurāṇa as there are some works composed by him after 1551 A. C. He wrote his Karakaṇḍu Carita¹ in 1611, V. era. (1554. A. C.) and his Kārtikeyānuprekṣāṭikā² in 1613, V. era. (1556. A. C.). It is imaginable that he might have written some books even after 1556 A. C. Here we give names of a few works traditionally ascribed to Śubhacandra but which are not mentioned in his Praśasti of Pāṇḍavapurāṇa. Of these Samavaśaraṇapūjā³, Sahasranāma, and Vimāna-Śuddhī-Vidhāna come under ritualistic head; Samyaktva-Kaumudī Subhaṣitārṇava and Subhāṣita-Ratnāvalī under didactic while Tarka-Śāstra is a work on Logic. In only a few of his works Śubhacandra has given dates of their composition. So far as our knowledge of the limit of dates of his works is concerned Adhyātma-Taraṅgiṇī-tikā was composed in 1573, V. era. (1516 A. C.) and Kārtikeyānuprekṣā-ṭikā in 1613, V. era. (1556 A. C.). Thus Śubhacandra's literary activities extended over a period of more than forty years.

In the opening verses of some of his works Śubhacandra somehow manages to mention the name of Jñānabhūṣaṇa, after whom the pontifical chair was occupied by Vijayakīrti whom our Subhacandra succeeded. The fact that Subhacandra prefers the name of Jñānabhūṣaṇa to that of Vijayakīrti, his immediate predecessor, points to one thing, that Subhacandra might have spent some days at the feet of Jñānabhūṣaṇa and some of his lessons in Jaina scriptures he might have received from him. Pt. Premi⁴ has proved with epigraphical evidences that Jñānabhūṣaṇa was on the pontifical chair about the years 1534-36, V. era (1477-79, A. C.) and by the time of 1557-61, V. era (1500-4 A. C.) Vijayakīrti came to occupy the chair. One important fact that is to be noted here is that Jñānabhūṣaṇa was living even after he had given up the chair in favour of Vijayakīrti. Jñānabhūṣaṇa completed his Taraṅgiṇī⁵ in 1503 A. C.

1 द्वाष्टे विक्रमतः शते सम इते (?) चैकादशाब्दाधिके ।

भाद्रे मासि समुज्ज्वले युगतिथौ खल्लजवाच्छे पुरे ॥

श्रीमच्छ्रीवृषभेश्वरस्य सद्ने चक्रे चरित्रं लिदं ।

राज्ञः श्री शुभचन्द्रस्य रियतिपश्चमाधिपस्याद्भुतम् ॥

(a Ms. in Sholapur Jaina Boarding House)

2 श्रीमद्रिक्रमभूषतेः परिमिते वर्षे शते षोडशे, माघे मासे दशाग्रवह्निहस्ति

Jain Hitaishi XV, p. 336.

3 Some Mss. of these Pūjās seen by us do not mention at all the name of the author.

4 Introduction to M. G. M. vol. XXI. p. 13.

5 यदैव विक्रमातीताः शतपञ्चदशाधिकाः

षष्ठिसंवत्सरा जातास्तदैव निर्मिता कृतिः

Introduction to M. G. M. XXI. p. 13

Further Pt. Jugalakishore¹ has noted an evidence that a Ms. of Jñānārṇava written in 1575 V. era (1518 A. C.) was given as a gift to this Jñānabhūṣaṇa which goes to show that he lived as far as 1518 A. C. From these dates it is sufficiently clear that Jñānabhūṣaṇa and Śubhacandra must have been contemporaries for some time.

When Śubhacandra succeeded Vijayyakīrti is an important question but we have very little material with us to work out the details. In his Praśasti of Adhyātmatarāṅgiṇī² Śubhacandra speaks of himself only as a disciple of Vijayyakīrti and not as a Bhaṭṭāraka, so upto 1516 A. c. he was not a Bhaṭṭāraka but at the end of his Pāṇḍavapurāṇa he speaks of himself as having succeeded Vijayyakīrti and in the colophon he gives his title of Bhaṭṭāraka.³ So sometime between 1516-1551 A. C. he became Bhaṭṭāraka.

Before taking up the study of Śubhacandra's Prakrit grammar we would like to have a digression here as to whether there exists any Prakrit grammar written in Prakrit language. An important section of the Prakrit literature is covered by Prakrit grammars some of which belong to the early centuries of the Christian era and some of them are as late as 18th century. The most conspicuous feature of all Prakrit grammars is that they are unexceptionally written in Sanskrit. This phenomenon is a clear contrast against that of Pali grammars which are composed in Pali. There are many common features between Pali and Prakrit Literature. Then it is not much if we expect that there must have been some Prakrit grammars written in Prakrit like the Pali grammar of Kātyāyana. No such grammar is discovered as yet. But from the following quotations it appears that there might have been some such grammar.

i Haribhadra, in his commentary on Daśavaikālika Sūtra discussing about a case termination remarks *Prākṛta-Śāilyā Caturthyarthe Śaṣṭhi* and then quotes :—

‘छट्ठी विभक्तौ भण्ड चउत्थी ’

ii Then Malayagiri in his Commentary on Āvaśyaka-sūtra⁴ quotes ;—

‘ बहुवयणेन दुवयणं छट्ठी विभक्तौ भण्ड चउत्थी ।

जह हत्था तह पाया नमोत्थु देवाहिदेवाणं ॥’

1 See. J. H. vol. XII p. 89.

2 Sanatana Jaina Granthamala Vol. XV. p. 236.

3 Sarasvatī Bhavana Report Vol. II. p. 78.

4 P. 26 of Agamodaya Samiti Edition.

The first line contains two rules corresponding to VII. 63-64 of Vararuci and iii. 130-31 of Hemacandra and the second contains the illustrations.

iii The same author in his Commentary on Nandasūtra¹ remarks:—

सूत्रे षष्ठी प्रारुतलक्षणात् चतुर्थ्यर्थे वेदितव्या, उक्तं च,
“ छट्ठीविभक्तीए भण्णइ चउत्थी ”

In another context he quotes:—

‘ मनुवत्थम्मि मुणिज्जह आलं इल्लं मणं तह य. ’ ।

This also is a metrical line. In all probability Haribhadra and Malayagiri are quoting from some Prakrit grammar composed in verses. Trivikrama's Sūtras are metrical but they are in Sanskrit. It is essential that the Jaina libraries must be critically inspected and perhaps such a work would be discovered.

Śubhacandra's Prakrit grammar with his Commentary is known as Śabda-Cintāmāṇi and the phrase Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa² in the opening verse will have to be taken in its usual sense. The title Cintāmāṇi is not unprecedented in grammatic literature and it appears to have been suggested from the Cintāmāṇi-ṭīkā of Yaśasvarman on Śakaṭāyana's Śabdānuśāsana.

Śubhacandra's grammar like that of Trivikrama is divided into three chapters each in turn containing four Pādas. The total number of Sūtras is 1224 as against 1085 of Trivikrama.³ Of these, 998 Sūtras are devoted to the treatment of Māhārāṣṭrī including Dhātvādeśas; 26 to Śaurasenī; 18 to Māgadhi; 21 to Paisācī; 4 to Cūlikā Paisācī and 157 to Apabhraṃśa. Prakrit grammars are of little practical value unaccompanied by a commentary. So Śubhacandra has his own Vṛtti. Sūtras too are his compositions and not like Lakṣmīdhara and others he has commented on the Sūtras of others.

Dr. Hoernle had published a query in Indian Antiquary (II. 29) to know whether there existed any other Mss. of Śubhacandra's grammar beside the one he had come across. His Ms. contained only two chapters and the concluding colophon at the end of the second chapter led him to believe that the Ms. he had discovered was complete. He added a few general remarks and

1 Page 43 Agamodaya Edition.

2 See appendix, B.

3 The number of Sūtras in each pāda and adhyāya can be seen below in the analysis.

the opening Samjñā Sūtras, he considered to be an unique feature in this work ¹

We give below a general analysis of Śubhacandra's work which would indicate the nature of contents and the method of treatment.

I. i. Sūtras 1-55.

1-2 Introductory; 3-14 Explanation of the terminology adopted in the work; 15-16 Prakrit and its varieties; 17-18 An *adhikāra* Sūtra and the interchange of vowels in compounds; 19-23 *Samdhi* rules; 24-39 changes of final consonants; 40-47 Rules about nasal insertion and elision; 48-53 Rules about Genders in Prakrit; 54-55 Change of Visarga &c.

I. ii. Sūtras 1-127.

1 An *adhikāra* Sūtra; 2-5 Loss of initial vowel; 6-20 various vowel changes of *a*; 21-39. various vowel changes of *ā*; ² 40-53. of *ī*; 54-61.-of *ī*; 62-70.-of *u*; 71-78.-of *u*. 79-97.-of *ṛ* (with exceptions etc.); 98.-of *ṛ*; 99-100.-of *e*; 101-107.-of *ai*; 108-12.-of *o*; 113-15.-of *au*; 116-17 a general rule about *ai* and *au* with exceptions; 118-27 some contraction and substitutes.

I. iii. Sūtras 1-148.

1-2. General rules as to the dropping of intervocalic consonants; 3. Nasalisation of *m*; 4. Exception about *p*; 5. Yaśruti; 6-16. Changes of gutturals etc.; 17-18. Changes of palatals; 19-27. Changes of cerebrals; 28-50. Changes of dentals; 51-64. Changes of labials; 65-82. Changes of *y*, *r*, *l*, and *v*; 83-88 General rule about sibilants with exception; 89-92 Loss of medial consonants; 93-148 Prakrit equivalents of some Skr. words.

I. iv. Sūtras 1-127

Treatment of Conjuncts. 1 Conjuncts that change to *k*. 2-7 Conjuncts that change to *kh*; 8-11—to *ṭh*, and *th* with exceptions; 12.—to *g* or *ṅg*; 13-16—to *c* etc; 17-22.—to *ch*; 23-24—to *j* or *ñj*; 25-28—to *jh*; 29-30. Conjuncts that change to *ṭ*; 31-32.—to *ṇṭ* etc; 33-34 to *ḍ* 35.—to *ṇḍ*; 36-39,—to *ḍh*; 39-40.—to *ṇ*; 41-44.—to *th*; 45-47 Conjuncts that change to *p*; 48-50.—to *ph*; 51-54.—to *bh* etc.; 55-57.—to *m*. etc; 58-62. Conjuncts that change to *r* and the forms of *āścarya*: 63-64.—to *l*; 65.—to *ss*; 66-69.—to *h*; 70. Some

¹ Sanatana Jaina Grantha-Mala of Calcutta once intended to publish this work, so also the M. G. M. of Bombay; the latter however has not given up the idea as yet.

² Some times the Sūtras are not in order: and this is how Śubhacandra has followed Trivikrama without any discrimination. Want of order in some places in T's grammar is due to the metrical nature of his Sūtras.

48 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

individual cases; 71-75. Conjuncts that change to *lh mh nh*; 76-78. Some special cases; 79-87. Loss of a particular member in a conjunct generalised and some exceptions given; 88-98. Doubling of consonants with exceptions; 99-114. Anaptyxis or simplification of conjuncts by inserting some vowel between the two members of a conjunct; 115-126. Cases of metathesis; 127. Notable irregularities collected.

II. i Sūtras 1-79.

1-31. Treatment of changes which the *taddhita* suffixes undergo in Prakrit; 32-79. *Avyaya* section.

II ii Sūtras 1-95.

Declensions. 1-10. General rules giving terminations. 11-20. Additional rules for nouns ending in *a*; 21-28. Additional rules for nouns ending in *i* and *u*; 29-30. Nom. and Acc. of neuter nouns ending in *a*, *i* and *u*; 31-42. Feminine nouns; 43-54. Nouns ending in *ṛ*; 55-63. Nouns ending in consonants *rājan* and *Ātman*; 64-95. Pronouns.

II. iii. Sūtras 1-51.

1-14. Declension of *yusmat*; 15-29—of *asmat*; 30-34. Numerals; 35-45 substitution of cases; 46-51. A few general rules.

II. iv. Sūtras 1-128.

Conjugation. 1-10. Present tense terminations; 11-13.5as; 14-19. Causal; 20-25. Some *vikaraṇa* changes; 26-27. Passive 28-30. Past; 31. Potential; 32-40. Future; 41-44 Imperative; 45-46. Some special forms generalised; 47-50 Participles; 51-70. verbal changes before certain terminations; 71-78. General rules about vowel changes; 79-90 verbal changes; 91-128. *Dhātuvādeśas*.

III. i. Sūtras 1-175.

1-175. *Dhātuvādeśas* continued

III. ii. Sūtras 1-39.

1-12. *Dhātuvādeśas* continued; 13. A general rule about prepositions. ŚAURASENĪ. 14-21. Phonetic changes; 22-24 and 36. Declensions. 25. An exception. 26-27. Some verbal forms. 28-35. *avyayas*. 37-38 Conjugations. 39. A general rule.

III. iii. Sūtras 1-43.

MĀGADHĪ. 1-4. Declensions, 5-16, Phonetics; 17. A general rule. PAISĀCĪ. 18-27. Phonetic changes. 28. A special rule; 29-33. Declensions; 34-37. Conjugation; 38-39. General rules. CŪLIKA PAISĀCĪ 40-41. Phonetic changes; 42. An opinion of others; 43. A general rule.

III. iv. Sūtras 1-157.

APABHRAMŚA. 1-7 General phonetic changes; 8-17 Equivalentents of some Sk. words and other processes. 18-19 Absolutive; 20-21. Infinitive; 22-85. Equivalentents of *iva* etc. and other *ādeśas*; 86. Gender, 87-112. Declensions; 113-140 Pronouns; 141-147. Conjugation; 148-54. *Dhātuvādeśas* 155-157 General rules.

Trivikrama tells that his grammar is based on that of Hemacandra and others¹. Lakṣmidhara speaks of Hemacandra, Trivikrama and Bhāmaha² as his authority. Śubhacandra does not mention any of his sources by name but he suggests that he has consulted many Prakrit grammars in composing his *Cintāmaṇi* when he says,³ 'Lakṣanābdhiṃ vi-gāhya vai'.

And it is necessary to see as to who might have been his main sources. Śubhacandra's Prakrit grammar is closely related with those of Hemacandra and Trivikrama. Hemacandra's grammar has always proved a milch-cow for later Prakrit grammarians and it is no wonder if Śubhacandra too has freely drawn on that source.

Though Trivikrama (T) closely follows Hemacandra (H) still his grammar is a decided improvement on that of H⁴ sometimes he changes the order of Sūtras, to some extent to suit the metrical form of his Sūtra-pāṭha. He introduces a convenient and concise terminology. In the commentary he gives more explanation and additional examples besides those given by H. and in all cases he supplies the Skr. renderings. Trivikrama has some independent Sūtras—no doubt sometimes the material for these Sūtras is present there in the commentary of H.⁵ T. gives a list of Deśi words in his grammar⁶ while this section forms an independent book of H.

1 प्राकृतरूपानि यथा प्राच्यैराहेमचन्द्रमाचार्यैः ।

विवृतानि तथा तानि प्रतिविस्वन्तिह सर्वाणि ॥ p. 3. Vizagapatam edition.

2 Introductory verses Nos. 16 & 22 of *Ṣaḍbhāṣa Candrikā* (B. S. S.)

3 See appendix. B. No. 5 of *Prasasti*.

4 For a detailed comparison of the grammars of H. and T, see, Dr. T. K. Laddu's 'Introduction to Trivikrama's Prakrit grammar' translated into English from German, in the *Annals B. O. R. I.* Vol. X. iii-iv p. 206.

5 For instance I. iii. 14, 77; I. iv. 83, 107 and some other sūtras of T. are not traced in the Sūtrapāṭha of H. But however the material for these sūtras is present in H's commentary. See. H. I, 177; 254; I. 79 and II. 113 respectively.

6 I. iv 121.

Śubhacandra has many Sūtras common with H. To Hemacandra's material Śubhacandra makes very little substantial addition.¹ Śubhacandra generally follows the style of H. In his commentary and in many places even the wording is the same. In many cases Śubhacandra does not give the Skr. rendering of Prakrit portions and here he is in close agreement with H. Full quotations are not given by Śubhacandra as it is done by H², but he gives only that much portion which serves the purpose of illustration of a particular Sūtra—this is so even in Apabhraṃśa section. There are places where Śubhacandra appears to make some additions to H³ but all these additions are found in T. almost verbally.

Śubhacandra closely follows the order of T's sūtrapāṭha,⁴ the larger number of the Śubhacandra's sūtras can be explained away by pointing to that fact that Śubhacandra composes independent sūtras⁵ for matter which is included in the commentary by T. Following T. he came to have an independent terminology and it is this separate terminology⁶ that gives a different colouring to his sūtras. His pose of independence does not extend beyond the change of the order of words in a sūtra. T. always gives the Skr. rendering while Śubhacandra is very scarce in this function. Śubhacandra's Apabhraṃśa section is very poor as the quotations are not fully given. The exhaustive nature of T's commentary has not been maintained by Śubhacandra.

1 See appendix A where a complete section of Śubhacandra's grammar is given with the Sūtrapāṭha of H. and T. in footnotes which will help the readers to compare the different Sūtrapāṭhas.

2 For instance Śubhacandra has III. iii. 40 thus:—

चूलिकापेशाच्यां रो लः ।

Then follows the commentary चूलिकापेशाचिके रस्य लो वा भवति, गोलीचलन, हलं मूलाया. This might be compared with H. IV. 326 where he gives two full quotations from which Ś. selects a few words where *r* is changed to *l*.

3 There are many such sūtras which are not found in the Sūtrapāṭha of H. : but all these sūtras have their counter parts in T.—sometimes with slight changes, for instance Śubhacandra's सपाशिषः is not found in H's sūtras; with T. the sūtra is सपाशिषि I. i. 33—however the material for this sūtra is found in H. under. II. 174.

4 That is clear from appendix A.

5 After the sūtra गेणाचः I. iii. 104. Śubhacandra has 44 sūtras which are not found in the Sūtrapāṭha of T. but the material of all these sūtras is drawn from the commentary on गेणाचः I. iii. 105. of Trivikrama. There are some such other places.

6 See Appendix C.

From the above comparison it is quite clear that Śubhacandra has mechanically followed H. and T. and as such he has made very little contribution to the advancement of Prakritic studies. The independence of Śubhacandra's grammar if it can be called so consists mainly in changing the wordings of Sūtras¹, sometimes in changing the order, combining two sūtras into one², and in composing sūtras based on the matter that was included in the commentary by H. and T. Additional illustrations as such there are none.

When we first took up Śubhacandra's grammar for study we had high hopes that Śubhacandra might give us some peculiar forms of what Dr. Pischel calls Jaina Śauraseni. Certainly our expectations were justified since Śubhacandra, as a Digambara Bhaṭṭāraka, was expected to have studied all the works of Kundakunda, Devasena, Nemicaṇḍa³ and other Digambara Prakrit writers. He has himself written a Sk. commentary on Kārtikeyānupreksā, a typical work in Jaina Śauraseni—however we are aware that he wrote this commentary after his completion of Cītnāmaṇi grammar. But our expectations are hardly fulfilled. If Śubhacandra desired to import something new, something original in his work there was every possible scope for him by way of adding fresh illustrations from Digambara Prakrit Literature which was practically left untouched by H.⁴ and only in portions utilized by T.⁵ He himself is the author of a Prakrit work called Aṅgapannatti⁶ as the text appears to be printed from a single Ms. one hesitates to pass any remarks on its dialect. As it stands it shares the characteristics of both Mahārāṣṭrī and Śauraseni. According to

1 T. has स्वभादाविल् I. II. ii; in its place Ś. has इल् व्यजनदे:—this is no change at all since *Vyajana* and *Svapna* belong to one and the same class which contains some ten words that change their first *a* to *i*.

2 For instance in अन्त्यव्यञ्जनस्याश्रदुदो: I. i. 25. Śubhacandra combines two sūtras of H. अन्त्यव्यञ्जनस्य I. II. and न श्रदुदो: I. 12.

3 We do find the works of Nemicaṇḍa mentioned in the list of books studied by Śubhacandra.—See ante.

4 However in his treatment of Apabhraṃśa he has used the Para. mappā-payāsu of Joindu. See. Annals B. O. R. I. Vol. XII. ii p. 159.

5 श्रीवीरसेनजिनसेनार्यदिवचःपर्येषिपूराकातिचित् ।

प्राकृतपदरत्नानि प्राकृतकृतिसुकृतिवृषणाय चिनोति ॥

In this verse he suggests that he has consulted and used the Prakrit works of Virasena and Jinasena, which, so far as our knowledge of Jaina Literature goes, might be none else than धवला & जयधवला Prakrit commentaries on Siddhanta Sūtras.

6 Published in M. G. M. Vol. XXI.

our conjecture this *Angapannatti* is composed later than the grammar only as an exercise to test his knowledge of Prakrit grammar.¹

We can look at Śubhacandra's workmanship from another point of view. In many cases his Sūtras are more convenient and concise in form—an improvement on H. and T. too—because of the special terminology invented by him. His Sūtras will always find favour with students of Sāstric method of learning who prefer short Sūtras for memorising.

We have settled the period when Śubhacandra flourished and now it remains to see when he composed his *Cintāmaṇi* grammar. In the colophon of his Prakrit grammar he speaks of himself as भट्टारकश्रीविजयकोटिपट्टप्रकटनत्रैविद्यविद्याविशदभट्टारकश्रीशुभचन्द्रविरचितायाम् indicating thereby, that he was occupying the Bhaṭṭāraka chair when he wrote the grammar. As to some limit of his Bhaṭṭāraka period we have remarked above that he was not on the chair in 1516 A. C. and he has composed this grammar before 1551 A. C. when the Pāṇḍava-purāṇa was composed and in whose Praśasti he mentions his grammar *Cintāmaṇi*. Thus his grammar was written somewhere between 1516 A.C. and 1551 A.C. It is essential to settle the date more definitely, but, for want of material, we leave the point to better equipped scholars.

There is another Prakrit grammar, *Audārya Cintāmaṇi* by name, composed by Śrutasāgara whose date is not quite definitely settled.² Dr. Bhandarkar³ refers his literary activities to about the year 1494 A. C. Peterson⁴ and following him Dr Vidyabhushana⁵ have adopted the same view. Dr. Bhandarkar's date, though practically admissible requires further ratification in the light of isolated dates about the contemporaries of Śrutasāgara. Similarity in names of the grammars of Śubhacandra and Śrutasāgara, one calling his grammar *Cintāmaṇi* and the other *Audārya Cintāmaṇi*, raises a question as to the mutual relation of these two works. It would not be reasonable to pass any superficial remarks on the posteriority or priority of one or the other when we do not know the dates of their compositions

1 तत्पय-सवण-सतो तेविज्जो उहय-भासा-परिवेइ ।
सुहचदो तेण इणं रइयं सत्थं समासेण ॥

Angapannatti 52.

The title *Uhaya-bhāsa-pariveś* is fitting only after his composition of a Prakrit grammar.

2 Introduction to M. G. M. XVII

3 Report on Search for Skr. Mss. 1883-84

4 IV. Report.

5 Indian Logic p. 285

definitely. We compared the Sūtrapāṭha¹ of Śrutasāgara, with that of Subhacandra but we do not find any striking similarities. Śrutasāgara's Sūtrapāṭha is nearer to that of Hemacandra and there are a few traces of Trivikrama's influence. Some definite conclusion can be arrived at after comparing the commentary of Śrutasāgara with those of Hemacandra, Trivikrama and Śubhacandra. Unfortunately Śrutasāgara's commentary is not within our reach. Mss. of Audārya Cintāmaṇi appear to be very rare,² and there is one at Karanja.³ (Sena Gana Jaina Mandira). S. P. V. Ranganatha Svami considered Śrutasāgara's work to be more extensive and explanatory than those of Hemacandra and Trivikrama. But Rao Bahadur K. P. Trivedi⁴ questions the superiority of Śrutasāgara's Sūtras. Śrutasāgara's grammar has six chapters and one peculiar point about his Sūtras is that he has not used any special *Samjñās* like Trivikrama and Śubhacandra. Śrutasāgara in his commentary on Ṣaṭpāhuda⁵ quotes his own Sūtras.

In preparing this paper we have used two Mss. of Śubhacandra's grammar. One is complete, belonging to Pt. Appashastry Udagaonkar, beautifully copied by himself from some (?) North Indian Ms. Excepting some Prakrit portions the Ms. is tolerably correct and Panditji has put some cross references in foot notes. This Ms. has been our main guide. The other is incomplete. It is the press copy, prepared from Idar Ms. for publication in the Sanatana Jaina Granthamala. It contains many scribal mistakes. Portions of the first Adhyāya from this Ms. have been very beautifully recopied by Pt. Becharadas, the learned Prakritist of Gujarat Vidyapitha. The whole Ms. (presscopy) is finished with footnotes giving mainly the Skr. shade of Prakrit words. I got it from my friend Pt. Nathuram Premi of Bombay. I am very grateful to both Pts. Appashastry and Premiji who sent their Mss. so readily for my study.

I am very thankful to Pt. Jugalakishore but for whose kindly suggestions and references I could not have made this paper so exhaustive. Lastly I wish to record my thanks to my pupil Mr. A. M. Ghatage who prepared for me the alphabetical index of Śubhacandra's Sūtras.

1 Of first three chapters only, printed in Vizagapattam

2 See Jaina Hitaishi XV p. 154.

3 No. 7054 Catalogue of Skr. and Pkr. Mss. in the C. P. & Berar.

4 Ṣaḍbhāṣā-Candrikā, Introduction p. 7 footnote (B. S. S. LXXI)

5 M. G. M. Vol. XVII.

APPENDIX A.

III¹. ii.

14 अथ² शौरसेन्यां तस्याक्तेर्दोऽनादौ ।

शौरसेन्यामनादेरसंयुक्तस्य स्वरात्परस्य तस्य दो भवति, माणुसादौ, द्वादो,
एदाआ । अक्तेरिति किं ? मत्तो, गच्छन्ति । अनादौ किं ? तथा, तस्स ॥ १४ ॥

15 क्वाप्यधः³ ।

शौरसेन्यां वर्णान्तरस्याधो वर्तमानस्य तस्य दो भवति, क्वचिच्छरणानुरोधात्;
अंतेउरं, अंदेउरं । निश्चिन्तः=निश्चिन्तो, निश्चिंदो । महान्=महंतो, महंदो ॥ १५ ॥

16 वा⁴ तावत्यादौ ।

शौरसेन्यां तावच्छब्दस्यादेस्तस्य दो वाऽस्ति; दाव, ताव ॥ १६ ॥

17 थो⁵ धः ।

शौरसेन्यामक्तेरनादेस्थस्य धो वाऽस्ति; राजपधो, राजपहो । नाथः = णाहो,
णाधो । कथयति = कहेदि, कधेदि । कथं = कहं, कधं । अनादौ किं ? थेओ, थामं ।
अक्तेः किं ? सत्थो तित्थं, रित्थं ॥ १७ ॥

18 ह⁶ इह-हचोः ।

शौरसेन्यां ' इह-इचोः ' हस्य धो वाऽस्ति; इह, इध । होह, होध । परितायह,
परितायध = परित्रायध्वे परित्रायेथे वा ॥ १८ ॥

19 भो⁷ भुवः ।

शौरसेन्यां भुवो हस्य भो वाऽस्ति; होदि, भोदि । हुवादि, भुवादि । हवादि, भवादि
॥ १९ ॥

20 अन्त्याद्योति⁸ मो णः ।

शौरसेन्यामन्त्यादकारात्परस्य मस्य णो वा भवति इकारे एकारे च परे । युक्त-
मिदं = जुत्ताणिमं, जुत्तामिणं । सदृशमिदं = सरिसणिमं, सरिसमिणं । किमिदं = किगेदं
किमेदं । एवमिदं = एवणेदं, एवमेदं ॥ २० ॥

1 Here we have given below for comprison parallel sūtras from the grammars of Hemacandra (H.) and Trivikrama (T.)

2 H. तो दोऽनादौ शौरसेन्यामयुक्तस्य IV. 260.

T. दस्तस्य शौरसेन्यामखावचोस्तोः III. ii. 1.

3 H. अधः क्वचित् IV. 261; T. संयोगेऽधः क्वचित् III. ii. 2.

4 H. वादेस्तावति IV. 262; T. तवति स्वेर्वा. III. ii. 3 (खु According to T. means आदि.)

5 H. थो धः IV. 267; T. थो धः ii. 4.

6 H. इहहचोर्हस्य. 268; T. इहहचोर्हस्य. ii. 5.

7 H. भुवो भः 269; T. भुवो भः ii. 6.

8 H. मोन्याण्णो वेदेतोः 279 while T. has अन्त्यादिदेति मोणः ii. 7.

21 यो¹ व्यः ।

शौरसेन्यां यस्य व्यो भवति; अय्यउत्त, अज्जपुत्तो । पय्याउलो, पज्जाउलो
मुट्यो, मुज्जो । कय्यपरवसो, कज्जपरवसो ।

22 धाविनो² नस्याः ।

शौरसेन्यां इनो नकारस्य आ वा भवति संबुद्धौ परे; भोस्तपस्विन् = भो तव-
स्सिआ, भो तवस्सि । भो मणस्सिआ, भो मणस्सि । हे सुस्सिन् = हे सुहिआ, हे सुहि ।
भोः कञ्चुकिन् — भो कञ्चुइआ, भो कञ्चुइ ॥ २२ ॥

23 मः³ ।

शौरसेन्यां संबुद्धौ नस्य मो वाऽस्ति; भो सुकम्मं, भो सुकम्म । भगवन् = भय-
वं । भो रायं । पक्षे, अंतेआरि ॥ २३ ॥

24 भवद्भगवन्मघवत्तश्च⁴ ।

शौरसेन्यां भवदादीनां सौ परे नस्य मो भवति, एत्थभवं हिदएण चित्तिदि ।
एतु भवान् = एदु भवं । जिनो भगवान् = जिणो भयवं । मघवं पागसासणो । चकारः
संवाधननिवृत्त्यर्थः ॥ २४ ॥

25 पुरवः⁵ पूर्वस्य वा ।

शौरसेन्यां पूर्वस्य पुरवो वाऽस्ति, अपुरवागदं, अपुब्वागदं ॥ २५ ॥

26 क्वो⁶ दूणेयौ ।

शौरसेन्यां क्त्वाप्रत्ययस्य दूण-इयौ वा स्तः, पढिदूण, पढिय । भोदूण, भविय
होदूण, हविय । पक्षे, भोत्ता, पढित्ता, रंता रंदूण, रमिय ॥ २६ ॥

27 कृ-गमो⁷ डडुअः ।

शौरसेन्यां कृ-गमोः क्वा-प्रत्ययस्य डडुओ वाऽस्ति, कडुअ, करिदूण, करिय ।
गडुअ, गच्छिदूण, गच्छिय ॥ २७ ॥

28 दाणिमिदानीं⁸ प्राकृते च ।

शौरसेन्यां प्राकृते च इदानीमः दाणिं भवति, दाणिं भणादि । प्राकृते, धम्मं
दाणिं भणामि ॥ २८ ॥

29 तस्मात्ता⁹ ।

शौरसेन्यां तस्मात्ता भवति, ता अलं । ता जाओ ॥ २९ ॥

1 H. न वा यो व्यः 266; T. यो व्यः ii. 8.

2 H. आ आमन्त्रे सौ वेनो नः 263. T. आत् सवामन्त्रे इनो नः ii. 21.

3 H. मो वा 264; T. मः ii. 22.

4 H. भवद्भगवतोः, 265; T. भवताम् ii. 23.

5 H. पूर्वस्य पुरवः, 270; T. पूर्वस्य पुरवः ii. 9.

6 H. क्व इय-दूणो, 271; T. इयदूणौ क्वः ii. 10.

7 H. कृ-गमो डडुअः, 272; T. कृ-गमो डडुअः ii. 11.

8 H. इदानीमो दाणिं. 277; T. इदानीमिह दाणिं ii. 12.

9 H. तस्मात्ताः, 278; T. तस्मात्ता ii. 13.

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30 णं¹ नन्वर्थे ।

शौरसेन्यां नन्वर्थे णं निपात्यते, णं भवं मे अगगदो चलदि । णं अफलोदयो भागवदो धम्मो । वाक्यालंकारे च, यदा ननु = जया णं । तदा ननु = तथा णं । णमोत्थु णं णिगंधाणं ॥ ३० ॥

31 हर्षेऽम्महे² ।

शौरसेन्यां हर्षेऽर्थे अम्महे निपात्यते ॥ ३१ ॥

32 विदूषके³ च हीही ।

विदूषके आनन्दे च हीही प्रयोज्यः, हीही भो संपन्ना दे मणोरधा ॥ ३२ ॥

33 विस्मय⁴ -निर्वेदयोर्हीमाणहे ।

शौरसेन्यां निर्वेदे विस्मये च हीमाणहे निपात्यः । निर्वेदे, हीमाणहे पलिस्संता विस्मये, हीमाणहे सदोसो वि देवो ।

34 य्येवैवार्थे⁵ ।

शौरसेन्यामेवार्थं य्येव प्रयोज्यः, सो य्येव एसो । मम य्येव मणस्स ॥ ३४ ॥

35 हंजे दास्याह्वा⁶ने ।

शौरसेन्यां दास्यामन्त्रणे हंजे निपात्यः, हंजे दुरुदिदे ॥ ३५ ॥

36 डसेरात्⁷ दुदोप् ।

शौरसेन्यां अकारान्तात्परस्य डसेर्दुप् दोप् स्याताम् । पिच्चात्पूर्वस्य दीर्घः, धम्मादु, धम्मादो ॥ ३६ ॥

37 स्सिर्भविष्यति⁸ ।

शौरसेन्यां भविष्यत्यर्थे प्रत्यये परे स्सिर्भवति, भविस्सिदि, करिस्सिदि, गच्छिस्सिदि हि-हा-स्सानामपवादः । होस्सिमि, होस्सिम, होस्सिमो, होस्सिमु ॥ ३७ ॥

38 दद् इचेचो⁹ ।

तिबादीनामिच् एच् स्थाने दडागमो भवति । टित्त्वादादौ । गच्छदि गच्छदे, रमादि रमदे, हसदि हसदे; अच्छदि अच्छदे, होदि मोदि, उच्चदि ।

1 H. णं नन्वर्थे 283; T. णं नन्वर्थे ii. 14.

2 H. अम्हहे हर्षे, 284; T. अम्हहे हर्षे ii. 15.

3 H. हीही विदूषकस्य, 285; T. हीही विदूषके ii. 16.

4 H. ही प्राणहे विस्मय-निर्वेदे, 282. T. हीमाणहे निर्वेदविस्मये ii. 17.

5 H. एवार्थे य्येव 280; T. एवार्थे य्येव (V. L. एव) ii. 18.

6 H. हंजे चेद्याह्वा⁶ने, 281. T. हंजे चेद्याह्वा⁶ने ii. 19.

दुष्टं उदितं वचनं यस्याः सा

7 H. अतो डसेडादो-डाद्. 276; T. अतो डसेर्दुदोश् ii. 20.

8 H. भविष्यति स्सिः 275. T. भविष्यति स्सि ii. 24.

9 H. दिरिचेचोः 273; T. इजेचोर्दद् ii. 25.

39 प्राकृतवच्छेषम्¹ ।

इह शौरसेन्यां यत्कार्यमुक्तं ततोऽन्यत् प्राकृतवद्भवति, अंदावेदी, जुवदिजणो, मणसिला । मेऽन्योन्यं दिहौ (I. i. 18.) इत्यारभ्य शौरसेन्यां तस्याक्तेर्दोऽनादौ (III. ii. 14) इति पर्यन्तं लक्ष्यानुसारेण कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

इति श्रीत्रैविद्यविद्याविशदभट्टारकश्रीशुभचन्द्रविरचितायां स्वोपज्ञशब्दचिन्ता-
मणिवृत्तौ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयापादः ।

APPENDIX. B.

The opening verse of Subhacandra's grammar:—

श्री ज्ञानभूषणं देवं परमात्मानमव्ययम् ।

प्रणम्य बालसद्बुद्धे वक्ष्ये प्राकृतलक्षणम् ॥

* * * *

The Prasasti and the colophon at the end:—

अथ ग्रन्थकर्तुः प्रशस्तिः

श्रीमूलसङ्घे शिवसाधुसङ्घे

श्रीकुन्दकुन्दान्वयपद्मसूर्यः ।

निरस्तमोहः सकलादिकीर्तिः

जीयात्सदा श्रीभुवनादिकीर्तिः ॥ १ ॥

तत्पट्टपद्ये रविषद्विभाति

विभासुरो भोगभवारिभेदी ।

श्रीज्ञानभूषो नरलोकलोकेयो

लोकाग्रलोकोत्तमलोकनेच्छः ॥ २ ॥

विजयकीर्तिपतिर्जगतां गुरुः

गरिमगीर्गदिताङ्गिणो गणी ।

गिरति गां गुणिनो गतयेऽग्रणीः

सुगुरुणा रविगुः समगुः समः ॥ ३ ॥

षट्कर्तृचञ्चुचरणोद्धतवादिमत्त-

मातङ्गकुम्भमदभेदनपञ्चतुण्डः ।

श्रीमच्छुभेन्दुगणपो गुणगेयकीर्ति-

श्रिन्तामणिं विशदशब्दमयं चकार ॥ ४ ॥

शुभचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रेण लक्षणाब्धिं विगाह्य वै ।

प्राकृतं लक्षणं चक्रे शब्दचिन्तामणिः स्फुटम् ॥ ५ ॥

1. H. शेषे प्राकृतवत् 286. T. शेषे प्राकृतवद् 1i. 26.

शब्दचिन्तामणिं धीमान् योऽध्येति धृतिसिद्धये ।
प्राकृतानां सुशब्दानां पारं याति सुनिश्चितम् ॥ ६ ॥

प्राकृतं लक्षणं रम्यं शुभचन्द्रेण भाषितम् ।
योऽध्येति वै सुशब्दार्थधनराजो भवेन्नरः ॥ ७ ॥

इति श्रीमुमुक्षुभट्टारकश्रीज्ञानभूषणपट्टोदयाचलद्युमानिसकलतार्किकचूडामणि-
भट्टारकश्रीविजयकीर्तिपट्टप्रकटनत्रैविद्यविद्याविशदभट्टारकश्रीशुभचन्द्रविरचितायां स्वो-
पज्ञशब्दचिन्तामणिवृत्तौ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

* * * *

A verse at the close of III. iii

भाषापञ्चकसद्वाख्या शुभचन्द्रेण सूरिणा ।
शब्दचिन्तामणौ नूनं विहिता शब्दसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

* * * *

A Verse at the end of III. iv.

यदुक्तं सूत्रतन्त्रेस्मिन् शब्दचिन्तामणौ स्फुटम् ।
विचार्य बुद्धिसंस्थेयै शुभचन्द्रेण सूरिणा ॥ २ ॥

APPENDIX C.

Opening Sūtras of Śubhacandra's grammar: Sūtras giving terminology of abbreviations are included here.

I i.

१ सिद्धिः शेषस्य लोकात् । २ अनुक्तं संस्कृतलक्षणवत् । ३ आद्योऽन्त्येन संज्ञा ।
४ सः समानः । ५ ह्रस्वो हः । ६ दीर्घो दिः । ७ श-ष्-त्ताः सिः । ८ स्वः सवर्णः ।
९ मः समासः । १० द्वितीयो द्विः । ११ संयुक्तं किः । १२ लिति प्रायो न विकल्पः ।
१३ पिति दीर्घः । १४ डित् सानुनासिकम् । १५ प्राकृतम् ।

AN ATTACK ON ŚRĪ MADHVĀCĀRYA IN THE SAURA PURĀṆA

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA B. A. (Hons).

It is a well-known fact that the Sāṃkhya, Śaiva, Buddhistic and Advaita systems have been polemised upon to a greater or a lesser extent in the Purāṇas. The early Sāṃkhya dealt with in the *Vedānta-Sūtras* was atheistic; the Śaiva heretical; the Buddhistic system anti-Vedic. The Advaita was suspected of hidden sympathies with Buddhism, from very early times and the close doctrinal correspondence between the two ought to have been the subject of general discussion and comment after the period of the Renaissance of Hinduism under the Guptas the upshot of which was the visualisation of the Advaita as a dangerous cult by at least one section of the enlightened thinkers. A philosophical explanation of the early suspicion against the Advaita which later on developed into an open hostility, may perhaps be sought in the intellectual aversion of the Brahmins to Buddhism which was too complete and unsparing to brook even the slightest hint or suspicion of its condonation at their own hands. That this note of disapprobation was sufficiently pronounced from very early days¹ is seen from the over-anxiety of Gaudapāda himself to refute the allegation of doctrinal identity between Buddhism and Advaita brought forward in his own days: नैतद्बुद्धेन भाषितं (iv-99), on which Śaṃkara comments:—यद्यपि बाह्यार्थनिराकरणं ज्ञानमात्रकल्पना च अद्वयवस्तु सामीप्यमुक्तं इदं तु परमार्थतत्त्वमद्वैतं वेदान्तेष्वेव विज्ञेयमिति । Anandagiri brings out the full significance of this remark: मतान्तरे तु नैवमिति कुतो मतसांकर्यशंका अवकाशमासादयेदिति ॥

That there existed a close doctrinal identity between the two systems is borne out by responsible writers on Indian Philosophy as well:—

“ Gaudapāda's liberal views enabled him to accept doctrines associated with Buddhism and adjust them to Advaita design.”²

1. cf. विज्ञानवादस्य भवन्मतात्किं विभेदकं ब्रूहि ततः परं ब्रज ।

विज्ञानवादी क्षणिकत्वमेषामङ्गीचकोरति महान्विशेषः ॥

Śaṃkara Vijaya.

cf. also सौगतब्रह्मवादिनोरयं विशेषः यदादिमः

सर्वस्य मिथ्यात्वं वदति । द्वितीयस्तु आत्मान्यथा ।

Advaita Brahma Siddhi, Bibliotheca Indica p. 105

2. *Indian Philosophy*, vol ii, S. Radhakrishnan: p. 453.

"The fourth chapter refers to Yogācāra views and mentions the name of Buddha half a dozen times.

"Indeed, the language and thought of the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda bear a striking resemblance to Mādhyamaka writings¹ and contains many illustrations used in them.²

"He seems to have been *conscious of the similarity* of his system to some phases of Buddhistic thought. *He therefore protests rather overmuch that his view is not Buddhism.*³

"That Gauḍapāda gives a vedāntic adaptation of the Buddhistic Śūnyavāda is supported by many scholars such as Jacobi, Poussin, Sukthankar and Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, *Unfortunately, Śaṅkara explains away all obvious references to Buddhism.*"⁴ (Italics mine).

"His (Śaṅkara's) Brahman was very much like the Śūnya of Nāgārjuna. It is difficult indeed, to distinguish between pure being and pure non-being as a category.⁵ There seems to be much truth in the accusation against Śaṅkara, by Vijñāna Bhikṣu and others, that he was a hidden Buddhist himself."⁶

The charge of crypto-Buddhism levelled against the Advaita in the *Padmapurāṇa*,⁷ the *Bṛahad-Brahma Saṃhitā*⁸ etc., was no new one; and the passages in these Purāṇas need on no account be looked upon as interpolations, of interested parties. They are a record—and for aught we know—the earliest record of emphatic public opinion against the Advaita doctrines. Rāmānuja,⁹ Madhva, Vallabha,¹⁰ and Vijñāna Bhikṣu¹¹ have all expressed and echoed the charge of crypto-Buddhism in their works. And so far as I am aware, Madhva alone has given a reason—

1. cf. अवैदिकं माध्यमिकं निस्तं निरीक्ष्य तत्पक्षस्तुपक्षपाती ।
तमेव पक्षं प्रतिपादकोऽसौ न्यरूपन्मार्गमिहावुरूपम् ॥

(Madhvavijaya I, 50.)

2. Radhakrishnan, p. 453.

3. *Ibid* p. 463.

4. *Ibid* p. 465.

5. cf. असत्यदेसन्सदसद्विविक्तं मायाख्यया संवृतिमभ्युषत् ।

ब्रह्माप्यखण्डं बत शून्यं सिद्ध्यै प्रच्छन्नबौद्धोयमतःप्रसिद्धः ।

Madhva Vijaya i. 51.

6. Das Gupta : *Indian Philosophy* Vol. I pp 493-4

7. Quoted by Vijñāna Bhikṣu in his *Sāṃkhya-Pravacana Bhāṣya*.

8. iv-8.

9. *Vedārtha Saṃgraha*, Pandit pp 86.

10. Benares Sanskrit Series p 577-8.

11. *Sāṃkhya Pravacana Bhāṣya*.

ed exposition of the charge by citing ancient Buddhistic texts and comparing them with Advaitic texts, in his *Tattvodyota*. The complaint against the Advaita is thus historically sound and logically understandable.

The Dvaita System of Madhva has not been the target of any Purāṇic criticism such as has been bestowed on the Advaita. But as ill-luck would have it, the existence of uncomplimentary criticism against the Advaita in the *Padma Purāṇa* and the *Brahma Samihitā* seems to have actuated the perverse ingenuity of some disgruntled monistic Pandit into interpolating a certain number of verses into the *Saura Purāṇa* criticising the System of Madhva, calumniating him and defaming his personality. These passages are sometimes jubilantly referred to by a set of people on certain occasions when sound reason and mother wit desert them in their controversial excursions. I propose therefore to undertake in the course of this article, a searching examination of the two chapters in the *Saura purāṇa* in which the criticisms against Madhva and his system are urged and expose their historical hollowness and metaphysical untenability.

Prof. M. Winternitz,¹ who mentions that " three chapters (38-40) are devoted to polemics against the system of Madhva" also draws attention to the fact that " chapters 38-40 do not occur in all the manuscripts² " and opines that " it is more probable that they have been interpolated.³ "

The Editors of the Ānandaśrama Series (in which the Saura Purāṇa is published) confess in a foot-note that the three chapters in question are not found in the Mss. designated क, ख, घ, and ङ. Since in four out of the nine mss. collated by the Editors the chapters in question are missing it is only reasonable to conclude that they have been interpolated in the others to judge from the obvious and avowed Advaitic bias⁴ of the verses occurring there. The entire secret is betrayed by a clumsy

1. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Tr. by Mrs. Ketkar, Calcutta, 1927. p. 536.

2. Sanskrit Edn. p. 125 note and Eggeling, *India Office Cat.*, vi p. 1188.

3. Cf Jahn, l. c, p. xiv (Ibid).

cf. 4. मायावादमसच्छास्त्रं वदिष्यन्ति नराधमाः

तेषां दर्शनमात्रेण सत्त्वेन ज्ञानमाचरेत् । (chap. 39)

मिथ्याभूतः प्रपञ्चोऽयं मायानिर्मित इष्यते ।

मायावादिन इत्येते वस्तुतस्तद्ववादिनः ॥ (chap. 40.)

statement of the Editors that "in one among the four mss. which omit the three chapters is found a *marginal-note* to the effect that three chapters following the 37th and dealing with the story of Madhva have been hushed up and deleted by Vaisnavas which are however to be found in other mss." This is entirely awkward. The owner of the mss. would most reasonably have included the three missing chapters instead of indicating the deficiency to posterity by a mere marginal note! At all events, his statement that particular chapters have been suppressed by Vaisnavas can have no historical value. Of the four mss. which omit the three chapters in question one is dated 1741 Samvat,—a date which is sufficiently early compared with the rest some of which belong to quite a late date.

I shall now quote *in extenso* from the *Saura Puārṇa* to enable the readers to follow the discussion closely:—

घोरं कलियुगे प्राप्ते म्लेच्छैर्व्याप्ते भुवस्थले ॥ ३८ ॥

तदान्धोद्देशमध्ये तु दाक्षिणात्यो भविष्यति ॥

ब्राह्मणो दुर्भगः कश्चिद्विधवाब्राह्मणीरतः ॥ ३९ ॥

तस्य पापिष्ठविप्रस्य व्याभिचारात्सुतोऽनघः ॥

भविष्यति गुणान्वेषी देवादध्ययनोत्सुकः ॥ ४० ॥

पद्मपादुकमाचार्यं वरं वेदान्तवादिनं ॥

अद्वैतागमबोद्धारं प्रणम्य प्रार्थयिष्यति ॥ ४१ ॥

विप्रोहं मधुशर्मास्मि स्वामिन्मां पाठय प्रभो ॥ ४२ ॥

आचार्यः करुणामूर्तिः विनयेन परिप्लुतं ॥ ४३ ॥

* * * *

एकदा गुरुणा दृष्टः स्नानसंध्यादिकाः क्रियाः ।

अरुत्वा भोजनप्रेप्सुः भविष्यति निराह्निकः ॥ ४५ ॥

* * * *

ततो वक्ष्यत्यथाचार्यः कस्ते तात प्रसूश्रका ॥ ४७ ॥

वद मातामहः कस्ते येन प्रामा प्रसूस्तव ॥ ४८ ॥

इत्येवं कथिते सर्वे कथयिष्यति तत्त्वतः ॥ ४९ ॥

शापं दास्यत्यथाचार्यः सिद्धान्तो मा स्फुरत्वयं ॥

सिद्धान्ते जडता तेऽस्तु परमद्वैतदर्शने ॥ ५० ॥

पश्चाद्गदिष्यति स्वामी पूर्वपक्षोऽस्तु ते दृढः ॥ ५२ ॥

* * * *

1. See footnote to Anandasrama Edn: p: 125

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तथातथायमुन्मार्गः शिवद्वेष्टुर्भविष्यति ॥ ५४ ॥

पूर्वं तु द्राविडाद्वेशात्कर्णाटकतिलिङ्गन्योः ।

शनैर्गोदावरीतीरे प्रसृतोयं भविष्यति ॥ ५५ ॥

पूर्णे कलियुगे प्राप्ते आर्यावर्ते चलिष्यति ॥

मायावादमसच्छास्त्रं वदिष्यन्ति नराधमाः ॥ ५६ ॥

तेषां दर्शनमात्रेण सचैलं स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ ५७ ॥

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(Chap. 39).

ततः कलियुगे प्राप्ते सर्वधर्मविवर्जिते ॥ ३१ ॥

* * * *

तदा वसन्तः कर्णाटतिलंगादिकदूषकः ।

मधुनामा च विधवाक्षेत्रे विप्राद्भविष्यति ॥ ३३ ॥

गोलकः स तु पापिष्ठः पद्मपादुकमीश्वरं ।

वेदान्तव्याख्यानरतं शिष्यत्वेनार्चयिष्यति ॥ ३४ ॥

शास्त्रं पूर्णं ततोधीत्य स्थित आह्निकवर्जितः ।

किमभिहोत्रं को योगः हेतुमेवं करिष्यति ॥ ३५ ॥

गुरुराकर्ण्य तद्वाक्यं ब्राह्मणो न भवेदयं ।

इति निश्चित्य तं दुष्टं वक्ष्यति श्रुततद्वचाः ॥ ३६ ॥

* * * *

मधुनामा ततः प्राप्य शापं तं दुष्टबुद्धिमान् ।

बादरायणसूत्राणां व्याख्यानं स करिष्यति ॥ ४६ ॥

मध्वाचार्यः ततोभावाद्वाक्षिणात्यो महान्कलौ ।

तच्छिष्याः प्रतिशिष्याश्च नार्यावर्ते न चोत्कले ॥ ४७ ॥

न गौडे न च गङ्गायास्तीरे गोदावरीतटे ।

नारुंदारण्यमध्ये च तत्प्रचारो भविष्यति ॥ ४८ ॥

यथायथाकलेधोरः प्रचारोहि भविष्यति ।

तथातथा महाराष्ट्रे हेतुका विरलाः क्वचित् ॥ ४९ ॥

पञ्चवर्षस्तु संन्यासी पठित्वा दुष्टबुद्धिमान् ।

शिष्योपशिष्यसंयुक्तः हेतुवादं करिष्यति ॥ ५१ ॥

तत्त्वं संसार इत्येव न बाध्यः सत्य एव हि ।

वदत्यतस्तत्त्ववादी मिथ्यावादी स उच्यते ॥ ५२ ॥

मिथ्याभूतः प्रपञ्चोयं मायानिर्मित इष्यते ।

मायावादिन इत्येते वस्तुतः तत्त्ववादिनः ॥ ५३ ॥

* * * *

आचार्यं मधुनामानं वदन्तो विधवासुतं ॥ ६० ॥

प्रच्छन्नोसौ महादुष्टः चावाको मधुसंज्ञकः ।

मविष्यति कलौ विप्राः शिवनिन्दाप्रवर्तकः ॥ ६१ ॥

* * * *

(Chap. 40)

There is some variation between the accounts contained in chapters 39 and 40. The account in the former makes out that Madhu Śarmā (mark the name), was born in the *midst of the Andhra country*, as the illegitimate son of a Brahman widow. He sought *Padmapāda* as his preceptor in Advaita and read under him. Once, he was detected by the teacher while eating without having bathed or performed his ablutions. The teacher demanded a clear confession of his parentage etc., and the offender came out with a clear confession. Thereupon, the preceptor cursed him saying that he would be good at *pūrvapakṣa* only and leave his *Siddhānta* undeveloped.

The second account (chap. 40) repeats all the above details and adds that Madhu was the incarnation of Vasanta—a companion of Rati who agreed to help her to wreak vengeance on Śiva for his cruel disposal of her husband, by incarnating himself and promulgating a system of philosophy repudiating the supremacy of Śiva and inculcating his hatred.

The second account is a clumsy failure at an attempt to supply certain missing links—the motive of the incarnation of Madhu, and his identification with Vasanta. Another additional information which this chapter furnishes is in the shape of a Purāṇic prophecy that no followers of Madhu will be left in *Āryāvarta*, *Utkal*, *Bengal* and the *Godāvarī Delta*—a prophecy which is as sweeping as it is false to facts. And curiously enough there is a glaring contradiction between the prophecy in chapter 39 and the one in chapter 40. In the former we read that “ gradually the religion of Madhva will spread to the banks of the *Godāvarī* and when the fulness of *Kali* age is reached, it

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will spread in Āryāvarta."¹ In chapter 40 however we are told that "no followers of Madhva will be found on the banks of the Godāvarī and in Āryāvarta!"² What opinion one can have of the sanity of such a prophecy and its maker it is for the readers to judge.

Such is the laborious "criticism" against Madhva and his system, contained in the *Saura Purāṇa*. Now, we shall examine the charges in some detail.

To judge from the most outrageous of historical and biographical blunders that the account bristles with one can unhesitatingly conclude that far from being an authentic Purāṇic version, the entire account is the interpolation of an ignorant and incorrigible Pandit. One wonders who the interpolator's informant was when one is told that Madhva was born in the "midst of the Āndhra country!"³ There is, moreover, no proof at all that Madhva is polemised upon. Else, a nasty mistake must be admitted to have been committed by the interpolator in regard to the name of Madhva. He is designated in three different ways: Madhu, Madhu-Śarmā and Madhvācārya. It is clear that the account considers 'Madhu' as the proper name. Apart from the fact that 'Madhva' itself was not the name given to the Ācārya either by his parents or by his preceptor at initiation it must be pointed out that there is no earthly connection whatsoever between 'Madhu' and 'Madhva:' and so no good ground to indentify the two as is done in chapter 40. Śrī Madhva was named Ānandatīrtha⁴ by his preceptor at the time of initiation into holy order and 'Madhva' is a synonym assumed by the Ācārya.⁵ He was named by his parents Vāsudeva and one can

1. Chap. 39, verses 55, 56,

2. Chap. 40, verses 47-48,

3. Cf. तदानीं देशमध्ये तु दाक्षिणात्यो भविष्यति ॥ Again कर्णाटतिलादिदूषकः The fact, however, is that the real Madhvācārya was born neither in the Andhra nor in the Karnāṭaka country but in the Tulu country! Some ill-informed writers think that Madhva was a Canarese Brahman. But this is simply a blunder. Madhva was a Tulu Brahman.

4. आनन्दतीर्थेति पदं युरुदितं बभूव तस्यात्यतुरूपरूपकम्।

(*Madhva-Vijaya* v-2)

5. मध्वित्यानन्द उद्दिष्टः वेति तीर्थमुदाहृतं।

मध्व आनन्दतीर्थः स्यात्तृतीया मारुतीतनुः ॥

(Comm. on Chāndogya Up.)

wonder till eternity how he could have addressed himself to his preceptor¹ by a name which he had not yet come to possess! In any case, there is not even the ghost of a suggestion in the *Saura Parāṇa* that 'Madhva' is regarded as the substantive and proper name of the person polemised upon. The account deals with Madhu, Madhu-śarmā or at the worst Ācārya Madhu and Śrī Madhvācārya is quite beyond its jurisdiction.

The attempt to illegitimize Madhva is a sorry spectacle opposed alike to historical testimony and tradition. Śrī Madhva's father was a well-known personality² in the village of Pājaka-kṣetra (S. Canara district)—not in the "midst of Āndhra country" as the Purāṇic interpolator would have us believe—a statement which is as stupid and vague as it can be. He was held in high esteem by the villagers and was only spoken of as Madhyageha-bhaṭṭa—'resident of the midmost mansion'³—(Naḍu-vantillayya in Tulu). Śrī Madhva's parents would not easily permit his renunciation and he had to wait till the birth of a second son to his parents. The biography of Madhva, written by his younger contemporary, relates how the Ācārya's brother too joined the holy order after the demise of his parents. The biography thus makes clear that the parents of Madhva were alive for more than thirty years after his renunciation. In the face of so much recorded evidence the statement that he was the son of a widow through illegitimate means is matched for absurdity of invention only by the other one of his pupillage under Padmapāda! (and perhaps also of his nativity in the "midst of Āndhradeśa"!).

The Purāṇic prophecy further states that Madhva renounced the world at the age of five⁴! Apart from the fact that he could not even have been initiated into vedic studentship (उपनयन) at so tender an age, it is clear from the life-history of the Ācārya that he must have been well-nigh 16 years old when he applied

1. cf. विप्रोहं मधुशर्मास्मि स्वामिन्मां पाठय प्रभो ।

2. विज्ञातभारतपुराणमहारहस्यं ये मद्गु इत्यभिषदन्ति जना विनीतम् ।

Madhva Vijaya ii 14.

3. Śrī Madhva was also known by the epithet Madhyamandira—which was originally applied to his father. This epithet also means resident of the middle house and the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar is sadly mistaken in introducing a novel epithet Madhyamandāra which he renders into "the wish-giving tree of the family of Madhya, 'Vaiṣṇavism Strassburg, 1913, p. 58.

4. पञ्चवर्षस्तु संन्यासी पठित्वा दुष्टबुद्धिमान् । 40-51.

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for permission to renounce.¹ He had to persuade his parents, argue with them and ultimately force their consent. The Ācārya's father was most naturally unwilling to lose his only son, since he had nobody else, he pleaded, to look after him and his wife in their old age² —which implies that Madhva was in the fullness of youth just then and his father was even, presumably, planning for his marriage in the near future. All this is a veritable impossibility in the case of a boy of five.

The name of Śrī Madhva's preceptor under whom he studied Advaitic works such as the *Iṣṭa—Siddhi*³ was Acyutaprekṣa.⁴ The *Saura Purāṇa* makes Padmapāda, the preceptor of Madhva. But historically there seems to have elapsed something like three centuries between Padmapāda and Madhva and any tutorial connection between the two is a human and a physical impossibility !

A few words about the alleged constructive incapacity of Madhva which is attributed to the curse of Padmapāda. The opinion here expressed that Madhva is more a critic than a thinker is not really different from a recent estimate of Madhva adumbrated by a certain *soi disant* authority that Madhva is a " *philosophical pugilist* " and his system a " *philosophical pugilism* ! " Both rest on an insufficient and scrappy understanding of the system. As one who came after great intellectual giants like Śaṅkara, Padmapāda, Vācaspati and Rāmānuja Madhva had necessarily to devote his immediate and undivided attention to a refutation of the views of his predecessors. Nor had he merely to deal with Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. Tradition has it that he had twenty—one earlier commentaries on the *Vedānta Sūtras* to deal with.

1. C. N. Krishnasvami Ayer thinks that Madhva was twenty-five at his renunciation; which is objected to by C. M. Padmanabhačārya on very reasonable grounds. The latter author thinks that eleven or twelve was the age at which the Ācārya renounced. Personally, I think the Ācārya might have been well-nigh sixteen, when he renounced the world.

2. निवर्तमाने नहि पालकेस्ति नौ त्वयीति वक्तारमधुं सुतोऽब्रवीत् ।
(*Madhva Vijaya* iv-22).

3. अथेष्टसिद्धिच्छलजातिवारिधिः निरादरेणापि महात्मनामुना
तदाद्यप्यस्य मवद्यमण्डलं यदावदत्तोऽशकद्वयात्मकम्
(*Madhva-vijaya* iv-45).

4. ज्ञनोच्युतप्रेक्षमुदाहरत्कुटम् ।
(*Madhva Vijaya* iv-6).

Demolition precedes construction and Madhva demolished his opponents before erecting a new citadel of his own—in doing which he was merely acting up to the usual procedure of Indian System—builders: 'उपपादनं च स्वपक्षसाधनपरपक्ष-निराकरणाय भवति।' The Advaita came up for a full measure of his criticism since it was the fashionable philosophy of the times. Out of the thirty-seven works of Madhva, only four deal directly and mainly with the Advaita. It is therefore quite untrue to say that Madhva was at all cynical in his attitude towards the Advaita or was entirely preoccupied with criticising it. On the contrary, his activities were truly many-sided. He was not simply a destructive genius, a *Vaitanḍika* or a philosophical pugilist. The following clear classification of Madhva's works would give an idea of his many-sided activities:—

1. Vedic literature : a commentary on the first forty hymns of the Rgveda.
2. Upaniṣadic literature : Commentaries on the ten upa-
niṣads.
3. Sūtra literature : the Bhāṣya, Anu—Bhāṣya, Anu—
Vyākhyāna, and Nyāya-Vivarana.
4. Gītā-literature : two commentaries on the Gītā.
5. Ten Prakaraṇas : four dealing mainly with Advaita:
Upādhi Khaṇḍana, Māyāvāda—Khaṇḍana, Mithyātva-
anumāna—Khaṇḍana, and Tattvodyota; Pramāṇa—
Lakṣaṇa and Kathālakṣaṇa dealing with Logic and
Dialectics; manuals devoted to a constructive exposition
of Dvaita Tattva Saṁkhyāna, Tattva Viveka, and
Viṣṇu Tattva Nirṇaya and also the Karma Nirṇaya.
6. Epic literature:—a metrical synopsis of the Mahābhārata
and a commentary on the Śrī Bhāgavata.
7. Poems:—a poem called Yamaka Bhārata.
8. Works of Worship:—Tantra Sāra, Kṛṣṇāmṛtamahārṇava.
9. Works on Conduct:—Sadācāra-Smṛti, Yatipranava-
kalpa.
10. Devotional Hymns:—Dvādaśa Stotra, Nakhastotra. and
Jayanti—nirṇaya.

Apart from the great commentaries on the Vedānta Sūtras, and the Gītā, Madhva gave a constructive exposition of his system in short manuals devoted to that purpose. Credit goes

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to Madhva for having neglected no part of the valuable heritage of Hinduism. While Śaṅkara would dismiss the entire Karma Kāṇḍa as barren and make invidious distinction between commonplace *śrutis* and mahāvākyas, reject the Pāncarātra and mystifyingly speak of the 'philosophy of the Upaniṣads' *par excellence* Madhva accepts the entire body of Hindu religious literature as authoritative:—

ऋचजुः सामाथर्वाश्च मूलरामायणं तथा ।
भारतं पञ्चरात्रं च शास्त्रमित्यभिधायते ॥
यच्चानुकूलमेतस्य तच्च शास्त्रं प्रकीर्तितं ।
अतोऽन्यो ग्रन्थविस्तारो नैव शास्त्रं कुर्वन् तत्² ॥

The religious and devotional aspect of life was specially stressed by Madhva in separate works (see class 9 and 10)—thus laying firm and lasting foundation of religion, morality, devotion and austerity. Seeing that only four out of his thirty-seven works deal directly with Advaita, while many of the rest are devoted to a constructive exposition of his system and others to miscellaneous matters, the charge of lack of constructive work and undue criticism of Advaita are entirely misplaced.

The existence of the Dvaita as an independent system had (in days prior to Madhva) long been threatened and a severe persecution of the Saints of the creed was set on foot by the Advaitins in ascendancy; so much so that Dvaita teachers like Prājñatīrtha and his followers had literally to masquerade³ in the guise of Advaitic hermits and appoint two successors one ostensibly following the Advaita teaching and the other entrusted with the ancient teaching of Dvaita which he was to propagate undetected by the Advaitins. An account of this persecution is preserved to us in the *Maṇimañjarī*¹, a poem by the biographer of Madhva. The advent of Madhva was there-

1. *Advaita Siddhi*, p. 1.

2. Quoted from the *Skānda* in Madhva's *Sūtra-Bhāṣya*.

3. शिष्येष्वेकः श्रुतीनां ते संप्रदायाभिमुख्ये ।
चरतां मायिभिः सार्धं तेषां छन्दानुवर्तते ॥
संन्यासयेत्स निपुणमेकं वशधरं द्विजं ।
सौम्यन्यमन्यं सोपीति वंशो न स्यादखण्डितः ॥

(*Maṇimañjarī*)

4. Chap. 8.

fore of great relief to the faithful. Henceforth they could practise their religion in public and breathe freely. Heaven knows what a great boon it was deemed, in days when religion was a vital concern of life.

Madhva had to define and illustrate the categories of logic eschewing what was unessential in the traditional system of the Logicians. He had also put new vigour into the religious and moral life of his followers, by erecting a new temple at Udipi and making it the meeting place of his followers from various parts thus fostering a sense of brotherhood among them and by introducing healthy reforms such as the abolition of bloody sacrifices and the substitution of flour ewes instead of live animals in sacrifices—a practice which is still followed by his religionists and the enforcement of fasts on Ekādaśī days. He had in short, evolved a new and compact community and saw it growing under his eyes, slowly and steadily.

But he had to arm his followers in self-defence. Those were days of religious controversy and debates. The feeling of religion ran high in men's minds and they were prepared to stake everything for it. The veterans of Advaita were only too glad to meet the men of the new faith and if possible, to nip them in the bud. Logic and learning, wit and eloquence were at their command and they had a fair chance of success. Madhva had realised this himself for he too had had encounters with several rivals and old veterans more especially with the then head of the Śringerī Maṭha. The only hope lay in educating his followers in the arts of debate and discussion and enable them to hold their own against the onslaughts of Advaitins. It is no exaggeration to say that his hopes were more than fulfilled. We have only to cite the illustrious names of Jayatīrtha, Vyāsarāja Svāmin, and Vijayindra Tīrtha who rose to defend the citadel of their Master in troubled times. And where were their arms forged? In the furnace of Śrī Madhva's works.

If Madhva had thus to devote, what may now seem to us, an undue attention to a criticism of rival schools and to the intricacies of Logic, it was more as a necessity of the times and in self-defence. Logic and criticism as such had no attraction for Madhva, and he warns¹ his followers against having too much

1. न चानुमानस्य नियतप्रामाण्यं ॥

सर्वत्र शक्यते कर्तुमागमं हि विनानुमा ।

तस्मान्न सा शक्तिमती विनागममुदीक्षितुं ॥

शुष्कतर्कं तु वर्जयेदिति क्रौर्मै ॥

Madhva on *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 3.

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to do with either. Ignorance of the exact state of philosophical and polemical atmosphere during and before the times of Madhva as well as a failure to realise the magnitude of Madhva's mission are alone responsible for the wild criticism urged in certain quarters that Madhva was a friend of the Naiyāyikas, or the other one urged by the Pandit-interpolator in the *Saura Purāṇa* that he was a Sophist (हैतुक)¹ and above all for the sapient comment emanating from a recent writer on Indian Philosophy that "Madhva makes a *clever use* of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrines."² (Italics mine).

The original motive of the supposed incarnation of Madhu is claimed to be to spread the hatred³ of Śiva; and Madhva is falsely accused⁴ of spreading the hatred of Śiva. But it needs no serious effort to establish that Madhva was not a bigot. True it is that he resolutely maintains the supremacy of Viṣṇu and regards him as the creator. But in this respect he is not the only sinner! The doctrine of the supremacy of Viṣṇu is directly traceable to the brightest epoch of Vedic speculation, from whence it found its way into the epics and thence into the Purāṇas. And in advocating the supremacy of Viṣṇu, Madhva is merely voicing forth the united testimony⁵ of the entire religious literature of the Hindus.

1. पञ्चवर्षस्तु संन्यासी हेतुवादं कारिष्यति ॥

It is a well-known fact that the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras* has clearly repudiated the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika tenets. Some Oriental Scholars believe that the Nyāya is not dealt with in the *Sūtras*. Madhva however takes the *Sūtrā*:

अपारिहाद्यात्यन्तमनपेक्षा ii, 2, 17,

as a conclusive repudiation of Nyāya system. He writes:

श्रुतिस्मृत्यपरिगृहीतत्वाच्च अतिशयेन अनपेक्ष्यता

and quotes the famous lament of the jackal from the *Bhārata*

अहमासं पाण्डितको हतुको वेदनिन्दकः

आन्वीक्षिकीतर्कविद्यामभुरक्तो निरर्थकः

In the face of such an unequivocal repudiation of Nyāya the charge against Madhva that he was a sophist हैतुक is entirely ludicrous.

2. *Indian Philosophy* Vol ii, p. 738. (S. Radhakrishnan).

3. भविष्यामो वयं नाथ रुद्रपूजाभिनिन्दकः। chap 40, 23.

4. प्रच्छन्नोसौ महादुष्टः शिवनिन्दाप्रवर्तकः। Ibid 61.

5. वेदे रामायणे चैव पुराणे भारते तथा ।

आदावन्ते च मध्ये च विष्णुः सर्वत्र गीयते ॥

(*Harivaṃśa*) quoted by Madhva. The same is quoted by Śaṅkara also in his *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya*.

cf also: ब्रह्मा स्वयंपूश्रुतुरांतनो वा रुद्रछिनेत्रास्त्रिपुरान्तकोवा ।

इन्द्रो महेन्द्रः सुरनायको वा ब्रातुं न शक्ता युधि रामवर्धन ॥

Rāmāyaṇa १

Oriental scholars, pursuing the historical method, have also endorsed the supremacy of Viṣṇu in their own way. Viṣṇu is pre-eminently an Āryan god. Śiva, who is known to the Rg-veda only under the name of Rudra, has many repellent qualities which more probably than not, suggest his aboriginal origin. The opinion is held by many responsible orientalists that Rudra is a later accretion to the Vedic Pantheon. The association of phallic worship with Rudra is claimed to be another sign of his aboriginal Dravidian origin; and the uncomplimentary references to Rudra explained on the admission of the probability of the alien origin of that deity to whom the Āryans were at first averse.

Without invoking the aid of comparative and historical religious research, every unbiassed student of Indian religious literature will see that Viṣṇu is the supreme deity of the Hindu Pantheon. Earnest enquirers are some times discomfited by the testimony of the Purāṇas not being uniform. An historical explanation of this contradiction may be offered on the lines indicated by Max Müller in regard to the early speculations of Vedic seers, by resorting to the henotheistic or Kathenotheistic standpoint.

The difficulty was present also to the minds of indigenous writers and philosophers and the Purāṇas themselves suggest a way out of the difficulty from a purely religious point of view. It would be presumptuous on our part to dismiss this explanation as a Purāṇic fiction unworthy of credence. Even granting that it is so, one must nevertheless admit a fundamental postulate of Monotheism at its back. The Purāṇic explanation is that though Viṣṇu is the Supreme God, other deities are sometimes held up to delude the demoniac and the ungodly and mislead them:—

एष मोहं सृजाम्याशु योजनान्मोहयिष्यति ।
 त्वं च रुद्र महाबाहो मोहशस्त्राणि कारय ॥
 अतथ्यानि वितथ्यानि दर्शयस्व महामुज ।
 प्रकाशं कुरु चात्मानमप्रकाशं च मां कुरु¹ ॥

(*Vārāha*)

One may or may not agree with this explanation. But the fact remains that it has been accepted as a suitable solution by several

1. Quoted by Madhva, in his Comm. on *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1,1.

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indigenous philosophers¹ in India, including Madhva, who quotes the relevant passages from the *Varāha Purāṇa*.²

Madhva is not the only apostle of the doctrine of the supremacy of Viṣṇu. He is one among the many. The Ālvārs of S. India, Yāmuna, Rāmānuja, Kūranārāyaṇa,³ Vedānta Deśika, Vallabha, Caitanya and Baladeva have all maintained the unchallengeable supremacy of Viṣṇu. The Advaitins themselves form no exception. Śaṅkara⁴ Sureśvara⁵ Sarvajñātma⁶, Madhusūdana⁷, Śrīdhara, Brahmānanda have all regarded Viṣṇu as the Īṣvara of Advaita—the lower Brahman. If those who have advocated the supremacy of Viṣṇu are to be put down as the avatārs of Madhu volunteering to wreak vengeance on Rudra, we should find more than a dozen avatāras of Vasanta (Madhu)!! And it is not clear why Śrī Madhva alone should be selected for the honor! Genuine Advaitism has no quarter to give to either Śiva or Viṣṇu. Such being the case, it is quite understandable how the three chapters in the *Saura Purāṇa* whose Advaitic bias and predilections are all but concealed,⁸ can reasonably

1. Rāmānuja, *Vedārtha-Saṅgraha*, Pandit Reprints. p. 181-6. cf also बौद्धेन वैदिकपथजुषां परमनास्तिकानां क्षत्रियादिजन्मभिरवतीर्णानां दैत्यानां, धर्मवतां विनाशो न स्यादिति विरुद्धप्रतिपत्तिजनकं शास्त्रमारचितमिति पुराणेतिहासेषु प्रसिद्धं । अन्यथा भगवतोऽसंबद्धप्रशस्तिमयुक्तं इति दिक्—

Sadānanda, *Advaita Brahma Siddhi* Bibliotheca Indica, 105-6 p. and अतः यैर्देवांशः तेषां विष्णुपूजा स्वधर्मः ये च दैत्यांशः तेषां शिवभक्तिरिति स्फुटति-Puruṣottama, *Avatāra Vādāvali*, Devakīnandanācārya Grantha Mālā Series, 2 p. 192. See also p. 225 ibid.

2 The suggestion made in some quarters that Madhva has fabricated these passages is to be spurned with the contempt that it deserves since the same passages have been quoted by Vallabha, in his *Aṇubhāṣya*.

3. Whose eyes were put out by a Cola King of the South, for refusing to acknowledge Śiva as the Supreme Deity.

4. जीवात्मभूतब्रह्मविषयत्वेपि विष्णुपदस्य तैरेव शिवपदमपहाय वासुदेवपदेन व्याख्यानात् जीवात्मभूतब्रह्मणो वासुदेवरूपत्वस्यैव तदभिप्रेतत्वात् ॥

Puruṣottama, *Vādāvali*.

5. खानिलाग्न्यव्यर्थित्यंतं स्रक्फणीवोद्धतं यतः ।

ध्वान्तच्छेदं नमस्तस्मै हरये बुद्धिसाक्षिणे ॥

Naīṣkarmya Siddhi.

6. अतिनिक्कटमविक्रियं मुरारेः परमपदं प्रणयादभिरवीमि ।

Sanīkṣepa Śārīraka.

7. मोक्षं प्राप्त इव स्वयं विजयते विष्णुः विकल्पोऽज्ञितः

Advaita Siddhi.

cf. also कृष्णात्परं तत्त्वमहं न जाने । (Ibid).

8. cf. ch 39. Verses 56-7, and chap. 40 verse 53.

take umbrage at Madhva's denial of the supremacy of Śiva and invent a silly story of Rati's penance etc. This again amply proves that the Pandit—interpolator was thoroughly ignorant of the fundamental position of Advaita which he nevertheless blindly adores.

The statement that Madhva incited hatred of Śiva is as stupid as unjust. Madhva was no bigot who forbade the worship of Śiva. He has his own place in the hierarchy of gods according to Madhva, only Rudra is not at the head of it. In strict conformity with his rigorous Monotheism, Madhva believes in Viṣṇu alone as the Supreme Brahman¹ and creator (जगत्कारण); who has neither peer nor superior.² It is in this sense that he interprets the famous text एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म । Hatred of Śiva has no place in the system of Madhva. Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya, the biographer of Madhva has himself left us a poem in praise of Śiva.³ And Vyāsātīrtha, the famous author of the *Nyāyāmṛta* has also left one.⁴ The practice of boycotting Śiva temples obtains only among the followers of Rāmānuja. A Tamil saying is current still among them that one i. e., a faithful Rāmānujite must not take refuge in a Śiva temple even if an elephant is after him and his life itself is in danger ! Madhva himself in his own days paid visits to the shrines of Benares and Rameśvaram. To the last day of his life, he continued to hold his classes within the temple of Anantesvara at Udipi.⁵ Vādirāja Svāmin, who undertook a grand tour, has left us hymns in praise of the various Śiva temples of India. While the followers of Rāmānuja would on no account make pilgrimages to Rameśvara or enter a Śiva temple under the worst calamities even, the followers of Madhva have always maintained a healthy attitude of religious toleration and catholicity. Even today a special service is conducted at the Maṭha of Śrī Vyāsārāja Svāmin, on the night of Mahāśivarātri. Thus, the indictment against Madhva that he incited hatred of Śiva is entirely baseless.

1. ब्रह्मशब्दस्तु विष्णावेव ।

2. नास्ति नारायणसमं न भूतं न भविष्यति ।
एतेन सत्यवाक्येन सर्वार्थान्साधयाम्यहं ॥

(*Bhārata*)

न त्वत्समोऽस्त्यभ्यधिकः कुतोऽन्यः ।

(*Gītā*)

3. *Śiva Stuti* Belgaum, Śaka 1803.

4. *Laghu Śiva Stuti*, Belgaum, 1803.

5. An enclosure marks the place, today, at the temple of Anantesvar.

6. *Tīrtha Prabandha* of Vādirāja.

An Attack on Śrī Madhvācārya in the Saura Purāṇa 75

The story of the penance of Rati's friends to wreak vengeance on Rudra, related and interpolated in the *Saura Purāṇa* cannot really bear investigation. Apart from the novelty of the episode which is not found in any other *Purāṇa*, it is an insult to the ideal womanliness of Rati to ever conceive of her as attempting to retaliate¹ against Rudra, leaguering herself with Madhu for that purpose and accepting the latter's offer of help in the manner related. The character and personality of Rati disclosed to us in the *Purāṇic* legends and recorded by the Prince of Indian Poets, Kālidāsa, is the *beau ideal* of a woman and wife. Rati, as everyone who has read the *Kumāra Sambhava* knows, piteously bemoans the loss of her husband. Her companions, notably Vasanta himself, console her. An ethereal voice predicts reunion at a later date, 'when Śiva is delighted after his marriage with Pārvatī.²' Rati retires with a pacified heart³ and patiently but eagerly awaits⁴ the wedding of Pārvatī. She has no *reason* to bear ill-will or malice towards Rudra. Such a disposition is entirely unbecoming a lady of the type of Rati. And above all, the Pandit-interpolator in his eagerness to concoct a story with all his misplaced ingenuity, has most pathetically failed to realise or foresee that the slightest misdemeanour or attempt at open revolt or instigation of revolt against Rudra by Rati would have worsened her case and estranged her from Rudra on whose future good graces depended the prospect of her reunion with her husband. Woman as she was, Rati could not have been foolish enough to catch a Tartar in Rudra or attempt to double-cross him—the verdict of the Pandit-interpolator not withstanding ! The story of Rati's vengeance thus stands utterly disowned and discredited both by logic and commonsense.

1. रतिरुवाच । मन्यते वातकः सर्वैर्लोकैः पूज्यो भवेद्यम् ।
तत्र विघ्नः प्रकर्तव्यो येन केनापि हेतुना ॥
अस्यापकीर्तिर्विघ्नकव्या न चलेद्यदि किंचन ।
तेन मे दुःखशान्तिः स्यात्किंचिन्मात्रं न चान्यथा ॥
(chap. 40. Verses 13-14)
2. परिणोष्यति पार्वतीं यदा तपसा तत्प्रवणीकृतो हरः ।
उपलब्धसुखस्तदा स्मरं वपुषा स्वेन समप्रयिष्यति ॥
Kumāra Sambhava iv, 42.)
3. इत्थं रतेः किमपि भूतमदृश्यकल्पं
मन्दीचक्र मरणव्यवसाययुद्धि । Ibid iv, 45.
4. अथमदनवधूरुपप्लवानं
व्यसनकृशा प्रतिपालयावभूत् । Ibid., iv, 46.

The character of Vasanta himself, such as we know him from the legends and from Kālidāsa, is not such as to warrant his readiness to engage in any sort of unholy campaign against Rudra, for the mere love of his friend. It is too much to exploit Vasanta's friendship for Kāma, for purposes of inventing a silly story vilifying a great religious teacher and philosopher of India !

Thus the entire episode in the *Saura Purāṇa* abounds in blunders of historical detail and artistic conception. The interpolator is a fourth-rate Pandit ignorant alike of history, geography, tradition, art, proportion and philosophy ! His only qualification is his prejudice against Madhva, which is responsible for the miserable performance he has bequeathed to humanity.

But for the spasmodic attempts in certain quarters to point exultingly to the episode in the *Saura Purāṇa* when a more courageous course of polemics could not be faced and the rather at first-sight misleading statement in an accredited history of Sanskrit Literature that " in the *Saura Purāṇa* three chapters are devoted to polemics against the system of Madhva," the present writer would not have undertaken a serious examination of the two chapters in the said *Purāṇa* and exposed the hollowness of their criticisms and the puerility of their inventions.

It is hoped that enough has been said to enable scholars and critics to form a just and deserving estimate of the interpolated chapters in the *Saura Purāṇa*.

BUDDHIST LOGIC
(AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY)

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Logic in India is commonly associated with the names of Gautama and Gaṅgeśa, followed by a host of commentators and sub-commentators. The Nyāya-Sūtra of Gautama with the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana, the Vārttika of Uddyotakara and the Tātparyatīkā of Vācaspati and some other sub-commentaries constitute what is generally designated as the old school of Indian Logic. The Tattvacintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśa with its innumerable commentaries and sub-commentaries is the basis of the modern school of Indian Logic (*Navya Nyāya*). A closer study of Indian Literature would show that not only these two but all the different schools of Indian Philosophy, both orthodox and heterodox, have developed logics of their own in consonance with their distinctive metaphysics. Even some of the technical sciences, such as medicine (*āyurveda*) and politics (*arthaśāstra*) have discussed problems of logic.¹ In this connection it may be pointed out that a complete philosophical system must have a logic of its own, for unless we have a definite criterion of truth or an apparatus for testing our knowledge, we cannot have a fully reasoned and correct knowledge of the world and our relation with it, which may be regarded as the main problem of philosophy. Every Indian system has therefore thought it necessary to discuss the problem of pramāṇa (right cognition and its methods) as indispensable prolegomenon and the dictum, *mānādhīnā meyasiddhiḥ* (the objects of knowledge depend on the *pramāṇa* or the method of right cognition) has been accepted in

1. See Vidyabhushana: A History of Indian Logic, Calcutta, 1921, p. 24 ff.

some form or other by all the schools.¹

Buddhist Logic which took its rise and developed along with Buddhist Philosophy has a peculiar interest for us. It has enormously influenced Brahmanic and Jaina logic. All the schools of Brahmanic philosophers, howsoever at variance among themselves, are singularly at one in attacking the theories of Buddhist Logic, though each has its own way of attack. The Jaina logicians have also directed their attack against the Buddhist logicians. Consequently the problems of Buddhist logic afford an interesting study not only for their own sake but also for the sake of the light they throw on the history of Indian logic as a whole. We, therefore, cannot neglect the Brahmanic and Jaina points of view in our study of Buddhist logic because the Brahmanic, Jain and Buddhist logicians carried on an unremitting and tough intellectual fight for several centuries.

Logic as an art or a method of argument had been resorted to by men long before any systematic speculation on logic began. The question is therefore not one of logic or no logic but one of developed logic or primitive logic. It was after the philosophical speculations were more or less crystallized that attention was directed towards logic as a separate science. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa if understood in this sense, is not far from truth when he

1. a *Prameyasiddhiḥ pramāṇāddhi*. Sāṃkhyakārikā, 4.
- b *Pramāṇena prameyasyopalabdhiḥ*. Maitryupaniṣad. 6.14.
- c *Pramāṇanayābhyaṃ tattvārthādhigamaḥ*. Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra. 1. 1.
- d *Samyagjñānapūrvikā sarvapuruṣārthasiddhiḥ*. Nyāyabindu 1. 1.

The utility and appropriateness of the discussion on the *pramāṇas* have been eloquently appreciated by Prof. Māx Muller who in his preface to 'The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy' (1912) observes as follows:—

"Such an examination of the authorities of human knowledge (*Pramāṇas*) ought, of course, to form the introduction to every system of philosophy, and to have clearly seen this is, as it seems to me, a very high distinction of Indian Philosophy. How much useless controversy would have been avoided, particularly among Jewish, Mohamedan and Christian philosophers, if a proper place had been assigned *in limine* to the question of what constitutes our legitimate or our only possible channels of knowledge, whether perception, inference, revelation or anything else." (Preface, xiii).

remarks that logic is coeval with the creation and the Vedas.¹

As the Vedas present no set philosophy, the Upaniṣads likewise are diffuse and figurative in their expressions. It is for this reason that the Upaniṣads to which the germs of all later philosophical thoughts can be definitely traced have little to say about logical problems.² But the debates and the discussions found in the Upaniṣads may be regarded as the anticipations of the logical system that followed.

Upaniṣads, though they encourage debates and discussions, declare that truths regarding Brahman are not obtainable by argumentation alone (*naiṣā tarkeṇa matir āpaneyā*).³ It is also to be noted in this connection that an approach to religion or metaphysics purely from the standpoint of reason, quite irrespective of the conclusion that may follow, is not much favoured in Brahmanic literature in general.

A doctrine, unless ratified by Vedic authority, can claim no place in the domain of Brahmanic thought. The Mahābhārata relates the story of a Brāhmaṇa who on account of his being

1. Jayanta enters into a very interesting question as to the originator of the Nyāya Śāstra which undertakes to prove the validity of the Vedas (*vedaprāmāṇyāniscaya*). He argues as follows:—

If Nyāya is to prove the validity of the Vedas, how was the validity of the Vedas proved before Akṣapāda, the accredited author of the Nyāyasūtra? This is a simple question. How was the meaning of the Vedas interpreted before Jaimini or the words derived before Pāṇini and the metres composed before Piṅgala? Since the primal creation these arts (*vidyā*) have begun like the Vedas. Akṣapāda, Jaimini, Pāṇini and Piṅgala are regarded as first teachers in Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and Chandas respectively on the ground of their elaborating and systematizing what was originally implicit and not reflectively formulated. (*Nanvākṣapādāt pūrvaṃ kuto vedaprāmāṇyāniscaya āsit atyālpam idam uccyate. Jaimineḥ pūrvaṃ kena vedārtho vyākhyātāḥ. Pāṇineḥ pūrvaṃ kena padāni vyutpādītāni. Piṅgalāt pūrvaṃ kena chandāṃsi racitāni ādisargāt prabhṛti vedavad inā vidyāḥ pravṛttāḥ. Samkṣepavistaravivakṣayā tu tāmstāṃstatra tatra kartṛṇācākṣate. Nyāyamāñjarī, Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, p. 5*) Jayanta thus maintains that the Nyāya system is coexistent with the Vedas.

2. For the roots of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrines in the Upaniṣads, see Ranade's "A constructive survey of the Upanishadic Philosophy", p. 190. Also compare Prof. S. Radhakrishna's remarks about Nyāya logic in his Indian Philosophy, Vol. I (1923), p. 263.

3. Kāthopaniṣad, 1. 2. 9.

addicted to logic-chopping all through his life was born a jackal in his next birth.¹ According to Vyāsa, spiritual doctrines cannot be communicated to those made callous by dialectics (*tarkaśāstradagdhāya*).² Manu-Saṃhitā, though recommending Ānvīkṣikī (logic) as a useful and necessary study for a king and insisting on a *hetuka*'s and a *tarkin*'s being indispensable members of a legal assembly,³ enjoins excommunication upon those *dviḥja*s (twice-born class) who have become sceptics (*nāstika*) owing to recourse to *hetuśāstra* and set at defiance Śruti and Smṛti, the two recognised sources of religion.⁴ Manu urges that *dharma* is to be analysed by means of argumentation in conformity with the Vedas.⁵ Though there are several references to the necessity and usefulness of logic as well as debates and discussions, nowhere in Brahmanic literature is logic appraised at its full value. On the contrary, its importance has been emphasized, if at all, to prove things in concurrence with the beliefs and doctrines of the Vedas whose authority was commonly acknowledged to be one of the several means of right cognition (*āgama* or *śabda pramāṇa*) in the Brahmanical schools of philosophy.⁶

The Buddhists on the other hand did not accept the unquestionable authority of the Vedas and so could rely upon individual experience and rationalism in matters of religion and philosophy untrammelled by any code of set beliefs. The Buddhist philosophers sometimes stigmatise the Brahmanic thinkers as traditionists or unscrupulous followers of the Āgama

1. *aḥamāsam paṇḍitako haituko vedanindakaḥ*
ānvīkṣikīm tarkavidyām anurakto nirarthakām.
hetuśāstrān pravādītā vaktā saṃsatsu hetumat
ākroṣṭā cātivaktā ca brahmanvākyeṣu ca dvijān.
nāstikaḥ sarvaśaṅkī ca mūrkhah paṇḍitamānikaḥ
tasyeyam phalanirvṛtti śṛgālatvaṃ mama dvija.
Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Adhyāya 180. Śloka 47-49.
2. *na tarkaśāstradagdhāya tathaiḥ piśunāya ca.*
ibid., Adhyāya 246, Śloka 8 c-d.
3. *traividyo hetukastarkī nairukto dharmapāthakaḥ*
trayaścāśramīno pūrve pariśad syād daśāvarā.
Manusāṃhitā, Adhyāya 12, Śloka 111.
4. *yo' vamaṇyeta te mule hetuśāstrāśrayād dvijaḥ*
sa sādhubhir bahiṣkāryo nāstiko vedanindakaḥ.
Manusāṃhitā, Adhyāya 2, Śloka 11.
5. *ārṣaṃ dharmopadeśaṃ ca vedaśāstrāvirodhinā*
yastarkeṇ ānusaṃdhatte sa dharmam veda netarāḥ.
Manusāṃhitā, Adhyāya, 12, Śloka 106.
6. See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's History of Indian Logic pp. 36-39.

or the Vedas on account of the latter's adherence to the authority of the Vedas without any regard for reason.¹ Buddha lays emphasis upon individual experience and not infrequently he declares in express terms that the path to be adopted is what one oneself recognises as true. "Then, monks, what you have just said is only what you yourselves have recognised, what you yourselves have comperhended, what you yourselves have understood, is it not so?" "It is even so, Lord²". Though in the Suttas there are a few passages apparently denouncing logic and free thought they are to be understood in the light of the general tenor of the texts which so eloquently favour rationalistic and argumentative procedure. The doctrine of Buddha is known as *vibhajjavāda*, which according to competent authorities, is "Religion of Logic or Reason". Buddha calls his teaching *dhamma anītiha*,³ not based on tradition (*na + itiha = anītiha*), but self-confirmed. He is said to have admonished his followers on one occasion thus: "Do not accept, oh Bhikṣus, my words out of any respect for me, but accept them for what they are worth after proper scrutiny, just as a piece of gold is accepted by an expert after it is put to fire, cut or tested on the touchstone."⁴ "No sentence," to quote Mrs. Rhys Davids, "occurs oftener than *Tam kissa hetu?* What is the reason of that?"⁵ in the *Pali Tripitaka*. This tendency of Buddhism to appeal to reason and argument accelerated the development of logic in the hands of the Buddhist

1. *ākṣapāḍakāṇḍaḥ prāhur āgamamātrakāḥ*,
Tattvasaṃgraha (Gaekwad's oriental Series) Kārikā, 548.
āgamamātram apeta yuktikam eṣām astityāgamamātrakāḥ
ibid, Pañjikā.

2. Majjhimanikāya, XXVIII.

The rationalistic aspect of Buddha's doctrine finds a brilliant exposition in George Grimm's "The Doctrine of the Buddha or the Religion of Reason," Leipzig 1926.

3. Sutta Nipāta, 1053- Niddesa II, 49, 151.

4. *tāpācchedācca nikaṣāṭi suvarṇam iva paṇḍitāḥ*
parīkṣya bhikṣavo grāhyam madvaco na tu gauravāt.
Tattvasaṃgraha, Kārikā, 3588.

The following is the Tibetan version of the above śloka:

bsregs bcad brdar baḥi gser bzin du
mkhas pa rna r s kyis yōns brtags nas;
bḍāg gsuñ blaṇ bya dge sloṇ dag
gus paḥi phyir ni ma yin no.

The Grammar of the Tibetan language by CSoma DeKoras, p. 168.

5. C. A. F. Rhys Davids Logic (Buddhist); Hastings's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 8, 132.

82 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

philosophers who took it up with all earnestness for the purpose of challenging the antagonistic views and vindicating their own

Buddhist literature generally falls into two divisions, Pali and Sanskrit. In Pali Buddhist literature there is not a single treatise devoted to Logic; nevertheless it gives very clear indications of current logical doctrines. As he figures in the Pali literature, Buddha is "a reasoner whose interlocutors are not his match; his weapons against them, beside his authority are analogy, simile, parable and an occasional trace of inductions by simple enumerations of cases." We must also bear in mind in this connection that in the personality of Buddha the preacher and the philosopher blended together. While Buddha gave a rationalistic philosophy in an age of Upaniṣadic dogmatism, he had to deal with 'relatively immature minds', 'the man in the street' and "the average bhikkhu or sekha (learner in the order)." But any way the prevailing method of the Buddha in his replies to interlocutors is one of gentle 'reasonableness'.²

The period of Pali Buddhism was rather one of criticism than of construction and it is not a matter of surprise that we do not find during this period any systematic study of logical principles. In the later period of Sanskrit Buddhism when the schism of the Buddhist Church resulted in the four principal schools of Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika, every school for the purpose of opposing rival doctrines as well as vindicating its own, found it necessary to evolve logical methods of arguments and thus gradually there grew up a vast literature on logic which to our great misfortune, is now a mere catalogue of names. Excepting only a few, almost all the treatises on Buddhist Logic are lost. But some have providentially escaped utter destruction as they were translated into Tibetan or Chinese. The Japanese scholar Sadajiro Sugiura has given an account of the Buddhist logic in Chinese and Japanese in his work, "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan" (1900). Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana's monumental work—History of Indian Logic, (1921), presents an elaborate account of the Buddhist Nyāya literature which was transported to Tibet and remains up till now, buried in its Tibetan translation.

Dharmakīrti's Nyāyabindu with the Nyāyabinduṭīkā (Bib Indica and Bib. Buddhica) is the only complete and comprehen-

1. Keith—Buddhist Philosophy, p. 303.

2. C. A. F. Rhys Davids—Logic (Buddhist) in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. p. 132.

sive work on Buddhist logic, that has survived in its original Sanskrit form. The Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts (Bib. Indica) edited by Mahamahopādhyāya Dr. H. P. Sastri discusses some interesting problems of logic. The *Tattvasamgraha* of Śāntarakṣita with Pañjikā of Kamalaśīla (Gaekwad Oriental Series), an encyclopaedic Buddhist work, gives a comprehensive account of Buddhist logic. The *Nyāyapraveśa*, Part I (Sanskrit Text) and Part II (Tibetan Text) in the above series is an important manual of the Dinnāga's school of logic. The Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese sources by Professor Tucci in the same series has no doubt been a very valuable publication. His *Nyāyamukha* (translated into English from Chinese with critical notes), published in *Jahrbuch des Instituts für Buddhismus-Kunde* vol. 1. edited by Prof. Walleser is to be welcomed by all interested in Indian logic. The publication of a few more works on Buddhist logic has, however, been announced in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. But what we possess of the Buddhist Nyāya literature is insignificant in comparison with what has perished of it. Twenty one volumes of the Tanjur (from Vol. Ce to Vol. Re i e. 290 to 310, Cordier), each about 400 leaves with 7 long lines on each side of a leaf, contain, with a few exceptions,¹ Tibetan translations of Buddhist logical treatises. The bibliography on Buddhistic logic in Chinese and Japanese as given by Dr. Sugiura in the appendix to his book already referred to is really of an enormous length.

Owing to these circumstances it is not as yet possible to write upon Buddhist logic with any approach to adequacy though with regard to the main problems we may say that we have sufficient data at our disposal. In our account of Buddhist logic we should make use of some important Buddhist logical texts in Tibetan besides those that are available in Sanskrit. The Brahmanic and Jaina criticisms of, and references to, the Buddhist logical doctrines should also be utilised as far as possible.

It is much to be regretted that Buddhist logic has in recent times scarcely received any attention of the orthodox Indian scholars of logic (Nyāya) who are occupied with the subtleties of the new school of Indian logic (*Navya-Nyāya*).

I. See Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 3: Note on Pustakapāṭhopāya.

But it is worth noting that Buddhist logic has had greater influence upon *Navya-Nyāya* than the ancient Brahmanic logic. While Gautama introduces sixteen categories (*padārtha*), rather topics of discussion in his logical system (i. e. the *Nyāyasūtra*) the Buddhist logicians were restricted to one topic only, viz. *pramāṇa*. The Navya-Naiyāyikas also exclusively confined themselves to *pramāṇa* and discussions pertinent to it in their extensive and elaborate speculations in the field of logic. Gautama's *Nyāyasūtra* has no reference to *vyāpti* or the invariable concomitance between the probandum and the probans which is the pivot of inferential argument, though Vātsyāyana's suggestive remarks in his commentary on the *Nyāyasūtra* 1. 1. 39 are worth noting. All the subtle discussions on the invariable concomitance or *vyāpti* that have found a prominent place in the Navya-Nyāya have, it appears, been profoundly influenced by the theories of inference as held by Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti.

It is to be noted in this connection that the erudite Brahmanic scholars like Uddyotakara, Vācaspati, Udayana and Pārthasārathi Miśra appear to have possessed a profound knowledge of Buddhist logic, which they exhibit in course of their criticism of the Buddhist doctrines.

The Jaina philosophers also took interest in Buddhist logic. Not only did they refer to the Buddhist views in their own works by way of criticism but they also sometimes wrote commentaries on the Buddhist logical treatises, e. g. Haribhadra's *Nyāyapraveśapañjikā* on the *Nyāyapraveśa* and Mallavādin's *Dharmottaraṭippanaka* (Bib. Buddhica) on the *Nyāyabindutikā* of Dharmottara. It deserves to be mentioned here that these commentaries along with the texts, *Nyāyapraveśa*, *Nyāyabindutikā* (with *Nyāyabindu*) and a few more texts of Buddhist logic that have survived in their original Sanskrit form, found refuge in Jain Bhandars, and but for the interest of the Jaina Philosophers in Buddhist logic they would have been lost and in that case would never have come down to us.

The great importance of Buddhist thought is that it gave an impetus to the development of the Brahmanic philosophy in general and logic in particular. And as a result of this the Nyāya doctrines developed by alternate criticism and correction. The *Nyāyasūtra* of Akṣapāda and the *Bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana show the influence of Buddhist critics like Nāgārjuna and refute some of their charges. Dinnāga then sets himself to criticizing

Brahmanic doctrines as those of Akṣapāda and Vātsyāyana. To answer the objections of Dinnāga, urged against Akṣapāda and Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara made an attempt to interpret elaborately the Nyāyasūtra of Akṣapāda and the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana with all their implications. And again as Buddhist criticisms on Akṣapāda and Vātsyāyana led Uddyotakara to write his Nyāyavārttika, Brahmanic criticism on Dinnāga similarly induced Dharmakīrti to write the Pramāṇavārttikakārikā, a metrical commentary upon the Pramāṇasamuccaya effecting all possible improvements in their own defence. Dharmakīrti was again answered by Vācaspati, the great Brahmanic philosopher and commentator. Dharmakīrti was succeeded by a number of Buddhist logicians like Devendrabodhi, Vinītadeva, Jinendrabodhi, Śāntirakṣita, Dharmottara, Arcaṭa and Jetāri, many of whom wrote commentaries and sub-commentaries on the treatises of Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti and occasionally criticised Brahmanic writers like Kumārila and Vācaspati. But they did not possess much originality of thinking like the two masters: Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti. Owing to these mutual conflicts and opposition Indian logic had the opportunity of developing by a process of alternate criticism and construction.

The continuity of Buddhist logic came up to about 1000 A. D. when the decline and fall of Buddhism in India sounded its death-knell. During this time with the revival of Brahmanism Brahmanic logic being tinctured with Buddhistic influence came to be studied over again and thus was laid the foundation of the new school of Brahmanic logic (*Navya Nyāya*) which flourished later on so luxuriantly in Mithila and Nadia.

The History of Logic in India presents three stages: the first stage, when dogmatic philosophy and authority reigned supreme and logic was thrown into the back-ground; the second stage, characterised by a rampant revolt against authority when logic was raised to the rank of philosophy and was on a par with it; and the third stage, when logic got the upper hand over philosophy and in a sense smothered it, but at last lost itself in its own groove. Buddhist logic, it is to be noted, belongs to the second stage.

MISCELLANEA
AN OLD PREFATORY GLOSS ON ISTOPADEŚA
 BY
 A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

इष्टोपदेश of पूज्यपाद is a work which needs no introduction to the students of Jaina Literature. It is a beautiful treatise of high elegance written in Skr. containing only 51 verses. आशाधर¹ the famous writer of the thirteenth century has written a lucid commentary in Sanskrit which is composed by him before 1223 A. D.—the year in which he completed his जिनयज्ञकल्प a huge work on Jaina ritual, in the प्रशस्ति of which he speaks of having already written a commentary on इष्टोपदेश. We do not know of any other Skr. commentary prior to that of आशाधर. Āśādhara's commentary is not without its merits: he has explained the text with all thoroughness and has given many quotations² from different works both in प्राकृत and Sk. to elucidate the contents of his text. This commentary with the text has been published in मा. ग्र. मा. Vol. XIII.

When one critically reads through the commentary of आशाधर he is faced with a queer phenomenon; there are some prose sentences already incorporated in the body of the commentary which have been recommended on by आशाधर. For instance a few may be noted here:—

- (i) अथ शिष्यः प्राह तर्हि व्रतादीनामानर्थक्यमिति । भगवन् यदि सुद्रव्या-
 दिसामग्र्यां सत्यामेवायमात्मा स्वात्मानमुपलप्स्यते तर्हि व्रतानि हिंसादि-
 विरत्यादीनि आद्यो येषां समित्यादीनां तेषां आनर्थक्यं निष्फलत्वं
 स्यात् । p. 25.
- (ii) यदि स्वर्गेऽपि सुखमुत्कृष्टं किमपवर्गप्रार्थनयोति, भगवन् यदि चेत् स्वर्गेऽपि
 न केवलमपवर्गे सुखमस्ति कीदृशं उत्कृष्टं मर्त्यादिसुखातिशायि तर्हि
 किं कार्यं कया अपवर्गस्य मोक्षस्य प्रार्थनया अपवर्गे मे भूयादित्यभि-
 लाषेण । p. 28.
- (iii) पुद्गलेन किल संयोगस्तदपेक्षामरणादयस्तद्व्यथाः कथं परिह्रियन्त इति ।
 पुद्गलेन देहात्मना मूर्तद्रव्येण किल आगमे श्रूयमाणो जीवस्य संबन्धोऽस्ति
 तदपेक्षाश्च पुद्गलसंयोगनिमित्तं जीवस्य मरणादयो मृत्युरोगादयः संभ-
 वन्ति । तद्यथा मरणादयः संभवन्ति मरणादिसंबन्धिन्यो बाधाः

1. Dr. Bhandarakars' Reports (1883-84) and Pt. Premis' विद्वद्रत्नमाला.
 2. Except a dozen, all the quotations have been traced to their
 sources; they are drawn from following works—

तत्त्वानुशासन, लघ्वीयस्वयम्, पञ्चास्तिकाय, आत्मानुशासन, ज्ञानार्णव, समाधिशातक, गोमटसार,
 समयसारकलश, पुरुषार्थसिद्धयुपाय, &c.

कथं केन भावनाप्रकारेण मया परिद्वियन्ते । तदभिभवः कथं निवार्यते ।
p. 46.

When we look to the statements completed by or ending with the word इति in comparison with the following portion, it is quite clear that the इति—ending statemants have been explained by आशाधर. Those statements cannot be ascribed to him; had they been his own, there is no reason why he should again explain them in the very fashion in which he is explaining the text of इष्टोपदेश. Once he notes a various reading in such a statement and deals at length with its meaning. For instance :

अथाह शिष्यः । अभ्यासः कथमिति । अभ्यासप्रयोगोपायप्रश्नोऽयं । अभ्यासः
कथ्यत इति कचित्पाठः । p. 50-51.

The admission of this various reading is a conclusive proof that these statements were there, before आशाधर, when he was writing his commentary.

As to the nature of these statements, seen in their sum total they are introductory remarks generally at the opening of each verse to establish the connection between the forthcoming verse and the preceding one. इष्टोपदेश is a structure of continuous arguments and these remarks supply the interlinks. Considering their value आशाधर has commented on these statements taking them to be a part of the text.

One more evidence on the point is supplied by a Kanarese commentary¹ on इष्टोपदेश. It appears to be sufficiently old and there are no traces in it that it is influenced by आशाधर's Sk. commentary. Though it cannot be definitely said that the Kanarese commentary is earlier than आशाधर, it is plain that आशाधर's commentary has not reached the hands of the Kanarese commentator. In the Kanarese commentary also the introductory remarks are there and they are verbally the same as those given by आशाधर. In one or two places आशाधर has digested the originals and reproduced them in his own words. These introductory remarks have been explained in the Kanarese commentary also. Thus both आशाधर and the K. commentary take these introductory remarks as an essential constituent of इष्टोपदेश text. If so, who is the author of these remarks ?

These remarks go to clear up the context of each verse and hence it is just imaginable that they too have been composed by पूज्यपाद himself along with the verses of इष्टोपदेश.

1. From श्रीलक्ष्मीसिन्धु, Kolhapur.

AUTHORSHIP OF SVARŪPA-SAMBODHANA

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.



स्वरूपसंबोधन is a short discourse on the Jaina concept of the soul and the path of Liberation, in conformity with the famous Jaina logic of seven-fold predication. As the title suggests and as the verse 22 runs thus,

‘आत्माधीने सुखे तात यत्नं किं न करिष्यसि’

it is imaginable that it might have been composed as an address to some elderly person.

This small treatise has been published in माणिकचंद ग्रंथमाला Vol. I, probably from a single Ms. The P. T. (Printed Text) contains twentyfive verses including the concluding verse which names the work as स्वरूपसंबोधनपञ्चविंशतिः. But we have come across a Ms.¹ with Kanarese commentary in which there are twenty-six verses. No doubt it is a पञ्चविंशतिः, that does not mean there should not be twenty-six verses.² In calculating the number oftentimes the concluding verse is not included and there are many such instances. अद्यात्माष्टक³ of वादिराज has got nine verses together with the concluding one; similarly द्वात्रिंशतिका⁴ of अमितागति has thirty-three verses. I am not unaware of the evidences to the contrary. मोक्षपञ्चशिका⁵ has only fifty verses including the last. It is to be remembered that the number twenty-six is not an improbable one in a work named पञ्चविंशतिः as the last verse is *not* included in the calculation. Moreover the additional verse of the Ms. fits in the context. It comes before number 21 of P. T. and runs thus:—

तथाऽप्यतीव तृष्णावान् हन्त मा भूस्त्वमात्मानि ।

यावत्तृष्णाप्रभूतिस्ते तावन्मोक्षं न यास्यासि ॥

Pt. Premi in his essay on अकलङ्क⁵, and the head line of the P. T. ascribe this short work to अकलङ्क, the famous Jaina Logician. Of course Pt. Premi must have had some Ms. evidence. Further विमल the author of सप्तमङ्गीतरङ्गिणी quotes the third verse of स्वरूपसंबोधन in this way:—

1. Belonging to श्रीलक्ष्मीसिनमठ Kolhapur.
2. Published in मा. ग्र. मा. XIII.
3. Ibid. XIII.
4. मा. ग्र. मा. XIII
5. Introduction to मा. ग्र. मा. Vol I.

¹तदुक्तं भट्टकलङ्कदेवैः—

‘ प्रमेयत्वादिभिर्धर्मैरचिदात्मा चिदात्मकः
ज्ञानदर्शनतस्तस्माच्चेतनाऽचेतनात्मकः ’

Thus there appears to have been a tradition that अकलङ्क is the author of स्व. सं. But this tradition is strongly disputed and महासेन is the author of स्व. सं. The evidences are as below:—

(1) A Kanarese commentary² of स्व. सं., in its opening lines says quite definitely that महासेन, the disciple of नयसेन, composed स्व. सं., the passage runs thus:—

श्रियः पतिं केवलबोधलोचनं
प्रणम्य प्रद्वप्रभबोधकारणं ।
करोमि कर्णाटगिरा प्रकाशनं
स्वरूपसंबोधनपंचविंशतेः ॥

श्रीमन्नयसेनपण्डितदेवर शिष्यरूप्य श्रीमन्महासेनदेवः॥ मव्यसार्थसंबोधनार्थमाणि
स्वरूपसंबोधनपंचविंशतियंब ग्रंथं माडुत्तमा ग्रंथद् मोदलोः इष्टदेवतानमस्कारमं
माडिदप्.

(2) पद्मप्रभमलधरिदेव in his commentary (तात्पर्यवृत्तिः) on नियमसार³ quotes some verses in this way :—

(a) ⁴उक्तं च षण्णवतिपाषंडिविजयोपार्जितविशालकीर्तिभिर्महासेनपण्डितदेवैः—
“ यथावद्वस्तुनिर्णीतिः सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रदीपवत् ।
तत्स्वार्थव्यवसायात्मा कथंचित् प्रमितेः पृथक् ॥ ”

(b) ⁵तथा चोक्तं श्रीमहासेनपण्डितदेवैः—
ज्ञानाद्भिन्नो न नाभिन्नो भिन्नाभिन्नः कथं चन ।
ज्ञातं पूर्वापरीभूतं सोयमात्मेति कीर्तितः ॥

Both of these quotations are from स्व. सं. where their numbers are 12 and 4 respectively. In this way it appears that the Kanarese commentator and पद्मप्रभ ascribe this small treatise to महासेन⁶ though still we are in dark as to how the tradition ascribing this work to अकलङ्क came in vogue.

1. Page 79 रा. ग. मा. edition.

2. Belonging to श्रीलक्ष्मीसिनभट्ट.

3. जै. ग. र. edition.

4. p. 136.

5. p. 140.

6. I learn from Pt. Jugalakishore that a Ms. of स्व. सं. is ascribed to महासेन in the Catalogue of पडुवस्ती Bhandar at मुडचिदुरे; Thanks to Panditji for this important reference.

A careful study of स्व. सं. shows that the author is an able logician with a special command over अनेकान्त logic and its mode of application. It is this fact that might have led some one to relegate the work to अकलङ्क's authorship as in recent times, पञ्चाध्यायी¹ was ascribed to अमृतचन्द्र on the ground that there is an obeisance to अनेकान्त in its opening verses. We do not know much about महासेन. No doubt he is a polemic logician as seen from स्व. सं. and the introductory words (षण्णवतिपाशंडिविजयोपार्जितविशाल-कीर्तिभिर्महासेनदेवैः) used by पद्मप्रभदेव. The Kanarese commentary says that he is the disciple of नयसेन. We know of one नयसेन² the author of धर्माश्रुत, who had many honorific titles as त्रैविद्यदेव, त्रैविद्य-लक्ष्मीपति, and who composed his work in 1112 A. C. If our महासेन is the pupil of this नयसेन then he must have lived next to him in the middle of the 12th century. This cannot be a conclusive identity as there was one more नयसेन even before the author of धर्माश्रुत of whom we have a mention in धर्माश्रुत.³⁻⁴ It is just possible that महासेन, 'the far famed logician' might have composed some works on Jaina न्याय. I learn from Pt. Juglalakishore that in the catalogue of books in Padubasti Bhandāra at Mūḍabidure there is a work named प्रमाणनिर्णय composed one by महासेन.

There were three other महासेनस beside the author of स्व. सं. The हरिवंशपुराण of जिनसेन mentions महासेन who composed the सुलोचनाकाव्य⁵ (not traced as yet). He thus belonged to a period earlier than 783 A. D. when हरिवंश was completed. Then there was another महासेन, the disciple of आर्यसेन.⁶ चांकिराज, who according to Honvad Inscription⁷ built many temples, was the adept of this Mahāseṇa. The inscription being dated Śaka 976 (1054 A. D.) this महासेन flourished

1. See Introduction to लाटीसंहिता, (मा. ग्र. मा.) XXVI

2. See कर्णाटककविविचरिते vol. 1 p. 117.

3. एनितोल्लु तर्कशास्त्रम्
वनिमुनतिशयदिनेसेय नयसेनमुनी- ।
द्रने बल्लनेदु धारिणि
मनदादरदिदे योगळे कीर्तियनांत ॥

धर्माश्रुत I. 21.

4. According to a statement of देवचन्द्र there was one more नयसेन who is said to have written a पुण्याल्लवकथासार (not traced any where.) He belongs to a period later than 13th century.

5. महासेनस्य मधुरा शीलालङ्कारधारिणी
कथा न वर्णिता केन वनितेव सुलोचना I. 33.
(There is a pun on the word सुलोचना)

6. The author of स्व सं. is the disciple of नयसेन. See above.

7. See I. A. XIX p. 268-75,

in the middle of the 11th century.¹ The third महासेन is the author of प्रद्युम्नचरित² and the colophon of that work at the end of each chapter runs thus:— 'इति श्रीसिंधुराजसत्कमहामहत्तमश्रीपप्पटगुरोः पण्डितश्रीमहासेनाचार्यकृते प्रद्युम्नचरिते &c. Thus it was written at the instance of पप्पट a high official of सिंधुराज. In the light of the available material there is no definite evidence to identify the author of स्व. सं. with any one of these three.

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1. See Répertoire D'épigraphie Jaina Nos. 186 and 217.
 2. Published in मा. श. मा Vol. VIII.

THE BHARATA-ADIBHARATA PROBLEM AND THE
MS OF ADIBHARATA IN THE GOVERNMENT
ORIENTAL LIBRARY, MYSORE.

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

As various hypotheses have been offered for the solution of the *Bharata-Adibharata* problem it is desirable to record data bearing on the problem from all sources possible. The following data has been recorded so far :—

1. Dr. P. R. Bhandarkar in one of his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*¹ observes:

“Rāghavabhaṭṭa mentions a work called *Ādibharata*. A Ms with this name exists in the Mysore Oriental Library.”

2. Mr. Manmohan Ghoshe² has collected these quotations from Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Abhiññāna-Śākuntala*. According to him the quotations from the *Ādibharata* are 19 in number, while those from *Bharata* are 9 only. Out of these quotations from *Bharata*, seven are traceable in the extant editions of the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* while *two* have their parallels in it.

3. Mr. M. R. Kavi³ possesses some fragments of a work called *Sadāśivabharata* which according to him may be the *Ādibharata*.

4. Aufrecht mentions a work on alamkāra called “*ādibharata-prastāra*” (No. 4991 of Oppert's Catalogue) the subject matter of which is stated to be *Bharataśāstra*.

Dr. S. K. De makes the following remarks⁴ regarding the problem :—

“ It appears that the term *bharata* in course of time came to mean the dramatic art generally as it also came to mean the actor ; and Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śākuntalā* expressly refers to *ādibharata* by whom he means our author in contradistinction to these later *bharatas*. ”

Mr. Manmohan Ghoshe observes in this connection: “ If the *Ādibharata* and *Bharata* prove to be two different works it will only strengthen the general belief that the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* is not the work of a single author. ”

1. Vol. XLI, p. 158.

2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1930, pp. 75-80.

3. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G. O. S.) Vol. I., pp. 5f of the Preface.

4. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 24, foot note 3.

In view of the foregoing data leading to two different views regarding the identity of *Bharata* and *Ādibharata* or otherwise I wanted to verify the statement of Dr. P. R. Bhandarkar by actual examination of the Mysore Ms of the *Ādibharata* referred to by him. This Ms is described in the Catalogue of the Mysore Oriental Library (1894), p. 108 as follows:—

“590. आदिभरतम् श्रीभरताचार्यप्रणीतम्
(472) आ. ८५ प. असमग्रम् ”

With the kindness of the Curator of the Mysore Oriental Library I was able to get on loan the so-called Ms of the *Ādibharata* tallying outwardly with the description of the Catalogue given above. On actual examination, however, this work in *Andhra* characters turned out to be a regular Ms of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in an incomplete condition, only 15 chapters being extant in this copy with a folio of matter from the 16th Chapter¹. The Ms begins with the following verse:—

“ वेदोपवेदसंबंधो नाट्यवेदो महात्मनाम्
एवं भगवता सृष्टो ब्रह्मणा ललितात्मकः ” ॥ १ ॥

The above verse appears as verse 18th in the Baroda Edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (1928) and the Benares Edition (1929).

The colophon of the 1st chapter is as under:—

“ इति भारतीयनाट्यशास्त्रे नाट्योत्पत्तिर्नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः । ”

The colophon of the 15th chapter reads—

“ इति भारतीयनाट्यशास्त्रे वाचिकाभिनये छंदोविधानं नाम पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः ”

The present disclosure has removed the possibility of the existence of a Ms of the work of *Ādibharata* as a work on *Nāṭyaśāstra* distinct and separate from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* commonly ascribed to Bharata. It appears further to corroborate the view of Dr. De that the term *Ādibharata* was used with reference to the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in contradistinction to the later *Bharatas*.

1. After the present note was written I inquired of Mr. M. R. Kavi if he has made use of this Ms (labelled as *Ādibharata* but actually *Bhāra'īya Nāṭyaśāstra*) in his Gaikwar Oriental Series edition. He first wrote in reply that out of the two Mss used by him, one has 33 chapters, the other has only 15 chapters. He further informed me that “in the Mysore Library 4472 is *Nāṭyaśāstra* consisting of 15 chapters. The number may be a mistake for 472.” I next inquired of the Curator of the Mysore Library if Mr. Kavi has made use of this Ms. I was informed by the Curator, curiously enough, that no reference can be traced of Mr. M. R. Kavi having borrowed or used any of the Mss on *Nāṭyaśāstra* in his Library. This reply stopped my inquiry any further.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

VI

DATES OF RATNACANDRA'S COMMENTARIES ON THE
RAGHUVAMŚA AND THE NAIṢADHĪYA
—BETWEEN A. D. 1612 AND 1627

No complete Mss of Ratnacandra's commentaries on the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Naiṣadhīya* have yet been discovered. Aufrecht records only one Ms. of each of the commentaries and that too in a fragmentary condition.

The Ms of the *Raghuvamśatikā* of Ratnacandra mentioned by Aufrecht¹ is the same as No. 446 of 1887-91 of the Government Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This Ms consists of 31 folios and is incomplete as it contains Ratnacandra's commentary on the first three cantos with two folios of commentary on the 4th canto. Ratnacandra was a pupil of Śānticandra.² The fact of his having written a commentary on the *Naiṣadhiyacarita* of Śrīharṣa has been mentioned in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa*, where the *Raghuvamśatikā* is called a sister or younger sister (सहोदरा or लघुभगिनी) of the *Naiṣadhīyavivṛtti* or Śrīharṣakāvyavivṛtti.³ As in the case of the *Raghuvamśatikā* Aufrecht⁴ records only one fragmentary Ms of the *Naiṣadhīyavivṛtti* viz. "R. 369" which also is in the Government Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute as No. 369 of 1884-87.

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum* Part III, p. 104.

2. Ms No. 446 of 1887-91, folio 7 —

“अशिातिचन्द्रवाचकसुगुरोश्चरणारविदंमामिनस्य ।”

शिष्यकृते रघुकाव्ये कुर्वेहं विवरणं किञ्चित् ॥ २ ॥

3. Ibid — folio 12.

“अशिान्तिचन्द्रवरवाचकदुर्धसिन्धु-

लब्धप्रतिष्ठविबुधोत्तमरत्नचन्द्रः ।

काव्ये सहस्रकिरणोद्भववशावृत्ते

शिष्यप्रबोधविधये कुरुते स्म टीकां ॥ १ ॥

तस्यां सद्बन्धनिरूपणबन्धुरायां

संक्षिप्तशब्दतत्त्ववाच्यविचारणायाम्

श्रीनैषधयिविवृतेश्च सहोदरायां

मार्गो गमत् प्रथमता प्रथितः सद्बन्धः ॥ २ ॥

See also folios 20 and 29 where the above two verses are repeated with slight variations.

4. *Catalogus Catalogorum* Part II, p. 67.

This Ms contains Ratnacandra's commentary on cantos XI, XX, XXI, and XXII of the *Naiṣadhiyacarita*. In this commentary also Ratnacandra repeats the stanza about his *guru* as under on folio 231 :—

“ श्रीशान्तिचंद्रवरवाचकदुग्धसिंधु
लब्धप्रतिष्ठविबुधोत्तमरत्नचंद्रः
श्रीनैषधीयचरिते कुरुते स्म टीकां
विंशः समाप्तिमितवानिह सर्ग एषः ”

The above stanza is repeated at the end of cantos XX, XXI and XXII. The present Ms is dated Samvat 1668 (=A.D. 1612). As the *Raghuvamśatikā* mentions the *Naiṣadhīyavivṛtti*, it must have been written after the *Naiṣadhīyavivṛtti*. The two Mss. under reference give no further clue to the date of Ratnacandra and his works.

The question now arises whether our Ratnacandra is identical with the Ratnacandra to whom some works are assigned in the Jain Granthāvali.¹ This identity is proved by internal evidence of the Ms of the अध्यात्मकल्पद्रुमवृत्ति (No. 360 of 1880-81 of the Government Mss Library). This Ms is dated Samvat 1683. Ratnacandra's patent stanza about his *guru* is to be found in this commentary also.² There is a long praśasti at the end of the Ms which supplies much information about the works written by Ratnacandra previous to this commentary. We are told that this commentary was written in Samvat 1674 at Surat (सुरति वंदिरे). It had the following brothers :—(1) श्री प्रद्युम्नचरित्र (2) श्री सम्यक्त्वसप्तति—सम्यक्त्वरभप्रकाशनामबालवबोधरः (3) श्रीसमवसरणबालवबोध and (4) श्रीहितोपदेश. It had also the following sisters :—Commentaries on (1) श्रीभक्तामरस्तव, (2) श्रीकल्याणमन्दिरस्तव, (3) श्रीदेवाप्रभोस्तव, (4) श्रीमन्धर्मस्तव, (5) श्रीकृष्णभवीरस्तव, (6) श्रीकृष्णारसकोश, (7) श्रीनैषधमहाकाव्य and (8) रघुवंशमहाकाव्य. This list attached to the colophon of a work composed in Samvat 1674 and a Ms of which is dated Samvat 1683 proves that all the works in the list were written prior to Samvat 1683. The following table will give a clear idea of the

1. Jain Granthāvali (1909)—

p. 109 — अध्यात्मकल्पद्रुमवृत्ति—Composed in Samvat 1674.

p. 159 — कुमताहिबिजिजायली — Composed in Samvat 1677.
(अपर नाम हितोपदेश).

p. 285 — भक्तामरस्तोत्रवृत्ति etc.

2. Ms No. 361 of 1880-81, folio 61—

“ श्रीशान्तिचंद्रवरवाचकदुग्धसिंधु
लब्धप्रतिष्ठवरवाचकरत्नचन्द्रः
अध्यात्मकल्पफलद्वयचकार टीकां
तन्नाधिकार इति षोडश एष सार्थः ”

chronological order which can be deduced from the foregoing data :—

	Works	Saṃvat	A. D.	Remarks
1	नैषधययिवृत्ति*	Before or in Saṃvat 1668*	1612	*Ms is dated Saṃvat 1668.
2	रघुवंशटीका*	Between Saṃvat 1668 and 1683.	Between 1612 and 1627.	*referred to in अ. क. वृत्ति Ms dated Saṃvat 1683.
3	हितोपदेश	Composed in Saṃvat 1677*	Composed in 1621.	*according to Jain Granthāvali p. 159.
4	भक्तामरस्तोत्र*	Before Saṃvat 1683.	Before 1627.	*mentioned in a Ms of अध्यात्मकल्पद्वयवृत्ति dated Saṃvat 1683.
5	अध्यात्मकल्पद्वय-वृत्ति	Composed in 1674*	1618	*Ms is dated Saṃvat 1683 (=A. D. 1627)

It would thus be seen that Ratnacandra's literary activity falls between A. D. 1612 and 1627 or in the *first quarter of the 17th century* and that he wrote the two non-Jain commentaries possibly at the beginning of his literary career.

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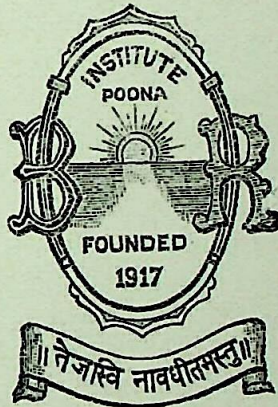
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[PART II

NON-CANONICAL PALI LITERATURE

BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M. A., Ph. D., B. L.

The Pali canon includes the books of the three Piṭakas. The works which are not included in those Piṭakas are known as non-canonical or extra-canonical.

The title *Nettipakaraṇa*¹ as explained by Dhammapāla, means exposition of that which leads to the knowledge of the Good Law. The *Netti* shows

- Nettipakaraṇa
-
- 1 This work has been edited by Prof. E. Hardy for the P. T. S. London, and published by the said society in 1902. There is also a Burmese edition of this text. The text is not entirely free from inaccuracies but all such defects are pardonable when we remember that it is a pioneer work. The text edited by the P. T. S. is based on the following manuscripts :—
- (i) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese character (see Catalogue of the Mandalay Mss. in the India Office Library by Prof. V. Fausboll, J. P. T. S., 1896) ;
 - (ii) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office (Phayre collection), likewise written in Burmese character (see Catalogue of the Pali Mss. in the India Office Library by H. Oldenberg) ;
 - (iii) Paper manuscript (brought from W. Subhuti by Prof. Rhys Davids) in Sinhalese character (Introduction, p. XXXV). Prof. Hardy has relied on the palm leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese character in noting readings whenever they are found to contribute to a better understanding of the text.

Mrs. Rhys Davids translates 'Nettipakaraṇa' as the 'Book of Guidance' (*Sākya or Buddhist Origins*, p. 127).

the methodical way of attaining textual knowledge. It contains much of the materials which are so grouped as to form a book by itself. The commentary on the *Nettipakaraṇa* says that without an able instructor it is impossible for men to be guided in the right understanding of the doctrines.

This treatise was translated into Burmese by Thera Mahāsīlavamsa in the fifteenth century of the Christian era, and again two centuries later, by a dweller in the *Pubbārāma-Vihāra*. It was composed at the request of Thera Dhammarakkhita and highly praised by Mahākaccāna. The Mandalay manuscript ascribes its authorship to Mahākaccāna as every section bears a clear testimony to the authorship of Mahākaccāna who has been described here as *Jambuvanavāsin*, i. e., dweller in the rose-apple grove.

The *Netti* is essentially a Pali treatise on the textual and exegetical methodology, a Buddhist treatment upon the whole of the *Tantra Yuktis* discussed in the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, the *Suśrutasamhitā*, the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Aṣṭāṅga-Hṛdaya*. It stands in the same relation to the Pali cannon as *Yāska's Nirukta* to the *Vedas*. The scheme of methodology has been worked out in a progressive order, the thesis being developed or elaborated by gradual steps. To begin with we have the opening section, *Saṅgahavāra*, or the conspectus of the whole book which is a feature also of the *Milinda Pañha*. Then we have the *Vibhāgavāra* or the section presenting a systematic treatment in classified tables. This section comprises three tables or sub-sections :— (1) *Uddesavāra*, (2) *Niddesavāra* and (3) *Paṭiniddesavāra*. The *Uddesavāra* merely presents a bare statement of the theses and as such it serves as a table of contents. It is followed by the *Niddesavāra* which briefly specifies the import or definitions of the theses awaiting detailed treatment in the section immediately following, we mean the *Paṭiniddesavāra*, which is but an elucidation and elaboration of the *Niddesa* scheme. The theses in the *Uddesavāra* are introduced in three separate tables or categories — (1) that of sixteen *hāras* (connected chains), (2) that of five *nayas* (modes of inspection), and (3) that of eighteen *mūlapadas* (main ethical topics). The sixteen *hāras* consist of

desanā (the method of instruction), vicaya (the method of enquiry), yutti (the method of establishing connection in groups), padatṭhāna (the method of teaching with reference to the fundamentals), lakkhaṇa (the method of determining implications by characteristic marks), catuvyūha (the method of four fold array), āvatta (the cyclical method), vibhatti (the method of classification), parivattana (the method of transformation), vevacana (the method of synonyms), paññatti (the method of determining (signification), otaṇa (the method of descending steps), sodhana (the method of rectification), adhiṭṭhāna (the method of determining positions), parikkhāra (the method of discriminating causal relations), and samāropana (the method of attribution).

The five *nayas* consist of the following modes of viewing things :— (1) *nandiyāvatā*, (2) *tipukkhaḷa* (by the triple lotus), (3) *sīhavikkīḷita* (the lion-like sport), (4) *disālocana* (broad vision) and (5) *aṅkusa* (focussing).

The eighteen *mūlapadas* comprise nine *kusalas* and nine *akusalas*. The nine *akusalas* are *taṇhā* (thirst), *avijjā* (ignorance), *lobha* (covetousness), *dosa* (hatred), *moha* (delusion), *subhasaññā* (false idea of purity), *niccasaññā* (false idea of permanence), *attasaññā* (false idea of personal identity), etc. The nine *kusalas* are *samatha* (tranquillity), *vipassanā* (insight), *alobha* (absence of covetousness), *adosa* (absence of hatred), *amoha* (absence of delusion), *asubhasaññā* (idea of impurity), *dukkhasaññā* (idea of discordance), *aniccasaññā* (idea of impermanence) and *anattasaññā* (idea of non-identity).

In the *Niddesavāra*, the reader is to expect nothing more than a general specification of the meaning of the topics proposed in the *Uddesavāra* for treatment. From the *Niddesavāra* the reader is led on to the next step, the *Paṇiniddesavāra* which contains four broad divisions, namely. (1) *Hāravibhaṅga* (explanations of the connected chains), (2) *Hārasampāta* (discussions of the *hāra* projections), (3) *Nayasamutṭhāna* (exposition of the modes of inspection and (4) the *Sāsanapaṭṭhāna* (the classification and interpretation of Buddha's instructions).

The treatise deals in detail with sixteen hāras in the specified order as follows :

The Desanāhāra directs the reader to notice six distinctive features in the Buddha's method of instructions, namely, assādam (bright side), ādinavam (dark side), nissaranam (means of escape), phalam (fruition), upāyam (means of success) and ānattim (the moral upshot). It also points out that Buddha's instructions are carefully adapted to four classes of hearers, namely (1) those of right intellect (understanding things by mere hints), (2) those needing short explanations, (3) those to be slowly led by elaborate expositions and (4) those whose understanding does not go beneath the words. In the same connection it seeks to bring home the distinction between the three kinds of knowledge, sutamayī, cintāmayī and bhāvanāmayī.

In the Vicayahāra the method of ruminating over the subjects of questions and thoughts and repetitions in thought is laid down, and this is elaborately illustrated with appropriate quotations from the canonical texts.

In the Yuttihāra we are introduced to the method of grouping together connected ideas and the right application of the method of reasoning or inference in interpreting the dharma.

The Padaṭṭhānahāra explains the doctrinal points by their fundamental characteristics and exemplifies them. *This hāra has an important bearing on the Milinda expositions.*

The Lakkhanahāra points out that when one of a group of matters characterised by the same mark is mentioned, the others must be taken as implied. For instance, when the sense of sight is mentioned in a passage, the implication should be that other senses received the same treatment.

The Catuvyūhahāra unfolds the method of understanding the doctrines by noting the following points :—

(1) the text, (2) the term, (3) the purport, (4) the introductory episode and (5) the sequence, illustrating each of them with quotations from the canonical texts.

The *Āvattahāra* aptly illustrates with authoritative quotations how in the teachings of the Buddha all things turn round to form cycles of some fundamental ideas such as *taṇhā*, *avijjā*, the four Aryan truths and the like.

The *Vibhattihāra* explains the method of classifying Buddha's discussions according to their character common or uncommon or according to their values, inferior, superior or mediocre.

The *Parivattanahāra* contains an exposition of the method by which the Buddha tried to transform a bad thing into a good thing and transform also the life of a bad man.

The *Vevacanahāra* calls attention to the dictionary method of synonyms by which the Buddha tried to impress and clarify certain notions of the Dhamma. This section forms a landmark in the development of Indian lexicography.

In the *Paññattihāra* it is stated that though the Dhamma is one, the Lord has presented it in various forms. There are four noble truths beginning with *dukkha*. When these truths are realised then knowledge and wisdom come in and then the way to *Bhāvanā* is open to the knower. The elements may be compared but *Nibbāna* cannot be compared.

In the section on *Otarāṇa* the *Netti* illustrates how in the schemata of Buddha's doctrines diverse notions spontaneously descend under the burden of certain leading topics such as, *indriyas*, *paṭiccasamuppāda*, five *khandhas* and the like.

The *Sodhanahāra* illustrates the method by which the Buddha corrected the form of the questions in the replies offered by him.

The *Adhiṭṭhānahāra* explains in detail the method of determining the respective positions of different ideas according as they make for certain common notions. In the *Adhiṭṭhānahāra* the basis of all truth is given. The four truths beginning with *dukkham* are described and side by side *avijjā* is shown to be the cause working in opposite ways. There are also paths bringing about the extinction of *dukkha*, etc. The various *kāyas* and *dhātus* are also considered. *Samādhi* is the only means of removing evils.

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In the Parikkhārahāra the Netti explains and exemplifies how one can distinguish between the causal elements, broadly between *hetu* and other causal relations. *This section has an important bearing on the Poṭṭhāna of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.*

We come at last to the section called the Samāropanahāra. This section explains and illustrates the Buddha's method of four-fold attribution, (1) by way of fundamental ideas, (2) by way of synonyms, (3) by way of contemplation and by way of getting rid of the immoral propensities.

Hāra Saṃpāta is a division which is dependent on the hāra as its purpose is to present the projections or main moral implications of the hāras or the connected chains previously dealt with.

This division like the preceding one consists of sixteen parts exactly under the same headings.

In the Hāra Saṃpāta the commentator Dhammapāla has added and rearranged many new things. He cites the passages from the text and then puts a lay dissertation on them by way of questions and answers. *This division stands almost as an independent treatise by itself.*

Desanā hāra Saṃpāta — In this division it is laid down that Māra invades only a mind which is quite unprotected (*pamāda-citta*), which is based on false beliefs, on idleness, &c.

Vicaya hāra Saṃpāta — In this section it is laid down that desire (*tanhā*) is of two kinds: kusala and akusala. The one leads to nibbāna and the other to birth and suffering (*saṃsāra*). Mind is both kusala and akusala in nature. The real nature of things can only be seen in the fourth Jhāna stage. The various signs and nature of nibbāna and samādhi are described. Samādhi has five characteristics, namely, joy, happiness, consciousness, enlightenment and right perception. There are ten objects of meditation (*kaṣiṇāyatanāni*) e. g., *paṭhavī*, *āpo*, etc. They are then attached to three objects, *anicca* (non-permanent), *dukkha* (suffering) and *anatta* (non-existence of soul).

A differentiation is brought about between an ordinary man and a man with knowledge. The former can do any kind of

offence that may be possible. But the latter cannot. The former can even kill his father or mother, can destroy the stūpas but the latter cannot; when one practises the four Jhānas, and attains to Samādhi, his previous life and futurity are known to him.

In the Yutti-hāra-sāmpāta it is stated that sloth, stuper and misery disappear from him who is well protected in mind, firm in resolution and adheres to right seeing.

In the Padaṭṭhāna-hāra and Lakkhaṇa-hāra-sāmpāta, the padaṭṭhānas (reasonings) are described as belonging to one who is well restrained in mind, words and actions and who by the proper attainment of padaṭṭhānas realises the highest path.

In the Caturvyūhahāra-sāmpāta, Āvattahāra-sāmpāta, Vibhatti-hāra-sāmpāta, etc., great stress is laid on right perception, mindfulness and kusala deeds which lead to the knowledge of paṭicca-samuppāda.

The third division called the Nayasamutthāna contains a detailed treatment of the five specified modes of viewing things. Under the Nandiyāvatta mode, it is pointed out that the earlier extremity of the world cannot be known owing to avijjā (ignorance) which has taṇhā (desire) at the root. Those who walk in the field of pleasure are bound down in heretical beliefs and are unable to realise the truth. There are four noble truths—Dukkhaṃ, dukkhasamudayaṃ, dukkhanirodhaṃ and dukkha-nirodhagāminipaṭipadā. There is a middle path (majjhima paṭipadā) which rejects the two extreme views and which is identified with the eightfold noble path (ariya aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo). He who has avoided diṭṭhi (false view) escapes from kāma (lust). Hence avoidance of desire (taṇhā) and ignorance (avijjā) leads to quietitude or calmness. Kamma is recognised as the cause of the world of sufferings. But consciousness and all that concerns consciousness may be seen in their increment in the ten vatthus. The ordinary enjoyment of food and touch, etc. is the cause of distress of a man with desire.

The various āsavas (sins) are next described. The sufferings of a man with attachments, faults and wrong views are also narrated. The four paths, the four foundations of recollections,

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the four Jhānas, the four essentials (sammappadhānas), the four meditations, the four pleasure yielding states, etc., are also stated ; each of these is described as an antidote for the man with attachment, delusion and wrong views.

Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas, the disciples, and all those who are devoid of attachment, hatred, delusion, etc., are like lions. Those who look to the right aspects, the senses, the counter forces of the views with as strong reasons as Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas etc., are said to have seen things just like a lion. Human types are four in number. Each of these has to undergo some sort of training. To each of them is offered an advice as to tanhā (desire), rāga (attachment), kusala (merit), etc. This is the way shown to be of the Tipukkhalo and of the Aṅkusa described in the text.

Now turning to the fourth division, the Sāsanapaṭṭhāna, we get a treatment of the proper method of classification and interpretation of the texts of the Dhamma. It is suggested that the discourses of the Buddha can be classified according to the themes into :—(1) Saṅkilesabhāgiya (those dealing with saṅkilesa or impurity), (2) Vāsanābhāgiya (those dealing with desire), (3) Nibbedhabhāgiya (those dealing with penetration), (4) Asekhabhāgiya (those dealing with the subject of a non-learner), (5) Saṅkilesabhāgiya and Vāsanābhāgiya, (6) Saṅkilesa and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (7) Saṅkilesa and Asekhabhāgiya, (8) Saṅkilesa and Nibbedha and Asekhabhāgiya, (9) Saṅkilesa and Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (10) Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (11) Tanhā-saṅkilesabhāgiya, (12) Diṭṭhisāṅkilesabhāgiya, (13) Duccarita-saṅkilesabhāgiya, (14) Tanhāvodānabhāgiya, (15) Diṭṭhivodānabhāgiya, (16) Duccaritavodānabhāgiya. Of these, saṅkilesas are of three kinds, tanhā (desire), diṭṭhi (false view), and duccaritas (wrong actions).

Various padas, slokas and texts are cited while explaining each of these textual classifications.

The eighteen main padas are those which are worldly (lokikaṃ), unworldly (lokuttaraṃ), etc. In fact the chapter is made highly interesting by its numerous quotations from familiar

texts and it does not enter deep into philosophical or logical arguments. But the classification and reclassifications are no doubt interesting as intellectual gymnastics.

The *Peṭakopadesa* is another treatise on the textual and the exegetical methodology ascribed to Mahākaccāna and it is nothing but a different manipulation of the subject treated in the *Nettipakaraṇa*. Interest of this treatise, if it was at all a work of the same author, lies in the fact that it throws some new light here and there on the points somewhat obscure in the *Netti*. Its importance lies also in the fact that in places it has quoted the Pali canonical passages mentioning the sources by such names as *Saṃyuttaka* (= *Saṃyutta Nikāya*) and *Ekuttaraka* (= *Ekuttara* or *Anguttara Nikāya*). Its importance arises no less from the fact in it the four Ariyan truths are stated to be the central theme or essence of Buddhism, the point which gained much ground in the literature of the Sarvastivādin school. The importance of the last point will be realised all the more as we find how the discourses developed in the *Netti* in the course of formulating the textual and exegetical methodology centered round the four Ariyan truths. This work has not yet been edited. The P. T. S., London has undertaken an edition of it. A specimen by R. Fuchs Diss. Berlin, 1908 deserves mention.

The *Milinda Pañha* or the questions of Milinda had originally been written in Northern India in Sanskrit or in some North Indian Prakrit by an author whose name has not, unfortunately enough, come down to us. But, the original text is now lost in the land of its origin as elsewhere; what now remains is the Pali translation of the original which was made at a very early date in Ceylon. From Ceylon, it travelled to other countries, namely, Burma and Siam, which have derived their Buddhism from Ceylon, and where at a later date it was translated into respective local dialects. In China, too, there have been found two separate works entitled "The Book of the Bhikkhu Nāgasena Sūtra", but whether they are translations of the older recensions of the work than the one preserved in Pali or of the Pali recensions is difficult

2 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

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to ascertain. However, in the home of Southern Buddhism, the book is accepted as a standard authority, second only to the Pali Pitakas. Prof. Rhys Davids rightly observes, "It is not merely the only work composed among the Northern Buddhists which is regarded with reverence by the orthodox Buddhists of the Southern schools, it is the only one which has survived at all amongst them" ¹.

The book purports to discuss a good number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism ; and this discussion is treated in the form of conversations between King Milinda of Sāgala and Thera Nāgasena. Milinda raises the questions and puts the dilemmas, and thus plays a subordinate part in comparison to that played by Nāgasena who answers the questions and solves the puzzles in detail. Naturally, therefore, the didactic element predominates in the otherwise romantic account of the encounter between the two.

Milinda who has been described as the King of the Yonas with his capital at Sāgala (Sākala=Sialkot), has long been identified with Menander, the Bactrian Greek King who had his sway in the Punjab. He was born, as our author makes him say, at Kalasi in Alasanda, i. e., Alexandria ; and if we are to believe our author, he, resolved of all doubts as a result of his long conversations with Nāgasena, came to be converted to Buddhism. Nāgasena, however, cannot be identified with any amount of certainty.

The name of the author, as we have already said, has not come down to us. A close analysis of the book shows that a considerable number of place names refer to the Punjab and adjacent countries, and a few to the sea-coast, e. g., Surat, Bharukaccha, etc. Most of the rivers named refer again to the Punjab. It is, therefore, natural for us to conjecture that the author of the book resided in the far north-west of India or in Punjab. Mrs. Rhys Davids has a theory of her own regarding the author of the Milinda Pañho. She thinks

1 S. B. E., Vol. xxxv, Intro., p. xii.

that the recorded conversations of Milinda and Nāgasena were edited in the new book form after Milinda's death, by special commission by a Brāhmaṇa of Buddhist Collegiate training, named Mānava. There is, however, neither any positive or even negative evidence for such a theory.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain exactly the date of the Book. Milinda or Menander is, however, ascribed to the last quarter of the 2nd century B. C. The book must, therefore, have been written after that date. On the other hand, it must have long been an important book of authority when Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, flourished in the 5th century A. D. For, he quoted from the book often in his commentaries, and that in such a manner that it follows that he regarded the book as a work of great authority. From a close analysis of the books referred to as quoted by the author of the *Milinda Pañha*, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, the learned editor and translator of *Milinda Pañha*, came to the conclusion that "the book is later than the canonical books of the Pali Piṭakas (the author of the *Milinda-pañha* quotes a large number of passages from the Piṭaka texts), and on the other hand, not only older than the great commentaries, but the only book outside the canon, regarded in them as an authority which may be implicitly followed¹."

The *Milinda-pañha* has a marked style of its own. Its language is most elegant, and studied against the background of ancient Indian prose, it is simply a masterpiece of writing. The formal exactness of the early Piṭakas as well as the studied ornamentation of later-day Pali or Sanskrit-Buddhist treatises are alike absent from its pages. The charm of the style is captivating and there are passages that are eloquent in their meaning and gesture. The prerorations with which the long discussions are often closed are supreme inventions by our author of the art of conversation as well as of writing. Its style and diction bear a close resemblance to and are somewhat maturer

1 S. B. E., Vol. xxxv, Intro., p. xxxviii.

than those of the famous Hastigumpha inscription of Khāravēla which is assigned by Dr. B. M. Barua to the second quarter of the 1st century A. D.¹

At Sāgala, a city of wealth and affluence, ruled King Milinda
 Tert versed in arts and sciences and skilled
 in casuistry. He had his doubts and
 puzzles with regard to Buddha's doctrines and utterances and
 other knotty problems of Buddhism. To resolve these doubts he
 went to Nāgasena, the famous arahat; and then began a wonder-
 ful conversational discourse between the two. But before the
 discourse really begins, we are introduced by our author to the
 previous birth history (Pubba-yoga) of these two personages and
 then to the contents of various sorts of puzzles.

We are told that Nāgasena in a previous birth of his was one
 of the members of the religious brotherhood
 (a) Book I near the Ganges, where Milinda, in his turn,
 in a previous birth of his, was a novice. In accordance with his
 acts of merit in that birth and his aspirations, this novice after
 wandering from existence to existence came to be born at last as
 King of the city of Sāgala, a very learned, eloquent and wise man.
 Now he had doubts and problems in his mind, and in vain did he
 seek the venerable Kassapa and Makkhali Gosāla to have them
 solved while all these were happening. The brother of the religi-
 ous brother-hood came to be born in a Brahman family as Nāga-
 sena. When he was seven years old he learnt the three Vedas
 and all else that could be learnt in a Brahmanical house. Then
 he left the house, meditated in solitude for sometime and he was
 afterwards admitted into the order as a novice by a venerable
 Buddhist priest, Rohana and was eventually converted into
 Buddhism. He was then sent to Pāṭaliputra to the venerable
 Buddhist sage Dhammarakkhita where he became an arahat.
 Now while he was living there he was invited at the Guarded
 Slope in the Himalayas by an innumerable company of arahats
 who were being harassed by King Milinda who delighted in
 putting knotty questions and arguments this way and that.
 Nāgasena readily accepted the challenge of Milinda and went to

1 Barua— *Old Bramhi Inscriptions*, p. 172.

Sāgala attended by a band of samanās. Just at that time Milinda had met Āyupāla, an Arahat of the Saṅkheyya monastery, whom too he confronted with his casuistry. Nāgasena who was then living at the same hermitage came now to the rescue of the Order. Milinda with five hundred Yonakas then repaired to Nāgasena, and after mutual exchanges of courtesy and compliments the conversational discourse began.

The first discourse turned on the distinguishing characteristics of moral qualities. Milinda enquired how Reverend Nāgasena was known and what what was his name. Upon it Nāgasena initiated a discussion on the relation between name and individuality, and explained it thoroughly with the help of an instructive simile. The king then, obviously to test his knowledge, put to him a riddle and questioned him as to his seniority of years. Nāgasena fully vindicated himself, and the king then satisfied sought the permission of the Reverend Arahat to discuss with him. The Arahat in his turn told that he was agreeable to a discussion if he would only discuss as a scholar and not as a king. Then one by one Milinda put questions and Nāgasena solved them with his wonderful power of argumentation, simile, and illustration. He contended that there was no soul in the breath; he explained one by one the aim of Buddhist renunciation, the Buddhist idea of reincarnation, the distinction between wisdom and reasoning, and wisdom and intelligence. He further contended that virtue was the basis of the five moral powers requisite for the attainment of nirvāṇa and that other moral powers were faith, perseverance, mindfulness and meditation which a recluse should develop in himself. The characteristic marks of each of these qualities were expounded in detail, and their power to put an end to evil dispositions. A very important metaphysical question is next discussed wherein Nāgasena wants to establish with the help mainly of illuminating illustrations that when a man is born, he remains neither the same nor the another; like a child and a growing man through different stages of life. 'One comes into being' another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. In this connection it is discussed if a man who will not be reborn feel any painful sensation; and then what is

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after all reborn. A discourse is next initiated as to what is meant by 'time', the root and the ultimate point of it. This leads to another discussion as to the origin and developments of qualities, as to other existence or non-existence of anything as soul, which in its turn most naturally leads to a further discussion as regards thought-perception and sight-perception, and lastly to the distinguishing characteristics of contact or phassa, sensation or vedanā, idea of saññā, purpose or cetanā, perception or viññāna, reflection or vitakka, and investigation or vicāra. In all these discourses and solutions, Milinda is fully convinced and is full of admiration for Nāgasena.

The second discourse turns on the question of removal of difficulties and dispelling of doubts in the way of attaining a life of renunciation.

(c) Book III

The various questions as to these doubts are not always related to one another, but all of them are instructive and helpful to solve doubts in the mind of Milinda, the King. He wants to know why really there is so much distinction between man and man, how renunciation is brought about, what is the character of the influence of Karma, and what is after all nirvāṇa and whether all men attain it or not. The interesting point raised next is whether rebirth and transmigration are one and the same thing, and if there is a soul or any being that transmigrates from this body to another. Among other doubts that conflicted Milinda were if the body were very dear to the Buddhist recluse, if the Buddha had really thirty-two bodily marks of a great man, if the Buddha was pure in conduct, if ordination was a good thing. Milinda further enquired of Nāgasena what had been the real distinction between one full of passion, and one without passion, and lastly what was meant by an arahat who recollected what was past and done long ago. Then there were also other difficulties of various kinds which were all solved by the venerable Nāgasena. Milinda was satisfied that he had propounded his questions rightly, and the replies had been made rightly. Nāgasena thought that the questions had been well-put and right replies had been given.

This book deals with solutions of puzzles arising out of contradictory statements made by the Buddha.

(d) Book IV These puzzles were many and varied and were distributed in eighty-two dilemmas which were put by Milinda to Nāgasena, who, in his turn, gave satisfactory explanations to each of them. The contradictions in the Buddha's utterances were more apparent than real. About them strife was likely thereafter to arise, and it was difficult to find a teacher like Nāgasena. So an early solution of these dilemmas¹ was imperative for the guidance of intending disciples of the Order. These dilemmas are particularly interesting as well as instructive and it is profitable to be acquainted here with a few examples. Milinda was puzzled by a dilemma — If the Buddha has really quite passed away, what is the good of paying honour to his relics? Nāgasena said to him, "Blessed One, O King, is entirely set free from life and he accepts no gifts. If gods or men put up a building to contain the jewel treasure of the relics of a Tathāgata who does not accept their gift, still by that homage paid to the attainment of the supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom do they themselves attain to one or other of the three glorious states (*Tisso Sampattiyo*). There are other reasons too. For, gods and men by offering reverence to the relics, and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathāgata, though he has died away, and accepts it not, can cause goodness to arise in them, and by that goodness can assuage and can allay the fever and the torment of the three-fold fire. And even if the Buddha has passed away, the possibility of receiving the three attainments is not removed. Beings, oppressed by the sorrow of becoming, can, when they desire the attainments, still receive them by means of the jewel treasure of his relics and of his doctrines, discipline, and teaching. Like the seeds which through the earth attain to higher developments are the gods and men who, through the jewel treasure of the relics and the wisdom of the Tathāgata — though he has passed away and consent not to it — being firmly rooted by the roots of merit, become like unto trees casting a goodly shade by means of the trunk of contemplation, the sap of true doctrine, the branches of righteousness, the flowers of emancipation, and the fruition of

monkhood. It is for all these reasons that even when the Buddha has passed away, an act done to him notwithstanding his not consenting thereto, is still of value and bears fruit.

A second dilemma that conflicted Milinda was, how can the Buddha be omniscient, when it is said that he reflects or thinks? To solve this dilemma, Nāgaseṇa analysed the thinking powers of men from the lowest individual full of lust, ill-will and delusion to the highest Buddha having all knowledge and bearing about in themselves the ten-fold power and whose thinking powers are on every point brought quickly into play, and act with ease. He then classified these different kinds of thinking powers into seven classes. The thinking power of the Supreme Buddhas is of the last or seventh class, and its stuff is very fine, the dart is highly tempered and its discharge is highly powerful. It altogether outclasses the other six and is clear and active in its high quality that is beyond an ordinary man's comprehension. It is because the mind of the Blessed One is so clear and active that the Blessed One has worked so many wonders and miracles. For his knowledge is dependent on reflection, and it is on reflection that he knows whatever he wishes to know. It is more rapid than that, and more easy in action in the all embracing knowledge of the Blessed One, more rapid than his reflection. His all-embracing knowledge is like the store-house of a great king who has stores of gold, silver and valuables, and all sorts of eatables; it is with the help of reflection that the Blessed One grasps easily and at once whatever he wants from the big store-house of his knowledge.

A third dilemma was, why did the Blessed One admit Devadatta to the Order, if he knew of his machinations? In giving a solution out of this dilemma Nāgaseṇa told Milinda that the Blessed One was both full of mercy and wisdom. It was when he in his mercy and wisdom considered the life history of Devadatta that he perceived how having heaped up karma on karma, he would pass for an endless series of kalpas from torment to torment, and from perdition to perdition. And the Blessed One knew also that the infinite Karma of that man would, because he had entered the Order, become finite, and the sorrow caused by

the previous karma would also therefore become limited. But if that foolish person were not to enter the Order, then he would continue to heap up karma which would endure for a kalpa. And it was because he knew that that, in his mercy, he admitted him to the Order. And by doing so, the Blessed One acted like a clever physician, and made light the heavy sorrow of Devadatta who would have to suffer many hundreds of thousands of kalpas. For having caused schism in the Order, he (Devadatta) would no doubt suffer pain and misery in the purgatories, but that was not the fault of the Blessed One, but was the effect of his own karma. The Blessed One did in his case act like a surgeon who with all kind intent and for man's good smears a wound with burning ointment, cuts it with lancet, cauterises with caustic, and administers to it a salty wash. So did the Blessed One cause Devadatta to suffer such pain and misery that at the end he might be relieved of all pains and miseries. If he had not done so, Devadatta would have suffered torment in purgatory through a succession of existences, through hundreds of thousands of kalpas.

Of other puzzles that arose in Milinda's mind, mention may be made of three out of many. These were, for example, how was it that an Arahāt could do no wrong; why did not the Buddha promulgate all the rules of the Order at once and how could Vessantara's giving away of his children be approved. Speaking as to the faults of the Arahāt, Nāgasena told Milinda that the Arahāts, like lay men, could be guilty of an offence, but their guilt was neither due to carelessness or thoughtlessness. Sins are of two kinds — those which are a breach of the ordinary moral law, and those which are a breach of the Rules of the Order. Now, an Arahāt, in the true sense of the term, cannot be guilty of a moral offence; but it is possible for him to be guilty of any breach of the Rules of the Order of which he might have been ignorant. Next, speaking as to the method of promulgating the Rules from time to time and not all at once, Nāgasena quoted the authority of the Tathāgata; for the Tathāgata thought thus, "If I were to lay down the whole of the hundred and fifty rules at once the people would be filled with fear, those of them who were willing to enter the Order would refrain from doing so,

they would not trust my words, and through their want of faith they would be liable to rebirth in states of woe. An occasion arises, therefore, illustrating it with a religious discourse, will I lay down, when the evil has become manifest, each Rule." As to the justification of King Vessantara's giving away his beloved sons in slavery to a Brāhmaṇa, and his dear wife to another man as wife. Nāgasena told Milinda that he who gave gifts in such a way as to bring even sorrow upon others, that giving of his brought forth fruit in happiness and it would lead to rebirths in states of bliss. Even if that be an excessive gift it was not harmful, rather it was praised, applauded and approved by the wise in the world.

The last four dilemmas of Milinda are concerned with the difficult problem of Nirvāṇa. Is Nirvāṇa all bliss or partly pain; the form, the figure, duration, etc., of Nirvāṇa, the realisation of Nirvāṇa, and the place of Nirvāṇa, these are the puzzles that inflicted the mind of the King. Nāgasena solved them all one by one to the satisfaction of Milinda. According to him Nirvāṇa is bliss unalloyed, there is no pain in it. It is true that those who are in quest of Nirvāṇa afflict their minds and bodies, restrain themselves in standing, walking and sitting, lying, and in food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subjection, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus, in pain, sought after Nirvāṇa, that they enjoy Nirvāṇa which is all bliss. By no metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument can its form or figure, or duration, or measure be made clear, even if it be a condition that exists. But there is something as to its qualities which can be explained. Nirvāṇa is untarnished by any evil dispositions. It allays the thirst of the craving after lusts, desire for future life, and the craving after worldly prosperity. It puts an end to grief, it is an ambrosia. Nirvāṇa is free from the dead bodies of evil dispositions, it is mighty and boundless, it is the abode of great men, and Nirvāṇa is all in blossom of purity, of knowledge and emancipation. Nirvāṇa is the support of life, for it puts an end to old age and death; it increases the power of Iddhi (miracle) of all beings, it is the source to all beings of the beauty of holiness, it puts a stop to suffering in all beings, to the suffering arising from evil

dispositions, and it overcomes in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and all sorts of pain. Nirvāṇa is not born, neither does it grow old, it dies not, it passes not away, it has no rebirth, it is unconquerable, thieves carry it not off, it is not attached to anything, it is the sphere in which Arahats move, nothing can obstruct it, and it is infinite. Nirvāṇa satisfies all desires, it causes delight and it is full of lustre. It is hard to attain to, it is unequalled in the beauty of its perfume, it is praised by all the Noble Ones. Nirvāṇa is beautiful in Righteousness, it has a pleasant taste. It is very exalted, it is immovable, it is accessible to all evil dispositions, it is a place where no evil dispositions can grow, it is free from desire to please and from resentment.

As to the time of Nirvāṇa, it is not past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not produced, nor producible. Peaceful, blissful and delicate, Nirvāṇa always exists. And it is that which he who orders his life aright, grasping the idea of all things according to the teaching of the conquerors realises by his wisdom. It is known by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence, by peace, by calm, by bliss, by happiness, by delicacy, by purity and by freshness. Lastly as to the place of Nirvāṇa, there is no spot either in the East, or the South, or the West or the North, either above or below where Nirvāṇa is. Yet it exists just as fire exists even if there is no place where it is stored up. If a man rubs two sticks together, the fire comes out, so Nirvāṇa exists for a man who orders his life well. But there is such a place on which a man may stand, and ordering his life aright, he can realise Nirvāṇa, and such a place is virtue.

This book deals with solutions of problems of inference.

(e) Book V

Milinda asked Nāgasena how they could know that Buddha had ever lived. Nāgasena told him that as the existence of ancient kings was known by their royal insignia, their crown, their slippers and their fans, so was the existence of Buddha known by the royal insignia used by the Blessed One and by the thirty-five constituent qualities that make up Arahatship which formed the subject of discourse delivered by Gotama before his death to his disciples. By these can the whole world of gods and men know and believe

that the Blessed One existed once. By this reason, by this argument, through this inference, can it be known that the Blessed One lived. Just at the sight of a beautiful and well-planned city, one can know the ability of the architect, so can one, on examining the City of Righteousness which the Buddha built up, come to know of his ability and existence.

The sixth book opens with an interesting discussion. Can lay men attain Nirvāṇa? Nāgasena told that even lay men and women could see face to face the condition of peace, the supreme good, Nirvāṇa. 'But, what purpose then do extra vows serve?' asked Milinda again. To this Nāgasena replied that the keeping of vows implied a mode of livelihood without evil, it has blissful calm as its fruit, it avoided blame and it had such twenty-eight good qualities on account of which all the Buddhas alike longed for them and held them dear. And whosoever thoroughly carried out the vows, they became completely endowed with eighteen good qualities without a previous keeping of the vows by those who became endowed with these good qualities, there was no realisation of Arahatship; and there was no perception of the truth to those who were not purified by the virtues that depended on the keeping of the vows. Nāgasena next explained in detail with the help of a good number of similes the character that came as a result of keeping the vows for the good growth of the seed of renunciation and for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. But those who being unworthy take the vows incur a two-fold punishment and suffer the loss of the good that may be in him. He shall receive disgrace and scorn and suffer torment in the purgatory. On the contrary, those who being worthy take the vows with the idea of upholding the truth deserve a two-fold honour. For he comes near and dear to gods and men, and the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own. Nāgasena then gave Milinda the details of the thirteen extra vows by which a man should bathe in the mighty waters of Nirvāṇa. Upasena the elder, practised all these purifying merits of the vows and Blessed One was delighted at his conduct. The thirty graces of the true recluse are detailed next and whosoever is endowed with these graces is said to have abounded in the peace and bliss of Nirvāṇa.

Sāriputta, according to Nāgasena, was one like this who became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of the Kingdom of Righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One.

The seventh or the last book is concerned with a detailed list of the similes or qualities of Arahatsip;
 (g) Book VII of these similes thirty-eight have been lost and sixty-seven are still preserved. Any member of the Order who wishes to realise Arahatsip must be endowed with these one hundred and five qualities. Milinda silently and reverently heard detailed descriptions of these qualities; and at the end he was full of admiration for the venerable Thera Nāgasena for his wonderful solution of the three hundred and four puzzles. He was filled with joy of heart; and all pride was suppressed within him. He ceased to have any more doubts and became aware of the virtue of the religion of the Buddhas. He then entreated Nāgasena to be accepted as a supporter of the Faith and as a true convert from that day onward as long as life should last. Milinda did homage to Nāgasena and had a vihāra built called the 'Milinda-Vihāra' which he handed over to Nāgasena.

The Milinda-Pañha like the Bhagavat Gītā is the most interesting and instructive literary production of an age which is heroic. Its long narrative is composed of a long series of philosophical contest between two great heroes, King Milinda on the one hand and the Thera Nāgasena on the other. A pubba-yoga or prelude is skilfully devised to arouse a curiosity in the reader to witness the contest and watch the final result with a great eagerness. On the whole, the Milinda successfully employs a novel literary device to put together the isolated and disconnected controversies in the Kathāvatthu as representing different stages in the progress of the philosophical battle, and in doing so it has been in one place guilty of the literary plagiarism in respect of introducing King Milinda as a contemporary of the six heretical teachers on the model of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta.

Alasando (dipo) — the island town of Alexandria on the
 Place and country names Indus, founded by Alexander.
 in the Milinda-Pañha

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Yavana (Bactria) — That province watered by the Oxus or the Amu Daria and the premier satrapy of the Achæmenian kings ; later on came to be conquered by Alexander and in 321 B. C. fell to the share of Seleukos Nikator. Hundred years later the Bactrian Greeks threw off their allegiance to their Seleukidan lord, asserted independence, and gradually moved towards India to establish there an independent principality. Milinda or Menander was one of the kings of this line of Bactrian Greeks who came to establish their power in India.

Bharukaccha — an ancient seaport equivalent to modern Broach in the Kaira district in Guzrat. Barygaza of the Greek geographers.

Cina (country) — China.

Gandhāra (ratṭham) — an important ancient kingdom that had its capital at Puruṣapura or Peshwar in the North-western Frontier Province.

Kaliṅga — an ancient kingdom on the Orissan coast, identical with the modern Ganjam region. All older works, such as the Jātaka, Mahāvastu and Dīgha Nikāya, mention a kingdom named Kaliṅga with its capital Dantapura ages before Buddha's time.

Kalasa (gāma) — a village situated in the Alasanda island on the Indus. The birth place of Milinda.

Kajāṅgala — mentioned in very early Buddhist Pali texts as a locality somewhere near Rajmahal.

Kasmīr (ratṭham) — a famous kingdom in the North of India.

Kosala — an ancient province identical with South Bihar, capital Śrāvastī.

Kolopattanam — an ancient seaport probably on the Coromandel coast.

Magadha (ratṭham) — an ancient kingdom identical with East Bihar ; capital Pāṭaliputra.

Madhurā (nigamo) — an ancient city identical with modern Mathurā. Coins of Menander have been found here.

Nikumba (ratṭham) — somewhere in the north-west of India.

Sāgala (nagaram) — identical with Sākala, modern Sialkot, capital city of the King Milinda.

Sāketa — identical with ancient Ayodhyā country.

Saka country — the kingdom of the Sakas or Scythians in the time of Menander was confined to the Bactrian lands south of the Oseus and to Sogdiana to the north.

Sovira — ancient Sauvira, the country of the Sauvira tribe adjacent to the Sindhu country.

Suratṭho (nigamo) — an ancient seaport identical with modern Surat.

Bārānasi — modern Benares.

Suvannabhūmi — identical probably with Lower Burma and Malay Peninsula.

Pāṭaliputra (nagaram) — an ancient city, capital of Magadha near modern Patna.

Udicca — a country in the north-west of India.

Vaṅga — identical with East Bengal.

Vilāta — an ancient kingdom somewhere in the north-west of India.

Takkola — an ancient seaport near Thaton in Lower Burma.

Ujjeni — identical with ancient Ujjayini, capital of the ancient Malwa country.

Greek (country) — ancient Greece in Eastern Europe.

1. Gaṅgā — The Ganges.

Names of rivers in the
Milinda-Pañha

2. Acīravatī — an ancient river in Eastern India flowing through the Kosala country past Śrāvastī.

3. Yamunā — a tributary of the Ganges, the Isamos of the Greeks.

4. Sarabhū — identical with Sarayū, a tributary of the Ganges.

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5. Mahī — a river south of the Vindhya flowing into the Bay of Bengal. These five rivers are often mentioned together in the Piṭakas.

6. Sarassatī — an ancient tributary of the Indus.

7. Vitamsa — identical probably with Vitastā, a tributary of the Indus, the Hydaspes of the Greeks.

8. Candrabhāgā — identical with modern Chenab, a tributary of the Indus.

A. Books silently referred to :—

Books referred to and
mentioned in the
Milinda-Pañho

1. Dīgha Nikāya, 2. Kathāvatthu, 3. Aṅguttara Nikāya, 4. Mahāvagga, 5. Cullavagga, 6. Vessantara Jātaka, 7. Sivi Jātaka, 8. Majjhima Nikāya, 9. Sutta Vibhaṅga, 10. Cātuma Sutta, 11. Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta, 12. Amba Jātaka, 13. Dummedha Jātaka, 14. Tittira Jātaka, 15. Khantivāda Jātaka, 16. Cūla-nandiya Jātaka, 17. Taccha-Sūkara Jātaka, 18. Cariyā-piṭaka, 19. Silavanāga Jātaka, 20. Sabbadātha Jātaka, 21. Apannaka Jātaka, 22. Nigrodha-miga Jātaka, 23. Mahāpaduma Jātaka, 24. Ummagga Jātaka, 25. Sutta Nipāta, 26. Thera Gāthā, 27. Saṃyutta Nikāya, 28. Dhammapada and 29. Nigrodha Jātaka.

1. Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma, 2. The Suttantas, 3. Dhamma-Saṃgaṇī, 4. Vibhaṅga, 5. Dhātu-Kathā, 6. Puggala Paññatti, 7. Kathā-Vatthu, 8. Yamaka, 9. Paṭṭhāna, 10. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 11. The Vinaya Piṭaka, 12. The Sutta Piṭaka, 13. Mahā-Samaya Suttanta - (Dīgha Nikāya), 14. Mahā-māṅgala Suttanta - (Sutta Nipāta), 15. Sama-citta-pariyāya Suttanta - (unknown), 16. Rāhulvāda Suttanta (Majjhima), 17. Parābhava Suttanta - (Sutta Nipāta), 18. Saṃyutta Nikāya, 19. The Sutta Nipāta, 20. Ratana Sutta - (Sutta Nipāta), 21. Khandha Parittā - (not traced), 22. Mora Parittā, 23. Dhajagga Parittā - (Jātaka Book), 24. Ātānātiya Parittā - (Dīgha Nikāya), 25. Aṅgulimāla Parittā - (Majjhima Nikāya), 26. The Pātimokkha, 27. Dhamma-dāyāda Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya), 28. Dakkhina Vibhaṅga of the Majjhima Nikāya, 29. Cariyā Piṭaka, 30.

Books or passages of
books mentioned
by name

Navangam Buddha Vacanam, 31. Dīgha Nikāya, 32. Majjhima Nikāya, 33. Khuddaka Nikāya, 34. Mahā Rāhulovāda (Majjhima Nikāya), 35. Purā-bheda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 36. Kalaha Vivāda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 37. Cūla-Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 38. Mahā-Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 39. Tuvāṭaka Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 40. Sāriputta Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 41. Mahāsamaya Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 42. Sakkha-Paṇha Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 43. Tirokudda Suttanta (Khuddaka Pāṭha), 44. Ekuttara Nikāya (Aṅguttara Nikāya), 45. Dhaniya Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), 46. Kummūpama Suttanta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 47. Sacca Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 48. Vidhura Puṇṇaka Jātaka, 49. Dhammapada, 50. Sutasoma Jātaka, 51. Kaṇha Jātaka, 52. Lomahaṃsana Pariyāya, 53. Cakkavāka Jātaka, 54. Culla Nārada Jātaka, 55. Lakkhaṇa Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 56. Bhallāṭiya Jātaka, 57. Parinibbāna Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya).

V. Trenckner has edited the book with a general index by C. J. Rylands and an index of gāthās by Mr. Rhys Davids. It has been translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids and included in the Sacred Books of the East Series as Vols. XXXV-XXXVI. There is a Sinhalese translation of the Milinda Paṇho by Hinaṭi Kumbure under the title "Milinda prashnaya," Colombo, 1900.

The following books may be consulted :—

1. Le Bonheur du Nirvāṇa extrait du Milindapprashnaya ; ou Miroir des doctrines sacrees traduit du Pali par Lewis da Sylva Pandit. (Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris, 1885).

2. Deux Traductions chinoises du Milindapaṇho Par E. Specht avec introduction par S. Levi.

3. Chinese translations of the Milindapaṇho by Takakusu, J. R. A. S. 1896. This paper contains a number of Chinese translations in existence, the date of the two translations and the story of the discussions of King Milinda and Bhikkhu Nāgasena found in the Buddhist sūtra called Saṃyutta-Ratnapitaka.

4. Historical basis for the questions of King Menander from the Tibetan by L. A. Waddel, J. R. A. S., 1897. This paper points out that the Milindapaṇha is known to the Tibetans.

4 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

5. Nāgasena by Mrs. Rhys Davids, J. R. A. S., 1891.
6. Milinda Questions by Mrs. Rhys Davids, 1930.
7. Critical and philological notes to the first chapter of the Milindapañha by V. Trenckner revised and edited by Dr. Anderson, J. P. T. S., 1908.
8. Paul Pelliot - Les noms propres dans les traductions chinoises du Milindapañho. (Journal Asiatic, Paris, 1914).
9. There is a Bengali edition of this work published by the Bangliya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta, which can vie, if it can vie at all, in its uncritical method and blunders.
10. F. Otto Schrader, Die Fragen des König Menandros (Berlin 1903).
11. G. Cagnola, Dialoghi del Re Milinda (Italian translation of the Milinda Pañha).

The Abhidhammāvatāra was written by Buddhadatta; and it has been in continuous use amongst the students of the Buddhist scriptures. Buddhadatta was held as a personage of exceptionally high scholarly attainments by Buddhaghosa and others. It is interesting to note the incidents which led to the writing of this work. Buddhadatta was going from Ceylon to India when he was met by Buddhaghosa who was then proceeding to Ceylon for the purpose of rendering the Sinhalese commentaries into Pali. Knowing the mission of Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta was highly pleased and spoke thus; "When you finish the commentaries, please send them up to me that I may summarise your labours," Buddhaghosa consented to comply with his request and the Pali commentaries were accordingly placed in the hand of Buddhadatta who summed up the commentaries on the Abhidhamma in the Abhidhammāvatāra and that on the Vinaya in the Vinayavinicchaya¹. He was the author of the Rūpārūpavibhāga and of the commentary of the Buddhavaṃsa. The Abhidhammāvatāra is written partly in prose and partly in verse. It discusses the following points :—

1 Vide *Buddhadatta's Manual*, p. xix.

1. citta, 2. nibbāna, 3. cetasika (that which relates to the mind), 4. ārammaṇa (object ideation), 5. vipāka citta (consequence of mindfulness), 6. rūpa (form), 7. Paññatti (designation), etc.

Rūpārūpavibhāga deals with rūpa, arūpa, citta, cetasika, etc. It is written in prose. Readers are referred to my work. 'The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa' (Ch. IV) for a further study of Buddhaddatta and his works.

A. P. Buddhaddatta, a Bhikkhu of Ceylon, has edited Buddhaddatta's Manuals or summaries of Abhidhamma (Abhidhammāvātāra and Rūpārūpavibhāga) for the first time for the P. T. S., London.

The Saccasaṃkhepa is a religious work on truth written by Dhammapāla Thera. Malalasekera points out that there seems to be some uncertainty as to the authorship and date of the Saccasaṃkhepa. The Saddhammasaṅgaha assigns it to Ānanda¹. The Saccasaṃkhepa has been edited by Dhammārāma Bhikkhu. There are five chapters in it dealing with rūpa (form), vedanā (sensation), cittapavatti (mind), and pakīṇṇakasāṅgaha and Nibbāna. It is known as the summary of the truth published by the P. T. S. in J. P. T. S., 1917-1919. It consists of 387 stanzas.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha has served for probably eight centuries as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Burma and Ceylon, and a whole literature of exegesis has grown up around it, the latest additions to which are but of yesterday. The manual is ascribed to a teacher named Anuruddha; but nothing is known about him except the fact that he had compiled two other treatises on philosophy, and one of them was written while the author was at Kañcīpur or Conjeeveram. Burmese tradition asserts that he was a Thera of Ceylon and wrote the compendium at the Sinhalese vihāra founded by Somadevi, Queen of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, who flourished between 88-76 B. C., a date fictitious-

1 The Pali Literature of Ceylon, p. 202.

ly early for the book. In fact, Anuruddha is believed to have lived earlier than 12th but later than the 8th century A. D. Sāriputta compiled a paraphrase to this book. The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha has been edited and published in J. P. T. S., 1883 and translated with notes by Shwe Zan Aung and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids under the name of the compendium of Philosophy included in the P. T. S. translation series.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha is classed in Burmese bibliography under a classified list of philosophical manuals, nine in number. They are :--

Other contemporary philosophical manuals

1. Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha, by Anuruddha,
2. Paramattha Vinicchaya, by Anuruddha,
3. Abhidhammāvatāra, by Buddhaddatta,
4. Rūpārūpavibhāga, by Buddhaddatta,
5. Sacca Sankhepa, by Dhammapāla,
6. Mohavicchedanī, by Kessapa,
7. Khemapakarāṇa, by Khema,
8. Nāmācāra-dīpaka, by Saddhamma Jotipāla,
- and 9. Nāmarūpapariccheda, by Anuruddha.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha, because of its exclusively condensed treatment, stimulated a large growth of ancillary works, of which the following have up-till-now been known.

Exegetical literature on the book

A. Four Tīkāś or Commentaries : 1. Porāṇa Tīkā by Navavimala Buddhi of Ceylon, 2. Abhidhammattha Vibhāvanī by Sumaṅgala of Ceylon, 3. Saṅkhepa-Vaṇṇanā by Saddhamma Jyotipāla of Burma, and 4. Paramattha-dīpanī Tīkā, by Ledi Sadaw of Burma.

B. A 'Key' to the Tīkā-gyaw, entitled Manisāramañju by Ariyavamsa of Saggaing, Burma.

C. A commentary entitled Madhu-Sārattha-dīpanī, by Mahānanda of Hanthawaddy, Burma.

D. A number of works, not in Pali, but in Burmese :

1. Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha-madhu, a modern work by Mogaung Sadaw,
2. Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha-gandhi, a modern work, by Payagi Sadaw,
3. Paramattha-Sarūpa-bhedanī, by Visuddhārāma Sadaw,
4. Abhidhammattha-Sarūpa-dīpaka, by

the late Myobyingyi, and 5. a number of analytical works entitled Akauk.

The Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha covers very largely the same range of subject matter as that of the Visuddhimagga, though the amplitude of treatment and the order and emphasis of treatment in each are different. But they are to some extent complimentary, and as such still hold the field as modern text books for students of Buddhism in Buddhist countries.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha is so highly condensed that it consists, for the most part, of terse, jejune sentences, which are not easily intelligible to lay readers. It is, therefore, profitable to have a resume of the main topics and problems of the whole work as a Manual of Buddhist Psychology and Philosophy.

Mind is ordinarily defined as that which is conscious of an object; and the Buddhists have tried to frame their definition with the help of fifty-two mental attributes or properties enumerated in Part II of the Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha. But the definition of mind is also a division of mind, and our author's division into *vedanā*, *nāṇa*, and *saṅkhāra* corresponds to Bain's division of the mind into Feeling, Thought or intellect, and will or volition.

Consciousness (*viññāna*) has, therefore, been defined as the relation between *ārammaṇika* (subject) and *ārammaṇa* (object). In this relation the object presented is termed *paccaya* (the relating thing) and the subject, *paccayuppanna* (the thing related). The two terms are thus relative.

The object of Consciousness is either object of Sense or Object of thought. Object of sense sub-divides itself into five classes - sight, sound, smell, taste and touch, which are collectively termed *pañcārammaṇa* (five-fold object). The object of thought also consists of five sub-clauses: *citta* (mind), *cetasika* (mental properties), *pasāda*, *rūpa* and *sukhumarūpa* (sensitive and subtle qualities of body), *paññati* (name, idea, notion, concept), and *nibbāna*. These are collectively termed *dharmārammaṇa*.

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The Paññatti object is of several sub-clauses. Paññatti is either
 (1) that which makes known (paññāpetitī);
 Paññatti or (2) that which is made known (paññāpi-
 yatīti), corresponding to our author's terminology—Saddapaññatti
 and Atthapaññatti which are undoubtedly relative terms. Sadda-
 paññatti is a name (of a thing) which, when expressed in words,
 or represented by a sign is called a 'term'. It is synonymous
 with nāma-paññatti. Atthapaññatti is the idea or notion of the
 attributes of a thing made known or represented by a name. In
 other words, it is equivalent to 'concept' and is sub-divided into
 various classes. Paññatti has been distinguished from Para
 mattha in the sense that the former is Nominal and conceptual-
 whereas the latter is Real.

The object comprehending as it does, the subject, is wider,
 more extensive than the latter. This is probably one reason why
 greater prominence is given to the object paṭṭhāna. In Buddhism
 there is no actor apart from the action, no percipient apart from
 perception. In other words, there is no conscious subject behind
 consciousness.

'Like the current of the river' (nadi soto viya) is the Bud-
 dhist idea of existence. For no two conse-
 Life and Ancient view cutive moments is the fabric of the body
 the same, and this theory of the ceaseless change or flux is called
 anicca-dhamma which is applied alike to the body and the mind,
 or the Being and thought respectively. The dividing line between
 these two is termed mano-dvāra, the Threshold of Consciousness.
 Life, then, in the Buddhist view of things, is like an ever-
 changing river, having its source in birth, its goal in death,
 receiving from the tributary streams of sense constant accretions
 to its flood, and ever dispensing to the world around it the
 thought-stuff it has gathered by the way.

Subliminal Consciousness is either kāma, rūpa or arūpa.
 Primary classification of Consciousness Supraliminal consciousness is normal,
 supernormal, and transcendental. Normal
 consciousness is termed kāmācitta, so called
 because desire or kāma prevails on this plan of existence. Super-
 normal consciousness is termed Mahāgalācitta because it has

reached the sublime state, and is further distinguished as rūpa, or arūpacitta.

Consciousness in this four-fold classification is primarily composed of seven mental properties (cetasikas) – namely, contact (phassa), feeling (vedanā), perception (saññā), will or volition (cetanā), oneness of object (ekaggatā), psychic life (jīvitindriya) and attention (manasikāra). These seven mental properties are termed sabba-citta-sādhāraṇa or universals, because they are common to every class and state of consciousness, or every separate act of mind or thought. There are forty-five different properties distinguishing one class from another. And those, in varying combinations, give rise to the eighty-nine classes of consciousness enumerated in Part I of the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha, or according to a broader classification, one hundred and twenty-one. The seven mental properties have been enumerated above; there are, besides these, six particular specific or accidental properties. These are vitakka, vicāra, adhimokkha, viriya, pīti and chanda. The four universal bad cetasikas or properties are moha, ahirika, anottappa and uddhacca. Besides these, there are also two specific cetasikas or properties, lobha and diṭṭhi. All these properties are discussed and explained in the body of the book.

Of these and other classes of consciousness making up a total of eighty-nine, some function as causes or karma, some as resultants or vipāka, and some are non-casual or kriyā. Besides these three classes, there are two elements in every consciousness, the Constant and the Variable. The form of consciousness is the constant element, and is opposed to the matter of consciousness which constitutes the variable element. But in Buddhism, both subject and object are variable at every moment; and there are several forms of consciousness each of which may be designated a 'process of thought' whenever it takes place as a fact. To every separate state of consciousness which takes part in a process of thought as a functional state, either in the subjective form of the stream of being, or in the objective form of a conscious act of mind or thought, there are three phases – genesis

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(uppāda), development (thiti), and dissolution (bhaṅga) – each of which is explained and discussed by the author in his Manual in all their processes and stages.

The possibility of the 'internal' presentation of all the six classes of objects mentioned above is that a sensation can be experienced, the Buddhists believe, without the corresponding objective stimulus. The possibility of Reflection proper is attributed to the relation termed 'proximate sufficient cause' by virtue of which (a) a sense impression once experienced in a sense cognition by way of the five doors, or (b) a previous experience of all internal intuition or cognition by way of the mind-door or (c) the idea once formed in the sequels of either, can never be lost. There are different processes of reflection in connection with Things Seen (ditṭha). But when an object that has not been actually sensed is constructed out of, and connected with these seen objects, it is termed 'object associated with things seen' (ditṭhi-saṁbandha). And the process of thought connected therewith is classed in the category of objects associated with things seen. The object constructed out of and connected with Things Heard (suta object) is termed 'object associated with things heard' (suta-saṁbandha). Any object constructed out of Things Cogitated (viññāta) and connected therewith is termed 'associated with things cogitated' (viññāta-saṁbandha). Any object in the category of Things Seen, Heard or Cogitated may either be past, present or future. When it is present, it is intuited as a vivid reality. The same forms hold good for all kinds of thought or reflection.

How is memory possible, if the object be not the same for any two consecutive moments in life. The answer is given in detail by the author. Each mental state is related to the next in at least four different modes of relation (paccaya) :-- Proximity (anantara), Contiguity (samanantara), Absence (natthi), and Abeyance (avigata). This four-fold relation is understood to mean that each expired state renders service to the next. In other words, each, on passing away, gives up the whole of its

Internal Intuition and
Reflection proper
(Suddha-manodvāra-
vithi)

Memory and Changing
Personality

energy to its successor : and this is how the memory is helped and retained.

The stage of apperception pertains to that active side of an existence (kamma-bhāva), which determines the passive side (upapatti-bhāva) of the next existence. The apperceptual act is thus a free, determining, casual act of thought, as distinguished from the mental states, which are fixed, determined and resultant acts (vipāka) of kamma. Volition, under favourable circumstances, is transformed into kamma. But volition (cetanā) in apperception on occasion of sense (pañca-dvārika-javana) cannot possibly become kamma. Hence we must look to the volition involved in reflective or representative apperception (manodvārika-javana) for kamma, which according to the different characters of volition is classed in different types or varieties with distinct characteristics.

Interesting though is the phenomenon of dream, it is conspicuous in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha by its absence. Scattered references and sometimes systematic explanations have here and there been made in Buddhist works regarding forms of dream-thought, dreams-classified, theories of dreams, relation of dreams, relation of dream to sleep, etc.

The first essential qualification of the process of thought transition from the normal to the super-normal is 'purity of virtue or morals'. The next is meditation and concentration of thought. There are four moments of apperception during the transitional stage from normal to super-normal consciousness. The first is termed 'preparation', the second 'success', which is followed by the third called 'adaptation'. After the last moment of 'adoption' normal consciousness is cut off by the super-normal, and the transitional stage is superseded by the latter, known as the first Jhāna, and for one thought-moment, the person attaining it experiences ecstasy. Attainment in Jhāna is thus a very important psychological moment, marking an epoch in his mental experience for the person who succeeds in commanding

5 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

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it. Jhāna is usually classified in five stages, and in the Fifth stage ecstatic concentration reaches its full development with the help of the continued voluntary exercise of the mind on an after-image to which it has been directed.

To attain super-intellectual powers (abhiññā) for an adept in the Fifth Jhāna, it will be necessary for him to go through a course of mental training in fourteen processes. Super-normal powers of will or Iddhi-vidhā may then be developed by means of the so-called four bases of Iddhi which involve respectively the development of Four dominant or predominant principles of purpose, effort, knowledge and wisdom. There are ten classes of Iddhi known to Buddhism, the last three of which constitute the Iddhi-vidhā, and are used as a basis for the willing process.

With a slight difference in procedure in mental attitudes and mood of thought, the same forms of the transitional, inductive, or sustained and retrospective processes of Fifth-rūpa Jhāna obtain in the case of the Four Arūpa Jhānas. When an adept in the Fifth Rūpa-Jhāna, who has repeatedly induced the same through any one of the ten circles, with the exception of space, erroneously believes that all physical pain and misery are due to the existence of the body, and reflects on the relative grossness of this jhāna, he wishes to attain the first arūpa-jhāna, which he considers to be very calm and serene.

A person who wishes to transcend the experience of this conditioned world must first of all cultivate 'purity of views' or diṭṭhi-visuddhi. Next he must cultivate in succession, 'purity of transcending doubt' or Kaṅkhā-vitarāṇa-visuddhi, 'Ten modes of Insight' or Vipassanā-ñāpas or in other words the contemplative insight, enumerated and explained in the Text. All these ten kinds of insight are collectively termed 'purity of intellectual culture'. The matured insight of equanimity receives the special designation of 'insight of discernment leading to uprising', because it invariably leads to the Path, conceived as a 'Rising out of'. It

is also styled as the 'mouth or gate of Emancipation' (Vimokkha-mukha).

Emancipation has a triple designation, namely the 'Signless' or animitta, the 'Undesired' or appanīhita, and the 'void' or suññatā. Emancipation itself, whether of the Path, the Fruit, or Nibbāna, also receives the same triad of names, according as it is preceded by the contemplation of things by 'uprising discernment' as either impermanent, or evil, or substantial.

The purity of insight which is the gateway of Emancipation is also called Path-insight. One who has attained perfect purity of insight cuts off the heritage of the average man and evolves the lineage of the Transcendental. It is followed by a single moment of Path-Consciousness by which the first of the Four Noble Truths is clearly discerned. Error and doubt are got rid of, Nibbāna is intuited, and the eightfold Path-constituents are cultivated. These four simultaneous functions correspond to the Four Noble Truths. Just like the Four Noble Truths, there are four stages of the Path, which are called Four Paths. The attainer of the first is termed Sotāpanna who will have as yet to undergo seven more rebirths in the Kāmaloka; the attainer of the second is termed Sakadāgāmi who will have one more such rebirth. But the complete destruction of these two does not permit of another rebirth in the case of the Anāgāmi or Never returner of the Third Path. The wisdom of the Highest or Supreme Path is the same mental order of intelligence developed into the Perfected view of the highest order and is the last stage of 'purity of insight'.

Death is assigned to one of four causes: (1) the exhaustion of the force of the reproductive (janaka) kamma that has given rise to the existence in question, (2) the expiry of the maximum life-term possible for this particular generation, (3) the combination of both these causes, (4) the action of a stronger arresting Kamma that suddenly cuts off the reproductive kamma before the latter's force is spent or before the expiry of the life-term.

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The decease of the Arhant is according to Buddhist philosophy, the Final Death. If the Arhant be of the class known as 'dry-visioned' (sukkhavipassaka) who does not practise Jhāna, his final death, which takes place on the kāma plane, occurs after apperception or retention of impressions. If he be proficient in Jhāna, final death may occur (a) after sustained Jhāna; or (b) after apperception in subsequent retrospect; or (c) after the moment of 'super-intellectual' knowledge (abhiññā); or finally, (d) after retrospection following the attainment of the Topmost Fruit.

The Nāmarūpapariccheda is another Abhidhamma manual written by Anuruddha Mahāthera. It consists of 1885 stanzas dealing with name and form.

The Nāmarūpasamāsa was written by Thera Khemācariya mostly in prose. It deals with citta and cetasikakathā.

The Sutta Saṅgaha is a later manual or compendium of select suttas and is primarily intended for those beginners who desire to have a knowledge of the Pali scriptural texts in a nutshell.

The Paritta or Mahāparitta, a small collection of texts gathered from the Suttapitāka, is more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book. The Paritta, learned by heart and recited on appropriate occasions, is to conjure various evils, physical and moral. Some of the miscellaneous extracts that make up the collection are of purely religious and ethical character. The use of the Paritta is said to have had the Buddha's sanction. The victory of the holymen was accomplished by the Paritta (Mabel Bode. The Pali Literature of Burma, pp. 3-4).

The Kammavācā¹ (words of the act) is an important Pali text of which two manuscripts are available. The first manuscript is a very

¹ There is a collection of Kammavācās made by Herbert Baynes (vide J. R. A. S., 1892, Art. III). Readers' attention is also invited to

handsome copy of the Kammavācā in Burmese ritual or tamarind seed letters printed with a thick black resinous gum on sixteen leaves of royal discorded pasohs each leaf containing six lines each side. It begins with upasāmpadā (ordination). The second manuscript consists of fifty-eight Talipat leaves of five lines in character which are midway between Burmese and Kambodian. Like the first it begins with upasāmpadā. Kammavācās are the set forms of proceedings followed or to be followed by the members of the Buddhist Saṅgha convening a meeting or a synod, in moving resolutions, in making proposals or amendments or in accepting or rejecting them.

The Sīmā-vivāda-vinicchaya-kathā which has been edited by J. P. Minayeff for the P. T. S., London, Sīmā-vivāda-vinicchaya-kathā from a Sinhalese manuscript, contains some facts in the modern history of the Buddhist Church which will be of interest to the students of Pali literature. The language is not very easy and elegant. There are prose and poetry portions in it.

The Anāgatavaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff. The edition is based on a Burmese manuscript, It Anāgatavaṃsa contains an account of the previous existence of Metteyyo with the three Buddhas, Sumitta, Metteyyo and Mahutta. The poem is written in about 150 stanzas. According to the Gandhavaṃsa, the original Anāgata-vaṃsa was the work of an elder named Kassapa.

"A New Kammavācā" by T. W. Rhys Davids and G. L. M. Clauson, and also to F. Spiegel's Kammavākya, Palice et Latine ed. vgl. ferner Dickson, J. R. A. S., Vol. VII, New Series. Read Upasāmpadā-Kammavācā, a Pali text with a translation and notes by J. F. Dickson, J. R. A. S., 1875. It is a Buddhist manual of the form and manner of ordering of priests and deacons. In Burmese Pali collections we find no less frequently than the Paritta of the laity, the Kammavācā of the mendicant order. These texts have a purely ecclesiastical use. The Kammavācā can of course be called literature but it must be noticed as a text representing the immovable tradition of old days in Burma. In the Kammavācās we find monotonous repetitions. The language is rigid. (Mabel Bode, The Pali Literature of Burma, pp. 6-7),

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The Jinacarita is a Pali Kāvya consisting of 472 stanzas setting forth in delightful verse the life and career of the Conqueror or the Buddha composed by the Medhānkara of Ceylon while residing in a monastery built by King Vijayabāhu. There are at least four Medhānkaras famous in the literary history of Ceylon; and historical evidence tends to show that the youngest or the fourth in succession was the author of the Jinacarita. He was called Vanaratana Medhānkara, and was also the author of another Pali book 'Payoyasiddhi' and flourished under Bhuvaneka Bāhu 1st (1277-1288 A. D.¹). The mention of Medhānkara as the author of the Jinacarita is made in the 'Saddhamma-saṅgaha', and in the 'Gandha-varṇsa'.

The style of the poem is a queer admixture of the weak and prosy verses in some places, and of high poetic effusions in others. But the charm of the poem lies in its higher style, in the author's choice of graceful, though sometimes forcible images, and finally in the art of his descriptions and delicacy of his expressions. The Jinacarita betrays at almost every page, the intimate acquaintance of the author with classical Sanskrit literature, so much so, that the principal interest with regard to its style, lies in its sanskritisation.

The Jinacarita, however, throws no new light on the life of the Master; and we can hardly expect such a thing from a purely devotional work such as this. It is primarily based on the Nidānakathā, and it holds among the Buddhists of Ceylon, the same place that the Buddhacarita and the Lalitavistara hold among the Northern Buddhists. But what is strikingly surprising is that the Jinacarita is unknown both in Burma and Siam.

1 Jour. P. T. S., 1904-5, p. IV, Note on Medhānkara by T. W. Rhys Davids. But Mon. Charles Duroiselle thinks that "the poem was written in the monastery built by Vijayabāhu II, who ascended the throne, in A. D. 1186 and was the immediate successor of the famous King Parākramabāhu. Jinacarita, p. iii (Edited and translated by C. Duroiselle, Rangoon, 1906). Read also "Jinacarita", edited and translated by Dr. W. H. D. Rouse in the J. P. T. S., 1904-1905.

In the beautiful city of Amara, there was a Brahman youth, wise and compassionate, handsome and pleasant, by name Sumedha. Hankering after wealth and treasures he had none, for this bodily frame he had no attachment. He, therefore, left his pleasant house, went to the Himalayas, and there discovered the eight implements necessary for an ascetic. He put on the ascetic garb and within a week obtained the five High Powers and the eight Attainments, enjoying the bliss of mystic meditation. One day he came down from the sky, and lay himself down in a muddy portion of a road through which the Dipaṅkara Buddha with his disciples was to pass. He, the Dipaṅkara Buddha, was delighted at it, and foretold that the ascetic Sumedha, in times to come, should become a fully enlightened Buddha, by name Gotama. Sumedha did him homage, and then seated in meditation, he investigated those conditions that go to make a Buddha. Sumedha, searching for Nirvāṇa, endured many hardships while going through the continued succession of existences, fulfilling the virtue of charity. He fulfilled, moreover, the Perfections of Morality, of Self-abnegation, of wisdom, and all others, and came to the existence of Vessantara. Passing away thence, he was reborn in the city of Tusita, and afterwards had another rebirth in the city of Kapila through the noble King Suddhodana, and his Queen Māyā. He approached the bosom of Māyā, and at the time of his conception, various wonders took place all over the world. In her tenth month, while she was proceeding to the house of her relative, she brought forth the sage in the Lumbini garden while she kept standing under a Sāla tree catching hold of a branch. The god Brahmā approached and received the child in a golden net, the child that was born unsullied as a priceless gem. From the hands of Brahmā and the angels, he stepped on to the ground, and gods and men approached and made offerings to him. Accompanied by a concourse of gods and men, he went to Kapilavastu and there a rejoicing of nature and men ensued for days and nights. In the Tavatimsa heaven the hosts of angels rejoiced and sported and predicted that he, the child would sit upon the Throne of Wisdom and become a Buddha. The ascetic

Kalādeva, the spiritual adviser of King Suddhodana, went to the Tāvātimsa heaven, heard the cause of their rejoicings, came down to Suddhodana's palace and wanted to see the child. The child was brought and instantly, the lotus-feet of the prince were fixed on the ascetic's head. Upon this, both Kalādeva and Suddhodana revered the soft lotus-feet. A second act of reverence was done by Suddhodana and other men and women of the royal house during the sowing festival when the child, the Wise One, had performed a miracle. The prince then began to grow day by day living as he did in three magnificent mansions provided for him. One day as he came out on chariot on the royal road, he saw in succession the representation of an old man, of a diseased man and of a dead man. He then became free from attachment to the three forms of existence and on the fourth occasion, delighted in seeing pleasant representation of a monk. He then came back home and laid himself down on a costly couch, and nymph-like women surrounded him and performed various kinds of dances and songs. The sage, however, did not relish them; and while the dancers fell asleep he bent upon retirement into solitude and free from attachment to the five worldly pleasures, called his minister and friend Channa to harness his horse. He then went to his wife's apartment and saw the sleeping son and mother and silently took leave of them. Descending from the palace he mounted his horse and silently came out of the gate which was opened up by the gods inhabiting it. Māra then came to thwart him from going by saying that on the seventh day hence, the divine wheel of a universal monarch should appear unto him. But, he, the Wise of the World, did not desire any sovereignty, but wanted to become a Buddha. Upon this Māra disappeared, and he proceeded towards the bank of the river Anomā where he dismounted himself and asked Channa to go back home with the horse and his ornaments. He then cut off his knot of hair with a sword; the hair rose up into the air and Sakra received it with bent head and placed it in a gold casket to worship it. Next he put up the eight requisites of a monk and having spent seven days in the Anupiya mango grove in the joy of having left the world, went to Rājagaha and made his round for alms just enough for his sustenance. Leaving the town he

went to the Pāṇḍava mountain and took the food. He was repeatedly approached by King Bimbisāra and offered the kingdom, but he declined it; and retiring to a cloister practised unmatched hardships. All this was of no avail; he, therefore, partook of material food and regaining bodily perfection, went to the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree where he sat facing the east. Sujātā, a beautiful woman, mistook him for a sylvan deity and offered him a gold vessel of milk rice. The sage took it, and having gone to the bank of the Nerañjarā river he ate the food, took his rest, and then in the evening went to the Bo-tree which he circumambulated keeping the tree to his right. To his astonishment, a throne appeared, on which he took his seat facing the east, and promised that he would give up his efforts to attain Supreme Enlightenment even if his flesh, blood, bones, sinews and skin dried up. On his head the Mahā-Brahmā held an umbrella. Suyāma, the king of gods, fanned a splendid yak's tail, and god Pañcasikha, the snake king Kāla and thirty-two nymphs all kept standing and serving the Sage. Māra, then, creating unto himself a thousand dreadful arms, and surrounding himself by a manifold faced army, approached the Bo-tree. And at his approach the gods made good their escape. Māra created a terrific wind with a fierce roar, then the terrible torrent of large rocks, and brought on a most dreadful darkness, but each in succession was of little avail. All these turned to good account and the Blessed One did not even show any sign of consternation. The Evil One then threw his disc, hurled rocky peaks, yet the Unconquerable sat motionless as before. Baffled in his attempts he approached the All-Merciful and asked him to rise from his seat. The Blessed One enquired of the witness for his seat and Māra, showing his army, told that they were his witnesses and asked in his turn who had been the witness of Siddhārtha. Siddhārtha then stretched his hands towards the earth and called the earth goddess to witness. She gave forth thousands of roars and Māra caught by the fear fled with his army. Having dispersed Māra's hosts, he remained seated still on the immoveable seat, and in his first watch of the night obtained the excellent knowledge of the past, and in the middle watch the Eye Divine. In the last watch, he gained thorough knowledge of the concate-

nation of causes and effects, and at dawn he became perfectly Enlightened Buddha. Yet he did not rise up from his seat, but to remove the doubts of the gods remained seated there for seven days and performed a double miracle. Then after the investigation of the Pure Law, he at the foot of the goat-herd's banyan tree, caused to wither the face of Māra's daughter, and, at the foot of the Mucalinda tree, caused to blossom the mind of the snake-king. And, at last, at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree, he enjoyed the bliss of meditation. Then the king of the Law, entreated by Brahmā Sahampati, wanted to fill the world with the free gift of the nectar of the Good Law. With this object, he travelled to the splendid Deer Park where the sages and mendicants built him a saint, and came to acknowledge him as the Sanctified, the Perfectly Enlightened, the Tathāgata. To the Elders of the Park, he delivered a discourse on the establishment of the kingdom of Truth, and dispelled their ignorance. He thus set the Wheel of the Law in motion for the good of the world by delivering the people from the mighty bond of transmigration. On his way next to Uruvela, he gave to some thirty Bhaddavaggiya princes the immortal draught of the Three Paths; and conferred on them the gift of ordination. He then went to Latthivana Park and there presented King Bimbisāra with the immortal draught of true doctrine. Thence he proceeded to the Veluvana Park and dwelt there in a hermitage. Then King Suddhodana, having heard that his own son had attained to Supreme Knowledge, sent his minister Udāyi to bring his son back to him. Udāyi came with a thousand followers and hearing the Master preach renounced the world and entered upon the path to sainthood. He then made known to the Master the desire of Suddhodana to see him, and requested to preach the Law to his kith and kin. The Buddha agreed to it and went to Kapilavastu where he was worshipped by Suddhodana and his relatives. But seeing that the young ones did not greet him, he performed a miracle at the sight of which Suddhodana was filled with joy. Then he went to the royal palace and preached the sweet doctrines to the king and hundreds of fair royal women. Next he extinguished the great grief in the heart of Bimbā or Yaso-dharā, his wife; and ordained prince Nanda even before the three

festivals, marriage, ceremonial sprinkling and entering on the house, had taken place. When his own son Rāhula followed next for the sake of an inheritance, the Wise One ordained him too.

After this he went to Sītāvana at Rājagaha where he preached to a merchant of Sāvattī, named Sudatta, who attained the fruit of the First Path. Sudatta then went back to Sāvattī, and there selected a park of Prince Jeta for the residence of the Blessed One. He (better known as Anāthapiṇḍika) brought this for a crore of gold pieces for the Teacher's sake alone, and built there a chamber and a noble monastery for the abode of the Master and his followers. He also beautified it with tanks and gardens, etc., and then inviting the Teacher to the spot dedicated to him the park and the monastery. The Buddha accepted the gift and thanked Sudatta for it, preaching to him the great benefit which lies in the giving of monasteries.

Residing there, he spent his days going here and there and beating the great drum of the Law. In the first season, he dwelt in the Deer Park in the Benares city. In the second, third and fourth seasons he dwelt in the lovely Veluvana at Rājagaha. In the fifth season, he made his abode in the great wood near Vesālī. In the sixth, he dwelt on the great mountain Mammakā, and in the seventh in the cool and spacious rocky seat of Indra. In the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth seasons, he dwelt respectively in the delightful wood of Bhesakālā, in the Kosambi silk cotton wood, in goodly Pārāleyya and in the Brahman villages of Nāla and Verañja. In the thirteenth season he lived on the beautiful Cāliya mountain, and in the fourteenth, in fair and lovely Jetavana. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth seasons, the Wise One made his abode respectively in the great Nigrodha monastery on a large hill at Kapilavattū in the city of Ālavaka, in Rājagaha and twice on the great mount Cāliya. In the twentieth season, he took up his abode in Rājagaha; and for the rest twenty-five years of his life, he made his abode in Sāvattī and Jetavana. Thus for forty-five years, the Blessed One preached his sweet doctrine, bringing happiness to men, and freeing all the world and the gods from the great bond of transmigration.

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The book ends with a prayer of the author in which he gives out his pious wishes to be born in the Tusita heaven, to be born contemporaneously with the Great Being, the future Buddha, to be able to give food, drink, alms and monasteries to the Wise One and so forth, and to become at last a Buddha himself.

The *Telakaṭāhagāthā* is a small poem in 98 stanzas on the vanity of human life. It contains some of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. The verses are written in chaste language. They represent the religious meditations and exhortations of a great therā named Kalyāṇiya who was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil on suspicion of his having been accessory to an intrigue with the Queen-consort of King Kalani Tissa who reigned at Kelaniya in 306-207 B. C.¹ The author of this work is unknown. A careful study of the poem shows that the author was well acquainted with the texts and commentaries of the Buddhist scriptures. It is the only example of Sataka in Pali.

The *Pajjamadhu* is a poem composed of 104 stanzas in praise of Buddha. Buddhappiya, a pupil of Ānanda, is the author of this work. He is also the author of the Pali grammar known as the *Rūpasiddhi*. He is silent about the date of its composition. The author has given us his name and pupilage in verse 103 of this poem. The language is Sanskritised Pali and some of the verses are puzzling. There is a gloss in Sinhalese on the entire poem but it is verbose and rather diffuse in its explanations. The first 69 verses describe the beauty of Buddha's person and the rest are in praise of his wisdom, concluded with a panegyric on the Order and *Nirvāṇa*.

The *Rasavāhinī* is a collection of 103 tales written in easy Pali, the first forty relating to the incidents which happened to Jambudīpa and the rest in Ceylon. A Sinhalese edition of this work has been brought out by M. S. Unnanse. The P. T. S. London, has undertaken to bring out an edition of this work in Roman character. Its date

1 G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 162.

is unknown but at the conclusion the author gives us a clue which helps us in determining it to be in all probability in the first half of the 14th century A. D. It is considered to be a revision of an old Pali translation made from an original compilation by Ratthapāla Thera of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. Vedeha, the author of the *Rasavāhinī* gives us an account of the Vanavāsi school to which he belonged (Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 210). The late H. Nevill suggests that the *Sāhassavatthu-ppakarana*, still extant in Burma, formed the basis for the *Pali Rasavāhinī* (*Ibid*, p. 129). This work throws much light on the manners, customs and social conditions of ancient India and Ceylon. It contains materials of historical importance and as such is widely read in Ceylon. This work has been edited and translated by P. E. Pavolini (*Société Asiatique Italiana*, 1897). There is a glossary on the *Rasavāhinī* called the *Rasavāhinīgaṇṭhi*.

Buddhist legends of Asoka and his times translated from the Pali of the *Rasavāhinī* by Lakṣmaṇa Śāstri with a prefatory note by H. C. Norman (J. R. A. S., 1910). *Zwei Erzählungen aus der Rasavāhinī*, Von. Sten Konow (Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, Zeitschrift, Leipzig). *Il settimo capitolo della Rasavāhinī* by P. E. Pavolini (*Société Asiatique Italiana, Giornale. Firenze*, 1895), should be consulted. *Die Zweite dekade der Rasavāhinī* (M & W Geiger), München 1918, with translation deserves mention.

The *Saddhammopāyana* has been edited by Richard Morris for the P. T. S. London. It is a piece of *Saddhammopāyana* poetry consisting of 621 stanzas and it deals with the disadvantages of the ten akusālas (demerits), sins (pāpa), fruition of merit, advantages of charity, precepts, meditation, approval, instructions, worship, refuges, exertions, etc. The language is easy and intelligible.

The *Pañcagatidīpana* has been edited by M. Leon Feer (J. P. T. S., 1884, pp. 152-161). It is written in *Pañcagatidīpana* 114 stanzas. This work furnishes us with an interesting piece of information regarding different hells. *Sañjīva*, *Kālasutta*, *Saṅghāta*, *Roruva*, *Mahāroruva*, *Tapa*, *Mahā-*

tapa and Avici are the eight great hells. Those who kill and cause living beings to be killed out of avarice, delusion, fear and anger must go to the Sañjiva hell. For one thousand years they suffer in this hell being subjected to continual torments without losing life and consciousness. Those who cause injury or do harmful deeds to friends and parents, speak falsehood and backbite others must go to the Kālasutta hell. In this hell they are cut to pieces with burning saws. Those who kill goats, sheep, jackals, hares, deer, pigs, etc., are consigned to the Sanghāta hell, where they are huddled up in one place and then beaten to death. Those who cause mental and bodily pain to others or cheat others or again are misers have to go to the Roruva hell, where they make terrible noise while being burnt in the terrific fire of hell. Those who steal things belonging to gods, Brahmans and preceptors, those who misappropriate the property of others kept in trust with them and those who destroy things entrusted to their care are cast into the Mahāroruva hell, where they make a more terrible noise while being consumed by a fire fiercer than that in the Roruva. Those who cause the death of living beings by throwing them into the Davadaha fire, etc., have to go to the Tapa hell, where they have to suffer being burnt in a dreadful fire. Those who cause the death of beings by throwing them into greater Dāvadaha fire must go to the Mahātapa hell, where they have to suffer still more by being burnt in a greater fire. Those who injure men of great virtue and those who kill parents, arahats, or preceptor must sink into the Avici hell, where they suffer being burnt in such a terrible fire that would consume even the hardest things. In this hell there is not a least wave of happiness, it is therefore called the Avici or waveless. Besides these hells, mention is made of a hell called the Patāpana, where people suffer by being burnt in fires that are much more terrific than those of the Tapa and Mahātapa hells. Each hell has four Ussadanirayas, viz., Milhakūpa, Kukkula, Asipattavana and Nadi. Those who are in the Mahāniraya have to proceed to Milhakūpa when released. In this terrible hell they are beaten by a host of worms. Thence they go to Kukkula where they are fried like mustard seeds on a burning pan. Coming out of Kukkula they find before them a beautiful tree of fruits and flowers where they shelter for relief from torments. As soon as

they reach the tree they are attacked by birds of prey such as vultures, owls, etc. They are killed by these animals which they make a repast on their flesh. Those who are traitors must go to the Asipattavana where they are torn and eaten up by bitches, vultures, owls, etc. Those who steal money will also suffer in this hell by being compelled to swallow iron balls and molten brass. Those who kill cows and oxen suffer in this hell by being eaten up by dogs having large teeth. Those who kill aquatic animals will have to go to the fearful Vaitaraṇī river where the water is as hot as a molten brass. Those who prostitute justice by accepting bribes will be cut to pieces in an iron wheel. Those who destroy paddy have to suffer in the Kukkula hell. Those who cherish anger in their heart are reborn as swans and pigeons. Those who are haughty and angry are reborn as snakes. Those who are jealous and miserly are reborn as monkeys. Those who are miserly, irritable and fond of backbiting are reborn as tigers, bears, cats, etc. Those who are charitable, but angry at the same time are reborn as big Garuḍas. Those who are deceitful and charitable are reborn as great Asuras. Those who neglect their friends on account of their pride are reborn as dogs and asses. Those who are envious, cherish anger, or become happy at sight of sufferings of others are reborn in Yamaloka and the demon world. (Cf. the description of hells in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa).

SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE BRĀHMAṆA PERIOD

NOTES FROM THE AITAREYA BRĀHMAṆA

BY

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The Brāhmaṇa Literature of the Vedas is a vast field of enquiry for the historian who attempts to reconstruct from original data, a Social History of India.

In this article, an attempt is made to collect some very interesting passages in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of Rgveda, which throw a flood of life on prevalent manners and customs of the age.

As regards eating and drinking — one of the most important of human functions, we find many passages scattered all over the entire Brāhmaṇa which will be dealt with hereafter. In III. 4, the following passage occurs wherein the "Agnimanthana" Ceremony is prescribed as a part of the "Āthithyeṣṭi," a sacrifice held in honour of Soma conceived as guest newly arrived. Āśvalāyana also prescribes the ceremony thus :—"आतिथ्येलान्तातस्यामाग्निमन्थनम्". The passage referred to is :— तद् यथैवादा मनुष्यराज आगतेन्यस्मिन् वा अर्हति उक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्त एवमेवास्मा एतत् क्षदन्ते यदाग्न मन्थन्ति अग्निर्हि देवानां पशुः । Now it is an indisputable fact that the Aryan indulged in meat diet — meat even of the forbidden kind. This passage distinctly says that whenever a king or any other respectable personage arrived as a guest in any household it was the duty of every householder to entertain him with the meat of a bull or a cow that miscarries. This custom is quite in keeping with the tradition of the Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras which distinctly refer to these with great approbation until we come to the modern Smṛtis which expressly forbid them. Compare the following passage from a modern text often referred to in legal literature. "मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः" (Āditya Purāṇa) Sāyana himself quite true to the tradition of his age cautions his reader and says while

commenting on the passage :—"अयं सत्कारः स्मृतिषु प्रसिद्धो युगान्तरघर्षो द्रष्टव्यः".

The passage in VI. 8 describes under the garb of a legend the various sacrificial animals, including man, which were immolated in sacrifices. It is as follows :—"पुरुषं वै देवाः पशुमालभन्त तस्मादश्वो मेध्योऽभवत् तेऽश्वमालभन्त स गां प्राविशत् । तस्माद् गौर्मेध्योऽभवत् । ते गामालभन्त सोऽग्निं प्राविशत् तस्मादग्निर्मेध्योऽभवत् । ते अविमालभन्त सोऽजं प्राविशत् । तस्मादजो मेध्योऽभवत् तेऽजमालभन्त स इन्द्रं प्राविशत् । सोऽजुगतो ब्रीहिरभवत् ।"

Now this passage points unmistakably to the fact that all the animals mentioned above were used in sacrifices, and as such their remnants were partaken of by the priests and the sacrificer himself, for the Brāhmaṇa expressly lays down the dictum (after repudiating arguments to the contrary), viz., तस्मात्तस्याशितव्यं चैव लीप्सितव्यं चैव (vi. 3). The story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa as related in the Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 1) is important in many respects. It is as follows .— ऋषयो व सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत्, ते कवषमैलुषं सोमादनयन्, दास्याः पुत्रः कितवोऽब्राह्मणः कथं नो मध्येऽदीक्षिष्ट इति तं बहिर्घन्व उदबहन् अत्रैनं पिपासा हन्तु सरस्वत्या उदकं मा पादिति । स बहिर्घन्व उदहलः पिपासया वित्त एतदपोनञ्जीयमपश्यत् प्र देवत्रा सरस्वती समन्तं पर्यधावत् । ते वा ऋषयोऽब्रुवन् विदुर्वा इमं देवा उपेमं हयामहा इति तथेति तमुपहृय एतदपोनञ्जीयमकुर्वत् ।"

The same story is found also in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa with slight alteration described in connection with the origin of the अपोनञ्जीयसूक्त traditionally ascribed to Kavaṣa, son of Ilūṣa. The Rṣis did not admit Kavaṣa into the sacrifice on the ground that he was the son of a slave and a non-Brāhmaṇ. They drove him away from the banks of Sarasvatī into a desert with the intention that thirst would kill him. Now Kavaṣa was a very learned man and he at once invoked the Sarasvatī with the hymn beginning with the verse प्रदेवत्रा (Rg. X. 30. 1) etc. When the Rṣis found that he was favoured by the Gods they realised their insignificance approached him in a suppliant mood, gave him the designation "Rṣi" which he so eminently deserved but which in their arrogance they had withheld from him. "नमस्तेऽस्तु ऋषे मा नो हिंसी त्वं व नः श्रेष्ठाऽसि" (Kau. Brā. XII. 3). This story gives us a good insight into the caste-system of the time of the Brāhmaṇa. It shows the caste system still in a state of fluidity. The society

has not yet been divided into the rigid and mutually exclusive castes of the latter period. It shows that even a man of an inferior caste could qualify himself for admission into the higher castes provided he could prove his excellence. It was the same with Mahidāsa Aitareya, the traditional author of the Brāhmaṇa, who was also the son of an 'Itarā' meaning low-born or other than the twice-born. In this case also, Aitareya became a seer and the whole of the Brāhmaṇa together with the Āraṇyaka was revealed to him as he was favoured by the Gods on account of his superior piety and learning. The story is not found in any extant book but Sāyaṇa in his introduction to the Brāhmaṇa ascribes it to the संप्रदायविदः.

In XII. 11, we find an interesting picture of the regard in which the father-in-law was held by the daughter-in-law. In course of describing how a rival army is routed and dispersed the following illustration is given viz. "तद् यथैवादः स्तुपा इव ह्युराल्लज्जमाना निलीयमाना एति एवमेव सा सेना भज्यमाना निलीयमानात।". The daughter-in-law did not expose herself to the view of the father-in-law and as soon as he caught sight of her she used to hide herself from his gaze. It thus appears that the present Hindu Society has in this respect remained almost stationary from the time of the Brāhmaṇa. Feminine modesty carried to gross exaggerations has marked the society in all periods.

According to the rituals a sāman is formed of three Rk verses, viz., "एकं साम तृचे क्रियते स्तोत्रियम्". The Brāhmaṇa says, one Rk verse asked another sāman to be united together in wedlock. On the latter refusing to comply with the request two Rks asked to be united with the sāman but on the latter's still refusing, three of them approached the sāman to be united with it and so it now happens that a sāman song is composed of three Rk verses because one or two Rks are unequal to one sāman in strength. Therefore says the Aitareya in XII. 12, "तस्मादेकस्य बन्धो जाया भवन्ति, नैकस्यै बहवः सह पत्यः॥" Comp. XV. 3, यदिह वापि बन्धः इव जायाः पतिर्वाव तासां मिथुनम्". One man can have many wives but no woman can have more than one husband. This is the first authoritative statement of Polygamy, which was common enough during the Vedic period. This passage is very freely quoted by later Smṛtis

in favour of Polygamy or बहुविवाह. The king it appears had three kinds of wives with their distinctive appellations. The best kind was designated as महिषी, the second in rank and honour was called Vāvatā (वावाता) the third in rank was called Parivrkti (परिवृक्ति). Polyandry as will appear from the passage was unthinkable and unknown amongst the civilised and enlightened Aryans of India. Polygamy although sanctioned by the law was only prevalent amongst the kings and the wealthier classes.

That the standard of morality was sufficiently high during the period is evidenced by the story of Prajāpati, in XIII.9 which relates the ravishment of his daughter by himself. He was punished by the Gods for this delinquency which was unknown before, “अकृतं वै प्रजापतिः करोतीति ।”. It can be safely presumed that Incest was unknown amongst civilized Aryans at all times.

An interesting picture of the comparative position of the wife and the sister in the household is to be found in XIII. 13. The text says, “तस्मात् समान.दया स्वसा अन्योदयायै जायाया अनुजीविनी जीवति ।”. “Therefore it is that a sister born of the same mother becomes a dependent or hanger-on on a wife born of a different mother”. This shows that the widowed sister occupied a subordinate position to the wife and that she lived upon the charity and sufferance of the wife who was the sole mistress of the house. This is undoubtedly a very interesting revelation found in the Brāhmaṇa and this custom has descended down to the present day, unaltered and unchanged from that remote period.

The Brāhmaṇa contains here and there in vague words and phrases statements of scientific theories which have been satisfactorily demonstrated only at a much later day by Western Scientists. The most important and startling theory is perhaps that of the sun – its rising and setting. Herein we find a scientific explanation of the appearance and disappearance of the great luminary – popularly represented as the rising and setting respectively. In XIV. 8 it is very distinctly laid down as a proposition that the sun never rises or sets. “स वा एष न कदाचनास्तमेति नादति ।”. “अस्तमय” is explained by Sāyaṇa as स्वरूपनाशः and उदय as उत्पत्ति. How are we then to account for the appearance and disappearance for the time being? The answer is given in the

following words :— “ तं यदस्तमेतीति मन्यन्ते, अह एव तदन्तामित्वा अथ आत्मानं विपर्यस्यते, रात्रीमेवावस्तात् कुरुत, अहः परस्तात् । अथ यदेनं प्रातरुदेतीति मन्यन्ते, रात्रेरेव तदन्तामित्वा अथ आत्मानं विपर्यस्यते, अहरेवावस्तात् कुरुते रात्रिं परस्तात् । ”

The sun revolving in its orbit is said to be rising in that part of the hemisphere from which it is to be seen by the people. It is said to be setting in that part of the earth where it disappears from the gaze of the people. In other words it reveals light or day in front and leaves darkness or night behind.

Frequent references to the sea and navigation by sea-going vessels is to be found in the Aitareya. The sea is often requisitioned for a simile in connection with the sacrifice. The संवत्सर-सत्र such as गवामयन is often represented as a sea.

“ सधुद्रं वा एते पृवन्ते ये संवत्सरं उपयन्ति । ”

Sea-going vessels are distinctly referred to in XVII. 7.

“ एते वै यज्ञस्य नावौ संपारिण्यौ यत् बृहद्रथन्तरे ताभ्यामेव तत् संवत्सरं तरन्ति । ”

Again in XVII. 8, the sea is mentioned viz, : यो वै संवत्सरस्य अवार च पार च वद ।

but show some... theories which have been... demonstrated only at a much later day by Western... The most important and startling theory is perhaps that of the sun - its rising and setting. Herein we find a scientific explanation of the appearance and disappearance of the great luminary - popularly represented as the rising and setting respectively. In XIV. 8 it is very distinctly laid down as a proposition that the sun never rises or sets. " स त एव दृष्टवान्वाक्यं स एव दृष्टवान्वाक्यं " is explained by Sayana as " स एव दृष्टवान्वाक्यं " and " स एव दृष्टवान्वाक्यं " How are we then to account for the appearance and disappearance for the time being? The answer is given in the

BEGINNINGS OF LINGA CULT IN INDIA

BY

ATUL K. SUR, M. A., F. R. Econ. S.

It would be platitudinous at the present stage of our knowledge of the history of Indian cultures to lay stress on the debt which Hinduism owes to Pre-Aryan and Un-Aryan cultures of India. So overwhelming is the burden of such debt that it would require the pages of some half-a-dozen tomes to do proper justice to the study of the extraneous traits in detail. In this short paper, I merely desire to touch upon the fringe of one such trait in Hinduism, namely, the origin and antiquity of the Linga Cult in India.

Until quite recently it was fondly believed that the Linga Cult in India is of quite recent origin. Indeed, at one time with the aid of all available data, its date could not be pushed back beyond the Imperial Gupta period. Thus, in 1903-04¹ the official archaeologist while describing a clay seal from Basarh, on which appeared the symbol of Linga and Yoni, loudly proclaimed it as the oldest representation of the phallic emblem that has yet been found in India. Then, in the Archaeological Report of the years 1907-08² there appeared the description of a miniature Linga and Yoni recovered from the areas north of the Dhamek Stūpa at Sarnāth, and apparently of the same date as the Basarh specimen. For two or three years thereafter these two specimens constituted the archaeological history of the Linga Cult in India. Then our knowledge of it was further advanced in the years 1909-10³, by the publication in the Report of the same years by R. D. Banerji of the description of a Śiva-linga, which had been rescued from Bhitā and was at that time preserved in the Lucknow Museum. Ideologically, this image could be divided into two halves. The upper half is modelled in the shape of human bust — a male figure holding a rose in his left hand and raising the other hand

1 Page 110.

2 Page 61.

3 Page 148.

in the well-known *Abhaya-mudrā* pose. Below the bust are four human heads, being indicated by deep drawings. There is an inscription on it which offers us the most valuable clue to its date — which has been fixed as the first century before Christ.

Not very many years later, T. G. Rao¹ announced the discovery of a phallus symbol discovered at Gudimallam, a village situated at a distance of 6 miles to the north-east of Renigunta, a railway junction station on the Madras and Southern Marhatta Railway System. It is one of the most important and valuable archaeological specimen of the *Līṅga* yet discovered in India—as it represents the Phallus in a most stark and realistic manner. It has been shaped like a human phallus with an admirable degree of exactitude — even the longitudinal facets on the erect organ appear on this specimen in the most life-like manner. It is sheltered in an ancient temple with several inscriptions on it. It has been known from very ancient times as “*Paraśurāmeśvara*” and is still being worshipped by the local people. Though of very ancient date, yet it is in a very perfect state of preservation. The image proper is about five feet in height. It rises from a pedestal on the floor of the central shrine. It bears on its front a very beautiful figure of Śiva. This figure of Śiva has a very close resemblance with the figure of a *Yakṣa* in the *Sāñci Stūpa*, and on the ground of stylistic resemblance between the two, T. G. Rao has assigned it to the second century before Christ.

The understanding of the proper significance of the epithet “*Śiśnadeva*” in the *R̥gveda* pushed back the antiquity of the cult of *Līṅga* to a millenium and a half earlier. This epithet occurs in two passages of the *R̥gveda*. They are quoted below :—

“The terrible god Indra, skilled in all heroic deeds, has with his weapons mastered these demons. Indra, exalting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has smitten them asunder by his might. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, O puissant deity of a truth, any evil spirits. The glorious Indra defies the hostile being: let not those whose god is the ŚIŚNA approach our sacred ceremony.” *RV. vii. 21, 4-5.*

1 Vol. II, p. 63ff. Rao—Hindu Iconography.

"Proceeding to the conflict, and desiring to acquire them he has gone to, and in hostile army besieged inaccessible places, at the same time, when irresistible, slaying those whose god is the ŚÍSNA, he by his craft conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates". R.V. x. 99, 3.

It is evident from the above passages that there were in Rgvedic times many rich and prosperous cities in the Indus Valley which were inhabited by the Non-Aryan Phallic worshippers. Some of these cities were very big in size — one had even a hundred gates.

The antiquity of the cult of Liṅga can be pushed still further back, if we only care to carry our researches into the domain of pre-historic archaeology. Such researches show conclusively that phallus played a considerable part in the religious and magical ideology of the Pre-Aryan and Non-Aryan peoples of India. There is a very fine specimen of phallus dating from the neolithic times in the Foote Collection of the Madras Museum.¹ It was found on the Shevaroy hills in the Salem district of the Madras Presidency. It is made of pale gneiss stone. Though the specimen has been much ravaged in the process of time, it still retains its original highly realistic shape. It was no doubt used as an object of worship or as a charm against sterility.

Shevaroy hills in the Salem district is not the only place in India which has yielded a phallic symbol of neolithic times. Earthenware phallic symbol dating from neolithic times have also been obtained from various places in the Baroda State in Gujrat.²

In this connection the data furnished by Linguistic Palaeontology is very illuminating. Przyluski in his paper on, "Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan" has shown that both the words "lāṅgala" (plough) and "liṅga" (penis) are of Austro-Asiatic origin and in their etymology they mean one and the same thing. He says that "liṅga" in the sense of "penis" has equivalents in the Non-Aryan languages of the East whereas it has no equi-

1 Page 61. Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and protohistoric Antiquities by Robert Bruce Foote.

2 Ditto. p. 139.

valents in the Indo-European languages of the West. In accordance with the original etymological meaning of the word, "lāṅgalam" when introduced in the Sanskrit vocabulary came to mean both the plough and the penis. On the other hand, specially in the Sūtras and the Mahābhārata a form "lagula" is found to mean both the penis and the tail (of an animal). If the equivalence "lāṅgala-lāṅgula" is authorised then the semantic evolution of the word would be easily understood. From "penis" one can pass without difficulty to the sense of "plough" and "tail". There are evident analogies between the copulation and the act of ploughing by which one digs up the earth for depositing the seed. The problem becomes more complicated from the fact that, almost inevitably, the word "liṅga" which strongly resembles the other words and has the meaning of penis comes in. Some Austro-Asiatic peoples use even today not a plough to furrow, but a simple pointed stick for digging holes in which they place the seeds. There the analogy between the "penis" and the farming instrument is as clear as possible. Profs. Hubert and Maus point out that in Melanesia and Polynesia the farming stick has often the form of a "penis". In some Polynesian languages the same word designates the penis and the digging stick. It is possible that the aborigines of India at first knew the use of the stick and that the name of the instrument for digging the soil has not changed after the introduction of the plough.

In the face of the evidence quoted above it becomes perfectly clear that the Aryans of India have borrowed from the aborigines not only the cult of Liṅga but also the name of the symbol. That it was of Un-Aryan origin is shown by the opprobrious terms applied to the Phallic worshippers in the Rgveda. The paucity of Phallic worship in the case of other Indo-European peoples strengthens the argument for borrowing.

Before I come to a close I desire to indicate the time when the cult of Liṅga was introduced into the Aryan religion. We have already seen that in the Rgveda it is being mentioned as a Non-Aryan cult. The whole of the later Vedic and the Sūtra literatures do not contain any reference to the Liṅga cult. It

appears for the first time in the epics and there it appears as an Aryan cult. Thus, the Rāmāyaṇa mentions that wherever Rāvaṇa went he carried with him a Śiva-Liṅga of gold. In the Mahābhārata, too, Śivaliṅga is mentioned in several passages (Anusāsana, v. 822ff; vv. 7510, 7516; cf. also Droṇaparva 9616ff; 9625 and 9631).

To sum up, Phallus worship in India is of Non-Aryan origin and dates from the Neolithic times. It was a flourishing cult in the Indus valley in the period of the R̥gveda. It became fused with the cult of Śiva in the epic period. The earliest archaeological specimens date from about the Christian era. The early specimens show definitely that Śiva-liṅga in its origin is of phallic origin.

ON THE UNĀDI SŪTRAS OF JAINA ŚĀKATĀYANA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

There is a belief current among the Jaina community that their Śākatāyana was identical with the elder Śākatāyana, the predecessor of Yāska and Pāṇini, and composed the Unādi Sūtras which are given in the Kṛdanta portion of the Kaumudī by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita.

In the introduction to the Śākatāyana-prakriyā-saṁgraha of Abhayacandra-sūri printed at the Jainendra Press at Kolhapur we are told—

श्रीमच्छाकटायनाचार्यप्रणीतान्युणादिसूत्राणि सर्वैरपि प्राचानैः शाब्दिकप्रवरैरङ्गी-
कृतानि तथा पाणनिनाऽपि तान्येवोररीकृतानि नान्यानि निबद्धानीत्येतदपि शाकटायना-
चार्यस्य शाब्दिकधैर्यत्वं प्रख्यापयतीति नाविज्ञेयं सुधियाम् । शाकटायनाचार्यप्रणी-
तोणादिसूत्राणां व्याख्यानानां तूज्ज्वलदत्तमाधवाचार्यादिभिर्व्यरच्यन्तेति सुप्रसिद्धम् ॥

That this is altogether a mistake will be obvious from the extracts which I give below from the Amogha Vṛtti :

उणादयः IV, 2, 279 —

बहुलामति वतत । धातः सत्यर्थे वर्तमानात् उण् इत्यवमादयो बहुलं भवत । कारुः ।
वायुः । करण्डः । वरेण्डः । चरेण्डः । एरण्डः । भूफिडः । भूफिड्डः । सर्पीषि यज्जुषि ।
तस् । पिम् । कृत् । धूसरः । शख । शण्डः । बहुलग्रहणं कम् । प्रयोगानुसरणार्थं तेन ये
येभ्यो धातुभ्यो यास्मन्नर्थे यथा दृश्यन्ते ते तेभ्यः तथा तस्मिन् भवन्तीति धात्वर्थकार्या-
(र्य) नियम [:] सिद्धो भवति ।

कृवापाजिमिस्विदिसाधुशादसनिजनिचरीण्वरिभ्य उण् ।

किमः शृणातेः ।

त्रादानां रश्चलः ।

कृकावचः कच ।

Amoghavṛtti IV, 3, 279.

Pāṇini's Unādi Sūtras begin thus :—

कृवापाजिमिस्विदिसाध्यश्च उण् ।

कृन्दसीणः ।

द्वसनिजनिचरिचटिभ्यो ञ्ण् ।

किञ्जरयोः श्रिणः ।

त्रो रश्चलः ।

कृक वचः कश्च ।

Candra's Unādi Sūtras begin thus :—

कृवापाजिभिस्वदिसाध्यश्रूभ्य उण् ।

द्वसनिजनिचरिचटितलिभ्यो ञ्ण् ।

किंजराभ्यां श्रिणः ।

कृकावचः कश्च ।

The opening Unādi Sūtras of Hemecandra are as follows :—

कृवापाजिस्वदिसाध्यशौद्वसनासनिजनिरहीणभ्य उण् ।

: ।

म्लच्छीडहस्वश्च वा ।

It may be stated here that Pāṇini divides his Unādi Sūtras into five pādas ; hence their name Pañcapādi. Candra's Unādi Sūtras are divided into three Pādas. On the other hand Jaina Śakāṭāyana and Hemacandra do not divide their Sūtras into Pādas. On comparing the above Sūtras, we find that Pāṇini and Candra have two terminations उण् and ञ्ण् while Jaina Śakāṭāyana and Hemacandra have only one termination उण्. The reason for this lies in the fact that Pāṇini and Candra teach the accents of words. कारु and व are accented on the last syllable while दारु and सारु have the उदात्त accent on the first syllable. But in the period of Sanskrit literature to which Jaina Śakāṭāyana and Hemacandra belong, Sanskrit words had lost their accents and so there was no need to mark them by using indicatory letters such as ञ्, ञ्, च् &c. In confirmation of this view, I may cite a few more instances. Pāṇini has :

जृविशिभ्यां झच् III, 126.

Candra has :

जृविशोऽन्तच्

Jaina Śakāṭāyana has :

जृविशोऽन्तः Ms. p. 2099.

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Hemacandra has :

जृवीशभ्यामन्तः 212.

Again Pāṇini has :

हसिमृग्रिण्वाऽमिदमिल्लपुधुर्विभ्यस्तन् III, 373.

Candra has :

मृग्वंहसीणमिदमिल्लपुधुर्विभ्यस्तन् II, 50.

Jaina Śākaṭāyana has :

हसिमृगृ(ग्र)ण्वामिदिमिल्लपुधुर्विभ्यस्तः Ms. p. 2096.

Hemacandra has :

दम्यमितमिमावापुधुमृजृहसिवस्यसिवितसिमसाणभ्यस्तः 200.

The text of Unādi Sūtras in the manuscript of the Amoghavṛtti before me is full of mistakes. But it can be corrected with the help of the commentary called Śākaṭāyana Nyāsa. An incomplete copy of this Nyāsa has lately been discovered and is now deposited in the Oriental Library in Mysore, but it is wanting in the portion dealing with this subject. At the end of this Unādi-pāṭha there occur the following verses :

संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।
कार्यानुबन्धोपपदं सैव लेख्यं लुणादिषु ॥
निर्जातिं प्रत्यये धातुः पूर्वोऽस्मिन्प्रत्ययः परः ।
ऊ ह्यसुक्तासुसारेण कार्यं चात्वि(न्व)सिद्धये ॥
प्रायः संज्ञा इमाः काश्चिदन्वर्थाः काश्च नान्यथा ।
वर्णानुपूर्वविज्ञानं व्युत्पत्त्या न विना भवत् ॥

Amoghavṛtti IV. 3, 279.

I have proved elsewhere that the Amoghavṛtti was composed by Jaina Śākaṭāyana in the time of Amoghavarṣa I.

ON THE DATE OF AKALAṆKADEVA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

In a paper contributed to this Journal, Mr. S. Srikantha Sastri, M. A., says that he has assigned Śaṅkara to the last quarter of the sixth and the former half of the seventh century and Akalaṅka to c. 645. It is very easy to show that these dates are impossible. Prabhācandra lived in the time of Amoghavarṣa I and says that he was enabled to write his second work by approaching the feet of Akalaṅka. Let us consider the following succession of Jaina authors with their works :—

Akalaṅka अष्टशती and लघीयस्त्रय.

Mānikyanandi परीक्षासुख.

Vidyānandapātrakesari अष्टसहस्री, तत्त्वार्थश्लोकवार्तिकालंकार, पत्रपरीक्षा.

Prabhācandra प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड, न्यायकुसुमचन्द्रोदय.

Jinasena and Guṇabhadra आदिपुराण.

Jinasena and his pupil Guṇabhadra were the joint authors of the Ādipurāṇa. Guṇabhadra, while still a young man, wrote his Ātmānuśāsana, to instruct Kṛṣṇarāja II, who was then Yuvarāja. 35th verse of Ātmānuśāsana is quoted¹ by Prabhācandra in his second and later work Nyāyakumudacandrodaya. The last named work with its author Prabhācandra is mentioned in the Ādipurāṇa. These facts prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Prabhācandra was a senior contemporary of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. We also know that the Nyāyakumudacandrodaya is a commentary on Akalaṅka's Laghīyastraya. Prabhācandra assures us that he was enabled to explain Akalaṅka's words in Laghīyastraya, because he enjoyed the rare chance of approaching the feet of Akalaṅka.

माणिक्यनन्दिपद्मप्रतिमप्रबोधं

व्याख्याय बोधानिधिरेष पुनः प्रबन्धः ।

1 Nyāsakāra and Jaina Śākaṭāyana. Ind. Ant. (1916).

प्रारभ्यते सकलसिद्धिविधौ समर्थे
 मूल प्रकाशितजगत्त्रयवस्तुसाथ ॥
 बोधः कोप्यसमः समस्तविषयः प्राप्याकलङ्कं पदं
 जानस्तन समस्तवस्तुवपय व्याख्यायते तत्पद ।
 किं न श्रीगणभृज्जिनेन्द्रपदतः प्राप्तप्रभावः स्वयं
 व्याख्यात्यप्रतिमं बचो जिनपतेः सर्वात्मभावात्मकं ॥

Here we have प्राप्य + आकलङ्कं पदं. अकलङ्कस्य इदं आकलङ्कं. The termination applied here is अण्¹. प्राप्य + अकलङ्क also gives us प्राप्याकलङ्कं. But the former method of separating the words is necessitated because we have to explain तत्पद as तस्य पद, तस्य referring to Akalaṅka involved in the ताद्धत form आकलङ्कं. A comparison is drawn between Gautama Gaṇadhara and Mahāvīra on one hand and Prabhācandra and Akalaṅka on the other. Just as Gautama Gaṇadhara approached the feet of Mahāvīra and was enabled to explain the Tirthaṅkara's words, so Prabhācandra, by approaching the feet of Akalaṅka, was able to write a commentary on the Laghiyastraya of Akalaṅka. Prabhācandra also assures us that he wrote his first commentary on the परीक्षासुख of Mānikyanandi,

माणिक्यनन्दिपदपङ्कजसत्प्रसादात् ।

Between Mānikyanandi and Prabhācandra we must place Vidyānandapātrakesari, because Vidyānanda quotes the परीक्षासुख.

साधनात्साध्यविज्ञानमनुमानं विदुः ।

परीक्षासुख III, 14 ; अष्टसहस्री p. 197.

Vidyānanda's 1st verse in his पत्रपरीक्षा is cited by Prabhācandra in his Prameyakamalamārtanda, chap. VI. Therefore Mānikyanandi and Vidyānanda must be placed between Akalaṅka and Prabhācandra. The chronological order of these Jaina authors and their works is as follows :—

Akalaṅka अष्टशती and लघीयसूत्रय.

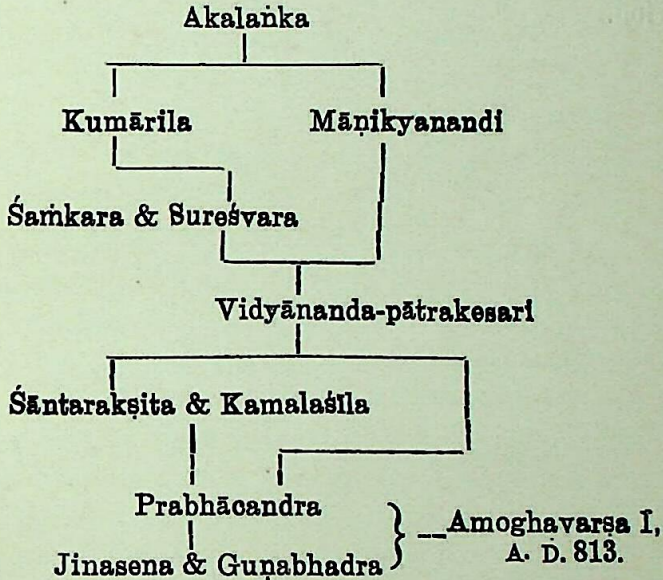
Mānikyanandi परीक्षासुख.

Vidyānandapātrakesari अष्टसहस्री, तत्त्वार्थश्लोकवार्तिकालंकार, पत्रपरीक्षा.
 Prabhācandra प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड. न्यायकुसुमद्वन्द्वोदय.

Jinasena and Guṇabhadra आदिपुराण.

तस्येदम् IV, 3, 120 Pāṇini,

We must not lose sight of the fact that Prabhācandra was a senior contemporary of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. Since between Akalaṅka and Prabhācandra there intervene Māṇikyanandi and Vidyānandapātrakesari it is manifest that Prabhācandra must have been a boy, when he approached the feet of Akalaṅka. The latest date assigned to the *Ādipurāṇa* is Śaka 760 or 838 A. D. The difference between this date and the date proposed for Akalaṅka, c. 645, by Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri is 193. It is thus obvious that Prabhācandra, a senior contemporary of Jinasena could never have approached the feet of Akalaṅka, if the latter had lived 193 years before. The relative positions of these authors can be seen at a glance from the following synoptical table :—



I have thus established a point of contact between Brahmanical literature, Buddhist literature, Jaina literature and contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions. The dates that I have discovered in the prasastis of Jaina authors are confirmed by the dates found in the inscriptions of contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. The date of Akalaṅka is so firmly fixed that it is impossible to assign his critic Kumārila to the first or second half of the seventh century, in order to make him embrace Buddhism with his 500 followers or to make him the teacher of Bhavabhūti. The story that Kumārila embraced Buddhism is contradicted by the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical authors, who unanimously call

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him Mīmāṃsaka. And Prabhācandra, who himself was a contemporary of Amoghavarṣa I and who had studied¹ the writings of Bhavabhūti, must be understood to contradict, in anticipation, the statement of Kumārila being the teacher of Bhavabhūti (first quarter of the 8th century), if the usually accepted date of Bhavabhūti is to be relied upon. When the author of the *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa* assures us that his senior contemporary Akalaṅka is assailed by Kumārila. After this it is needless to state that Śāntaraksita and Kamalaśīla, who criticises Kumārila and Vidyānandapātrakesari, belong to the ninth century. It is thus clear that Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya were distinguished authors of the earlier part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period.

1 ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां

जानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ॥ *Mālatimādhava.*

ये नूनं प्रथयन्ति नोऽस्मद्यथा मोहादवज्ञां जना-

ते तिष्ठन्त न तान्प्रति प्रयतितः प्रारभ्यते प्रक्रमः ॥ *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa.*

DR. PATHAK'S VIEW ON ANANTAVĪRYA'S DATE

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

In his recent paper on Dharmakīrti and Bhāmaha¹ Dr. K. B. Pathak refers to Anantavīrya as a commentator of Parīkṣāmukha of Mānikyanandi and also as the author of a commentary on the Nyāya-viniścaya of Akalaṅkadeva. Finally he concludes that this Anantavīrya belonged to the close of the tenth century A. C. from the facts, that he is referred to by Vādirāja who wrote in Śaka 947 (1025 A. C.), by Mallisena in his Mahāpurāṇa written in Śaka 969 (1047 A. C.) and also by Nagara Inscription of Śaka 999 (1077 A. C.). With due deference to the learned scholar one has to say that there has been a gross misrepresentation and puzzle of facts in his remarks and his conclusion about the date is an illustration of loose logic.

His first remark to be considered is that Anantavīrya has written a commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya of Akalaṅka and that he belonged to the close of the tenth century. So far as my knowledge of Jain Literature goes I do not know of any commentary on that work by Anantavīrya. Vādirāja has written a commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya² and a few Mss. of it are available. If Dr. Pathak possesses any commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya by Anantavīrya, students of Jain Literature would be very much obliged to learn from him the whereabouts of it.

Anantavīrya has written commentaries on Siddhiviniścaya and Pramāṇasaṅgraha of Akalaṅka. The Ms. of the commentary on Siddhiviniścaya³, recently discovered, is at the Gujarat

1 Annals, B. O. R. I. XII, iv, p. 373.

2 The Arrah Ms. of Nyāyaviniścayavivarṇa does not give the full text of Nyāyaviniścaya. It is quite recently, within the last three or four months, that the original text has been completely restored by Pt. Jinadas from another Ms. in the Jaina Boarding House, Sholapur. This original text of Akalaṅka's work is to be published soon.

3 The history of the discovery is very interesting and instructive. See, Anekānta Vol. I, pp. 134 etc.

9 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad, while the *Pramāṇa-saṅgraha-bhāṣya* is still merely a name to us. But unfortunately this Ms. does not preserve all the *kārikās* of Akalaṅka in full¹, the commentary which is written in a running style noting only the opening words of each *kārikā*. The opening verses of *Siddhiviniścayaṭīkā* run as below :—

अकलङ्कं जिनं भक्त्या यत्नं देवीं सरस्वतीम् ।
 नत्वा टीकां प्रवक्ष्यामि शुद्धां सिद्धिविनिश्चये ॥
 अकलङ्कवचः काले कलौ न कलयाऽपि यत् ।
 नृषु लभ्यं कचिल्लब्ध्वा तत्रैवास्तु मतिर्मम ॥
 देवस्यानन्तवीर्योऽपि पदं व्यङ्ग्यं तु सर्वतः ।
 न जानतिऽकलङ्कस्य चित्रमेतत्परं भुवि ॥
 अकलङ्कवचोऽम्भोधेः सूक्तरत्नानि यद्यपि ।
 गृह्यन्ते बहुभिः स्वैरं सद्रत्नाकर एव सः ॥
 सर्वे धर्मस्य नेरात्म्यं कथयन्नापि सर्वथा ।
 धर्मकीर्तिः पदं गच्छेदाकलङ्कं कथं ननु² ॥

The name of Akalaṅka's work is *Siddhiviniścaya* and the adjective *akalaṅka* to Jina is quite significant indirectly mentioning the name of Akalaṅka. Further the words of Akalaṅka are looked upon as scarce. The commentator expresses frankly, in an ingenious manner, his inability to explain fully Akalaṅka's words, though he is *anantavīrya* (of infinite power). The literary output of Akalaṅka is compared to an ocean and he is simply picking pebbles on the shore thereof. Finally he questions how Dharmakīrti who upholds the doctrine of *Nairātmya* can reach the status of Akalaṅka.³ Anantavīrya is the disciple of Ravi-bhadra as we learn from his colophons :—

1 With great effort Pt. Jugalakishore has reconstructed the *Maṅgalā-carāṇa-kārikā* which runs thus :—

सर्वज्ञं सर्वतत्त्वार्थस्याद्वादन्यायदेशिनं ।
 श्रीवर्धमानमभ्यर्च्य वक्ष्ये सिद्धिविनिश्चयम् ॥

—Anekānta, Vol. I. p. 137.

2 See *Anekānta*, Vol. I, p. 201.

3 Some implications appear to be guaranteed from these verses and the most striking one is that even in the days of Anantavīrya the works of Akalaṅka were considered to be difficult. Anantavīrya, from the way in which he expresses this, it appears, is not a contemporary of Akalaṅka.

“इति श्रीरविभद्रपादोपजीव्यनन्तवीर्यविरचितायां सिद्धिविनिश्चयटीकायां प्रत्यक्ष-
सिद्धिः प्रथमः प्रस्तावः” Or “इति रविभद्रपादकञ्जभ्रमरानन्तवीर्यविरचितायां सिद्धि-
विनिश्चयटीकायां प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धिस्तृतीयः प्रस्तावः.”

Anantavīrya, so far as we know, is the first commentator on the works of Akalaṅka. Almost all later commentators have mentioned the name of Anantavīrya in full reverence. Prabhācandra, in his Nyāyakumudacandrodaya which is a commentary on the Laghiyastrayaṁ of Akalaṅka, speaks of Anantavīrya thus :—

त्रैलोक्योदरवर्तिवस्तुविषयज्ञानप्रभावोदयो
दुष्पापोऽप्यकलङ्कदेवसराणि.¹ प्राप्तोऽत्रपुण्योदयात् ।
स्वभ्यस्तश्च विवेचितश्च शतशः सोऽनन्तवीर्योक्तितो
भूयान्मे नयनीतिदत्तमनसस्तद्वोधसिद्धिप्रदः² ॥

And in the *maṅgalācarāṇa* of the same work he does not leave the name of Anantavīrya unmentioned :—

सिद्धिप्रदं प्रकटिताखिलवस्तुतत्त्व-
मानन्दमन्दिरमशेषगुणैकपात्रम् ।
श्रीमज्जिनेन्द्रमकलङ्कमनन्तवीर्य-
मानस्य लक्षणपदं प्रवरं प्रवक्ष्ये ॥

Then Vādirāja (first half of the eleventh century), who refers to and quotes Siddhivinīścaya of Akalaṅka, in his Nyāyavinīścayavivarāṇa, compliments Anantavīrya that his words have guided him at every step like a torch light in finding out the sense saturated in the words of Akalaṅka. The verse runs thus :—

गूढमर्थमकलङ्कवाङ्मयागाधभूमिनिहितं तदर्थिनां ।
व्यञ्जयत्यलमनन्तवीर्यवाक्दीपवर्तिरनिशं पदे पदे ॥ ३ ॥

Then Abhayacandra who has written a Tātparyavṛtti on Laghiyastrayaṁ³ speaks of Anantavīrya thus :—

जिनाधीशं मुनिं चन्द्रमकलङ्कं पुनः पुनः ।
अनन्तवीर्यमानौमि स्याद्वादन्यायनायकम् ॥ १ ॥

1 The use of *saraṇiḥ* in Masculine deserves notice.

2 This verse occurs at the opening of the fifth chapter of that work.
—See *Anekānta*, Vol. I, p. 132.

3 Published in *Māṇikacandra Granthamālā* (MGM), Vol. I.

That Anantavīrya has written a commentary on Akalaṅka's works is corroborated by the Humach inscription¹ of 1077 A. C. The 'Akalaṅkasūtra' of the Inscription might indicate the Kārikās of Siddhivinīścaya, if not, the Pramāṇa-Saṁgraha-Sūtras² of Akalaṅka, on which too, as we learn from some remarks in his Siddhivinīścaya-ṭīkā, Anantavīrya has written a bhāṣya.

Now coming to the date of Anantavīrya the above references will help us to settle, to some extent, the later limit of his period. Prabhācandra, the author of Nyāyakumudacandrodaya and Prameyakamalamārtanḍa, flourished before the composition of Ādipurāṇa³ of Jinasena who might have begun it somewhere about 838 A. C. Now Prabhācandra plainly tells us⁴ that, for him the explanations of Anantavīrya were the only guide to understand the works of Akalaṅka, indicating thereby perhaps that he was not a contemporary of even Anantavīrya, then what to say of his being a contemporary of Akalaṅka whose words were looked upon as scarce by Anantavīrya himself! Though the exact date of Anantavīrya is still a desideratum this much is certain that he flourished some time after Akalaṅka⁵

1 EO. VIII, Nagara No. 35.

2 See Anekānta, Vol. I, p. 256.

3 चन्द्रांशुश्रवणशर्म प्रभाचन्द्रकविं स्तुवे ।
कृत्वा चन्द्रोदयं येन शशदाह्लादितं जगत् ॥ Ādipurāṇa I. 47.

4 See the verse quoted above.

5 Dr. Pathak relegates Akalaṅka to the middle of the 8th century (Annals XI, ii, p. 155), but this view is not in any way cogent. Akalaṅka's dispute with Buddhists might be accepted as a historical fact but that he visited the court of Sāhasatuṅga should not be given the value of contemporary evidence since the inscription in which Akalaṅka is made to address Sāhasatuṅga belongs to 1128 A. C. (EO. II. 67). Further, the identification of Sāhasatuṅga with Dantidurga (Saka 675 = 753 A. C.) is merely conjectural. In no contemporary record Dantidurga is called Sāhasatuṅga (Early History of Deccan, Section XI). We must see whether there is any other evidence useful to settle the limits of Akalaṅka's period. The Dhavalā commentary of Virasena is finished in the reign of Jagattuṅga (the available dates range from 794 to 808). The praśasti gives the date but the verses are hopelessly corrupt in the Sholapur Ms. More than once Virasena quotes in his commentary long extracts from Rāja-

(circa last quarter of the seventh century at the latest) and a pretty long time before Prabhācandra, the author of *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*. Thus it is impossible that Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalaṅka's works can be assigned to the close of the tenth century. If Vādirāja mentions Anantavīrya, that means, at the most, the later limit might be settled. But the problem how much earlier he was than Vādirāja is not even attempted by Dr. Pathak and he simply jumps to the conclusion by throwing him only one generation back.

The next point to be considered is that Dr. Pathak ascribes the commentary on *Parīkṣāmukha* and the commentary on Akalaṅka's work to one and the same Anantavīrya. It appears that he is misled by the common name of both these authors who are not at all identical and not even contemporaries. It is already seen above that Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalaṅka's works, lived pretty long before the time of Prabhācandra, the author of *Prameyakamalamārtanda* and *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*, while Anantavīrya, the commentator of *Parīkṣāmukha*¹, is a comparatively late author, sufficiently later than Prabhācandra, since in his commentary he plainly tells us – and it is also proved by

vārtika of Akalaṅka. This means in Vīrasena's time *Rājavārtika* had already superseded *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Pūjyapāda and become popular. Further, the relations between Akalaṅka, Anantavīrya and Prabhācandra, outlined above on substantial grounds, militate against Dr. Pathak's view. The lower limit for Akalaṅka's period is that he is later than Dharmakīrti. Then Siddhasena Divākara, who is said to have been acquainted with Dharmakīrti's definition of *pratyakṣa*, is quoted in two places by Akalaṅka in his *Rājavārtika* (pp. 275 and 295). In view of these intricate facts, I think, we should put Akalaṅka in the last quarter of the seventh century at the latest. Further there is the verse of Akalaṅka carita (*Anekānta* p. 78) which runs thus :—

विक्रमार्कशताब्दीयशतसप्तप्रमाजुषि ।

कलिऽकलङ्क्यतिनो बौद्धैर्बाहो महानभूत् ॥

This verse gives 643 A. D. as the date when Akalaṅka's dispute with Buddhists took place. The evidence of the verse deserves some weight as it agrees with other circumstances. S. Srikantha Śāstri puts c. 645 as Akalaṅka's date, but he has not given any evidences. (*Annals* XII, iii, p. 255).

1 It is popularly known as *Prameyaratnamālā* or *Parīkṣāmukhapañjikā*.

the contents - that his Vṛtti is merely a summary of Prameya-kamalamārtanda¹. Further, considering the manner in which he refers to Prabhācandra's work, there is no scope to infer that Prabhācandra and Junior Anantavīrya were contemporaries. This Junior Anantavīrya wrote his commentary for Śāntisena at the request of Hirapa, the son of Vijaya and Nānamba. So the two authors should not be identified.

I am aware of a way of escape from my conclusion. It might be said that Anantavīrya and Prabhācandra were contemporaries and there is no wonder if they have mutually used their works. Such a conjecture is out of court as it lacks all historical judgement and moreover it is not backed by any evidence. First, we are dealing with authors and their works of the seventh century or so, therefore we can not leave out of consideration the transit-conditions etc. of those days. Nor can we imagine that all these authors lived in one and the same place. If a particular author quotes or refers to a previous author, generally we will have to admit a gap of at least one generation if the evidences to the contrary are not sufficiently conclusive. Secondly, Anantavīrya's commentaries have been a guide to Prabhācandra, a fact plainly admitted by Prabhācandra himself and then can we imagine the same Anantavīrya saying,

प्रभेन्दुवचनोदारचन्द्रिकाप्रसरे सति ।

मादृशाः क्व नु गण्यन्ते ज्योतिरिङ्गणसंनिभाः ॥ ?

So I would put it as an established fact that Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalaṅka's works, is quite different from the later Anantavīrya, the author of Parīkṣāmukhapañjikā. Many scholars have been misled by identical names and more so in the study of Jaina chronology, since the same name is borne by Jaina authors more than one. We know at least three Samantabhadras, at least three Jinasenās, about nine Śubhacandras and about

1 प्रभेन्दुवचनोदारचन्द्रिकाप्रसरे सति ।

मादृशाः क्व नु गण्यन्ते ज्योतिरिङ्गणसंनिभाः ॥ ३ ॥

तथापि तद्वचोऽष्टवचनारुचिरं सति ।

चेतोहरं भूतं यद्वचनया नवघटे जलम् ॥ ४ ॥

—See Bombay and Benares Editions,

twenty Prabhācandras¹. So one has to be cautious in establishing identity of two authors because of similarity in name. Further, in settling the relative chronology of Jaina authors quotations in the body of the work are often deceptive because of the multiplicity of Mss. and they should not be accepted as grounds of inference until one is satisfied that a particular quotation is genuine in that context (different families of Mss. will have to be consulted) and that the verse quoted does not belong to any previous author.

There have been some four Anantavīryas : for easy reference we would enumerate them by giving a few notable facts.

(i) Anantavīrya, the commentator of Siddhiviniścaya and Pramāṇasaṃgraha of Akalaṅka (last quarter of the seventh century at the latest). He was a pupil of Ravibhadra and flourished, soon after Akalaṅka, in the first quarter (circa) of the eighth century. The Humach inscription² of 1077 A. C. mentions him as an author of a Vṛtti on Akalaṅka-sūtras.

(ii) Anantavīrya, a teacher at Śravaṇa Belgola. He was the pupil of Guṇasena, the disciple of Virasena. The Peggur inscription³ records a grant to him by Rakkas in Śaka 899 (circa 977 A. C.).

(iii) Anantavīrya, the pupil of Prabhācandra (II). He had a colleague named Muncandradeva. This teacher Prabhācandra will have to be distinguished from the author of Prameyakamalamārtanḍa since the same inscription mentions another Prabhācandra previous to that. This Anantavīrya is referred to in some three inscriptions: Nidigi inscription⁴ of c. 1117 A. C., Kallurgudda inscription⁵ of c. 1121 A. C. and Purale inscription⁶

1 See MGM. Vols. XXIV, XXXI etc. Introduction and Annals XIII. i. pp. 37 etc,

2 EC. VIII, Nagar No. 35.

3 EC. I, Coorg Ins. No. 4; and also IA. VI, p. 102 where Kittel holds a different date and puts Śaka 780 with a question mark.

4 EC. VII, Shimoga, No. 57.

5 EC. VII, Shimoga, No. 4.

6 EC. VII, Shimoga, No. 64.

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of c. 1132 A. C. So this Anantavīrya might have flourished at the close of 11th century.

(iv) Anantavīrya¹, the author of *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā* which was composed for one Śāntiṣeṇa. Pt. Jugalakishore opines that he might have flourished in the 11th century, so it is likely that he is the same as No. iii.

Moreover, the Chamarājanagar Inscription² of 1117 and Humach Inscription³ of 1147 A. C. mention the name of Anantavīrya along with Śrīpāla and others. These two along with Nāgamaṅgala Inscription⁴ No. 19 refer to the first Anantavīrya. Then there is a dateless epigraph on a Jain image at Kogali (Bellary District) which mentions one Anantavīryadeva by whose pupil Obeyama-setti the image was made⁵.

Like Dr. Pathak, Dr. Vidyabhushan⁶ too has identified Anantavīrya Nos. i and iv (above). The error in this view has been already discussed. Dr. Vidyabhushan, however, adopts a different line of argument to settle the date of Anantavīrya (No. iv). It is already noted that *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā* was composed for Śāntiṣeṇa. Dr. Vidyabhushan supposed Śāntiṣeṇa to be identical with Śāntisūri who died in 1039 A. C. But this supposed identity cannot be accepted for various reasons. First, the names Śāntiṣeṇa and Śāntisūri are not identical. Secondly, Śāntisūri, who died in 1039 A. C. is a Śvetāmbara saint belonging to Thārāpadra-gaccha⁷. His name before the initiation was Bhīma, his native place was

1 Dr. Vidyabhushan says that this Anantavīrya is referred to in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of Mādhavācārya but I have not been able to trace the verses ascribed to Anantavīrya there, in the *Prameyaratnamālā* (See pp. 83-84 of *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* BORI edition).

2 EC. Chamarajanagar, No. 83.

3 EC. Nagar, No. 37.

4 EC. IV.

5 South Indian Jainism, part II, pp. 56-57.

6 History of Indian Logic, p. 198.

7 Bhandarkar, Report of Sanskrit Mss. 1883-84. p. 44.

Unnatāyu (modern Una) near Anahilla Pāṭana¹. It is after initiation that he came to be known as Śāntisūri. He is the author of a long commentary on Uttarādhyāyanasūtra and of a Tippanī on Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla. Jivavīyāra and Chaityavandana-Mahābhāṣya too are ascribed to him. Śāntiṣeṇa might have been only a novice when the commentary was written for him while Śāntisūri (the name given to him at the time of initiation) is a learned monk as seen from his commentary on Uttarādhyāyana which is a masterpiece of doctrinal exposition. Thirdly Anantavīrya and Śāntiṣeṇa lived in the South as shown below while Śāntisūri was born and spent his life in Gujarat. Lastly there have been many Śāntisūris² and there is no reason why this very Śāntisūri should be selected for identity.

It should be considered now whether the name of Śāntiṣeṇa supplies any data to settle Anantavīrya's (No. IV) date. There are some Jaina epigraphical records where the name Śāntiṣeṇa occurs. But one thing must be borne in mind that the epigraphical records are not the Census reports nor is it an inviolable rule that names of all authors, teachers and pupils should necessarily find place in inscriptions. However, there is an excuse. It is just probable, in view of the large number of Jaina inscriptions and on the unguaranteed supposition that Śāntiṣeṇa might have become a pretty famous monk in later life to attract public attention to the extent of his name being recorded in a grant or so, that we might be tempted to search his name in Jaina inscriptions. The name Śāntiṣeṇa enumerated along with other teachers in Śravana Belgola³ and Ghalya inscription⁴ has nothing to do with our Śāntiṣeṇa as the inscriptions are of very early date. Then there is the Debkunda inscription⁵ of 1088 A. C. which mentions one Śāntiṣeṇa, the pupil of Durlabhasena. There is a

1 For full details of this Śāntisūri, see Prabhāvaka Carita XVI, especially the historical summary thereof written in Gujarati by Muni Kalyanavijayaji published as an introduction to the Gujarati translation of Prabhāvaka Carita (Atmananda Sabha, Bhavanagar 1931).

2 See Peterson Report IV, pp. cxviii etc.

3 EC. II, No. 31.

4 EC. V. Channarayapatana, No. 149.

5 EI. II, No. XVIII,

10 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

temptation to identify this Śāntiṣeṇa with the one for whom *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā* was written. Anantavīrya is a South-Indian author as indicated by the proper names mentioned by him. He wrote the commentary at the request of Hīrapa (possibly Hirappa adapted to the Sanskrit sound), who was a son of Vaijeya (a palm-leaf Ms. in Laxmisenā Matha Kolhapur, reads Vaijayya: Vaineya of the printed edition is a mistake.) and Nāṇambā. Then Hirappa, Vaijayya and Nāṇambā — these names have decidedly a South-Indian phonetic colour, while Debkunda is in Northern India. So it is least possible that Anantavīrya might write a manual for the benefit of Śāntiṣeṇa living in Northern India. The data of Śāntiṣeṇa's name are of no help. As a probable conjecture we have identified this Anantavīrya with No. iii above.

To conclude, Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalaṅka's two works, is quite different from Anantavīrya, the author of *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā*. The first flourished, — say in the first quarter of the eighth century, — some time after Akalaṅka while the second Anantavīrya is sufficiently later than Prabhācandra whose *Prameyakamalamārtanda* he summarises in his commentary and probably he flourished at the close of the eleventh century. Dr. Vidyabhushan's identity of Śāntisūri and Śāntiṣeṇa is not acceptable.

I am highly obliged to Pt. Jugalakishore, perhaps the highest living authority on Jaina chronological problems, whose notes on the present topic published in *Anekānta* have been utilised by me and who, at my request, sent so readily and kindly some references.

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON TRIVIKRAMA'S DATE

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

The date of Trivikrama, the Prakrit grammarian, has been only a matter of conjecture¹. The earlier limit of his date is quite definite as he himself says that he has reflected in his work the Prakrit forms of earlier authors including Hemacandra². Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. C.) finished his Prakrit grammar before 1142 A. C., when Kumārapāla came to the throne³. As to the later limit Pischel points out that Kumārasvāmi, the son of Kolācal Mallinātha, quotes Trivikrama both by name and anonymously in his commentary on Pratāparudriya of Vidyānātha who was a contemporary of Pratāparudra II (1295-1323 A. C.). Aufrecht assumed that Mallinātha lived not earlier than 14th century. Hultsch however refers Mallinātha to the end of the 15th century. So Kumārasvāmi's reference to Trivikrama shows that Trivikrama lived earlier than 15th century. Dr. Laddu has shown that Simharāja who utilizes Trivikrama's sūtras probably lived in the beginning of 14th century and ultimately he accepts the conjecture of Pischel that Trivikrama belonged to the 13th century. Keith takes exception to Simharāja's reference to the fourteenth century as being conjectural and adds further, 'it is possible that he is really later than Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita'. Dr. Gune would like to relegate Trivikrama to the fourteenth century at the latest.

I wish to add here a fresh line of evidence which helps, to some extent, to put a later limit to Trivikrama's date. The evidence comes from Halebida inscription published in the latest

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- 1 For previous discussions on his date see, Pischel—Pkr. Gr. §38 ; Laddu—Annals of B. O. R. I. X, pp. 201-205 ; Gune—Bhavisayattakahā in G. O. S. p. 67 of the Introduction ; Keith—A History of Skr. Literature p. 435.
 - 2 Introductory verse No. 11.
 - 3 See Introduction to Moharājaparājaya in G. O. S. p. XIV et seq.

Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of Mysore¹. The inscription records the death of Sakalacandra in 1236 A. C. He was a student of Arhanandi-Traividya-deva and was given *dikṣā* by Bāhubali-Siddhāntideva who was a junior co-disciple of Viranandi-Siddhānta-cakravarti. This Viranandi finished his Kanarese commentary on his own *Ācārasāra* in 1154 A. C.² Considering the above relation between Sakalacandra, Bāhubali and Viranandi we can take these two dates 1154–1236 as tentatively circumscribing the life of Sakalacandra. This indicates that Arhanandi-Traividya-deva who was the *Śrutaguru* of Sakalacandra flourished somewhere about the middle of the 12th century. Now Trivikrama tells us that Arhanandi-Traividya-Muni was his *Śruta-bhartā*³ (i. e. teacher in Jain Scriptures). And if Trivikrama's student life is to be put in the middle of the 12th century at the feet of Arhanandi-Traividya-deva he must have composed his Prakrit grammar, at the latest, early in the beginning of the 13th century. A period of fifty years is not in any way small for the Prakrit Grammar of Hemacandra to travel from Paṭṭana to South India, considering the literary activities of itinerant Jain ascetics of the middle ages. Moreover, the philosophical controversy between Devasūri and Kumudacandra⁴ at the court of Siddharāja, after giving all concession to sectarian bias with reference to florid colours of situations, characters and events as depicted in the play Mudrita-Kumudacandraprakaraṇa⁵ of Yaśaścandra, will have to be accepted as a historical event. The controversy, at which even Hemacandra might have been present, took place in Paṭṭana in 1124 A. C. and it indicates pretty well the literary relations between the South and Gujarat.

1 Of the year 1929, published in 1931. Inscription No. 14, pp. 74-75 etc.

2 See Karnāṭaka-kavicarita, Vol. I, p. 168.

3 Introductory verse No. 2.

4 We are not, at present, with what little material we have, in a position to identify this Kumudacandra with any of the two Kumudacandras from South India—One is the teacher of Māghanandi, the author of *Sāstrasārasamuccaya*; while the other is a pupil of one Māghanandi as he tells us in the colophon of his *Jinasamhitā*. On these two Kumudacandras see, Karnāṭakakavicarita Vol. I, pp. 388-90 and 392-93; MGM. Vol. XXI, p. 24 of the Introduction.

5 Published in Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, Vol. VIII.

ĀDIBHARATA

BY

D. R. MANKAD, M. A.

The Govt. Manuscripts Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, possesses a Ms. (No. 41 of 1916-18) which is entered there under the title *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*. It has 61 folios, each folio containing 10 to 11 lines. It is a paper Ms., appearing recent.

I have carefully gone through this Ms., and I have found that it does not contain one single work, but fragments of different works. I shall show this by analysing the contents of the Ms.

Folios 1-33 are orderly and coherent as far as the work they contain goes.

Folios 34-47 do not seem to be a continuation of the work contained in folios 1-33. They (34-47) describe *tālas* etc., which are enumerated in the contents (prefixed to this Ms. in fol. 1-5) under the heading *saptamādhāye tālavīdhāna*. But on further investigation of these folios it seems that they do not contain the text indexed here (i. e. in folios 1-5), for though they show the portions noted in the contents, there are remarkable discrepancies between the text as preserved in these folios and the contents. These folios discuss *Maṇḍala*, *sthāna* (both these are not found in the contents) *tālaprāṇas*, *kālalakṣaṇa*, *mārgalakṣaṇa* (which has 16 divisions here while the contents note 16 divisions under *mārgapūrāṇa bhedāḥ*). Then these folios sub-divide *kriyā* etc. in the details of which there are striking differences.

		these folios	contents
<i>kriyā</i>	...	8	16
<i>aṅga</i>	...	5	6
<i>graha</i>	...	4	6
<i>jāti</i>	...	4	5
<i>laya</i>	...	3	4
<i>yati</i>	...	3	6
<i>prastāra</i>	...	4	4

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Then there are named 71 tālas, their laghugurunirṇaya, saṁkirṇatālas (at the end of which occurs kohalamate saṁkirṇajātī-tālān), slādinām laghugurunirṇaya, aṣṭavidhanāyikā, and daśa-vidhacumbana (which does not occur in the contents).

I, therefore, believe that folios 34-47 do not preserve the same work as contained in folios 1-33.

Fol. 46-47 contain some fragment giving instructions for the commencement of the drama, which has no place in the contents.

Fol. 48^a begins citrādhyāya of the present Bharatanāṭyaśāstra, with, however, verses 74, 75^a, 78, 85-131 (of the printed text as in Nirṇayasāgara edition) missing here. This brings the Ms. to fol. 51^a, where the following note is found : iti bhāratīyoktacitrābhīnayaḥ samāptaḥ.

Fol. 51^a to 58 have a description of hastas, mostly asaṁyuta, the treatment of which is not identical with Bharata's, though similar to his. Fol. 58 to 61 give definitions of the viniyoga of asaṁyuta hands, which, too, do not tally with Bharata's, though following it in general.

Moreover, fol. 1-33 regularly give colophons to different Adhyāyas, but the remaining folios have no such colophons.

For all these reasons I believe that this Ms. contains fragments of different works.

Now I shall try to identify the work contained in folios 1-33. The contents which occupy fol. 1-5 end with the remark, ' etatparyantam ādibharataśāstram, asya granthasya nāma nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā. ' I should note, here, that according to the contents, this work has five skandhas, each divided in several adhyāyas and each adhyāya in several prakarṇas, total number of adhyāyas being 32 and that of prakaraṇas being 221. And the folios 6-33 contain the first adhyāya almost intact and two adhyāyas of the second skandha. Remaining portion of the work is missing here. The introductory portion in the beginning of the first adhyāya of the first skandha has a remark : vyākartumādibharatam sphuṭamārabhāmi. This prefatory adhyāya, which also enumerates in verse form the

contents of the work, substantially agreeing with the contents noted in folios 1-5, occupies folios 6-11. This first adhyāya shows a mixture of prose and verses.

In spite of the clear mention at the end of the contents— *asya granthasya nāma nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* — I doubt that folios 11-13 contain the first chapter of Ādibharata itself. My reasons are stated below. But before I attempt at giving these reasons, I shall note the colophons to different adhyāyas contained in these folios.

iti śrī ādibharataśāstre samavāyaskandhe nāṭyasarvasvadīpikāyām sabhoddharaperanyāntaṣṭaprakaraṇam nāma dvitīyo'dhyāyaḥ.

Colophon to the third adhyāya also has the same ... ādibharate samavāyaskandhe nāṭyasarvasvadīpikāyām ...

Fourth adhyāya is missing in these folios, and the fifth has the following colophon :

ittham racito'tra bharate mahāpañcamastvāṇḍhravacordhva-vihito budhenātha athāya (?) varonvedapadassatīko (?) hi rāja nārāyaṇasiddhaśivayogināthena samamanvayapadena ramyam hi (?) iti pañcamassargaḥ.

Sixth adhyāya ends with this colophon :

nārāyaṇaḥ siddhaśivaśrīrāmānandayogirājena

racito bharatoṣaṣṭho'dhyāyaśca svayapadārthapaṭṭikā (?) nārāyaṇasiddhaśivarāmānandayogirājaviracite ādibharate nāṭya-nāṭyāṅga sāmagryādihastādidevatām saptaṭṭaprakaraṇanirūpaṇam nāma ṣaṣṭho'dhāyaḥ.

Here ends the samavāyaskandha and begins the śikṣā-skandha, colophons to the first and the second adhyāyas of which are, *mutatis mutandis* the same as seen at the end of the first and second adhyāyas of the samavāyaskandha.

Apparent conclusion, from the above colophons and the introductory remark - *vyākartum ādibharatam sphutam ārabhāmi* - would be that the present folios must contain Nāṭyasarvasva-

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dīpikā of Rāmānanda Yogirāja, which in its turn should be a commentary on Ādibharata. But the title Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā suggests the existence of a work named Nāṭyasarvasva on which it may have commented. This is supported by the fact that these folios have a double copy of folios 12-14, of which one continues the present work, while the other one bears a marginal caption Nāṭyasarvasvam. I, therefore, take these two, out-of-place folios to contain a fragment of Nāṭyasarvasvam, the commentary on which was probably designated as Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā.

Now the text preserved in folios 1-33 shows peculiar characteristics for a commentary¹. It runs in Anuṣṭup metre, varied very rarely, by other metres. It does not quote any other author. It does not give ūkā or anvayapada. A commentary is usually expected to show all these characteristics. In fact, apart from the colophons and the contents which mention Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā, there is no internal indication to show that these folios contain Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā. On a careful consideration of the text, I doubt that these folios contain Ādibharata. My reasons are :

(1) Colophon to the sixth adhyāya of the Samavāyaskandha, clearly takes this work to be Ādibharata, though I am not prepared to stress this point too much, for the obvious reason that this and the colophon to the fifth adhyāya are in direct conflict with the remaining colophons.

(2) The portion in these folios exhibit a running style, much similar to our printed Bharatanāṭyaśāstra, and a confident treatment of the subjects, which may be seen in an authoritative work.

(3) Mr. Manamohan Ghose has during the course of an article,² drawn our attention to the quotations from Ādibharata found in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary to Śākuntala. He has given passages quoted under the name of Ādibharata by Rāghava-

1 Following information is found in the Ms. : वैद्यप्यमंत्रितनयः कोकिलाम्बातनुभवः ।
नारायणः सिद्धशिवयोगिराजो विराजते ॥ चरकोटिकलापूडिवंशजीः ब्रह्मवेत्ता असकल-
सुकल श्रीमत्संगोत्रः कवीन्द्रः (fol. 8, l. 1-3).

2 See Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1930, p. 72.

bhatta under three heads: (1) those that are found in the present Bharatanātyasāstra, (2) those that have parallels in it and (3) those that are not seen there. Under (2) is quoted the following passage:

सभ्यास्तु विबुधैर्ज्ञेया य दिदृक्षान्विता जनाः ।
 मध्यस्था सावधानाश्च वाग्मिनो न्यायवेदिनः ।
 त्रुटितात्रुटिताभिज्ञा विनयानम्रकन्धराः ।
 अगर्वा रसभावज्ञास्तौर्यत्रितयकोविदाः ।
 असद्वादनपिन्द्वारश्वतुरा मत्सरच्छिदाः ।
 अमन्दरसनिष्यन्दहृदया भूषणोज्ज्वलाः ।
 सुवेपा भोगिनी (?) नानाभाषावीर (?) विशारदाः ।
 स्वस्वोचितस्थानसुस्थास्तत् प्रशंसापरायणाः ।

Śakuntala, Nir. S. p. 9.

Following is the parallel passage found in the present NS.

चारित्र्याभिनोपेताः शान्तिवृत्तश्रुतान्विताः ।
 यशोधर्मरताश्चैव मध्यस्था वयसान्विताः ।
 षडङ्गनाट्यकुशला अलुब्धाः शुचयः समाः ।
 चतुरातोद्यकुशला नेपथ्यज्ञा सुधार्मिकाः ।
 देशभाषाविधानज्ञाः कलाशिल्पविचक्षणाः ।
 चतुर्धाभिनयज्ञाश्च सूक्ष्मज्ञा रसभावयोः ।
 शब्दच्छन्दोविधानज्ञाः नानाशास्त्रविचक्षणाः ।
 एवंविधास्तु कर्तव्या प्रेक्षका (प्राशिका) नाट्यदर्शने ।

NS. K.M. XXVII, 47-50.

Now compare the following almost identical passage found in the text contained in these folios (fol. 13^a line 2-6) :

आस्थानस्थेययोग्यानां लक्षणं प्रवदाम्यहम् ।
 मध्यस्थाः सावधानाः स्युः वाग्मिनो न्यायवेदिनः ।
 त्रुटितात्रुटिताभिज्ञा विनयानतकंधराः ।
 अगर्वा रसभावज्ञास्तौर्यभेदविचक्षणाः ।
 असद्वारनिरोद्धारः चतुरामरच्छिदाः ।
 दयालवः सुशीलाश्च सुवस्त्राभरणोज्ज्वलाः ।
 अमन्दरागनिष्क्रान्तहृदयस्थानसंस्थिताः ।

I have not been able to trace any other quotation given by Mr. M. Ghose; and though the text as preserved here runs only upto the middle of the second skandha (out of the five skandhas), I am not prepared to say that all these references noted by Mr.

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M. Ghose under (1), (2) and (3), would be found in the remaining portions of the text: for, the references recorded by Mr. M. Ghose show that the work *Ādibharata* as understood by Rāghavabhaṭṭa treated among other things of *avasthās*, *sandhis* etc., while *Ādibharata* as noted in these folios cannot possibly treat of any such topic, as, it remarks (fol. 10a, l. 6-10) :

भरता बहुधा सन्ति नान्दिसारस्वदादयः ।
 तेषां प्रमाणमादिश्व भरतस्त उमापतिः ।
 अत एवादिभरतप्रकारं नटनं स्मृतं ।
 नाटकास्तु कथाप्राया दशरूपकसंज्ञकाः ।
 शैलषसूत्रधारयैः पुत्तिकाप्रतिमादिभिः ।
 वेषभाषाविकारादिकल्पनाभिर्बहुकृताः ।
 तस्माद् बुधस्य नृत्यस्य प्रमाणं न भवन्ति ते ।
 नटनं नाटिकानां च तेषां कारणमेव हि ।
 तस्मान्नाट्यस्य शुद्धांगं शास्त्रसिद्धं प्रवक्ष्याति ।

This quotation apparently believes that *Nāṭakas* and other varieties of *rūpaka* have no place in this text, which should have treated of *nṛtta*, and *nṛtya* but not *nātya*, (as understood by Daśa-rūpakam). This is completely borne out by the contents noted in folios 1-5, where no *rūpakaprakāra* or no other matter usually found in our *nāṭyaśāstra* works, occurs, and which expressly states - *etatparyantam ādibharataśāstram*. Evidently, this contradictory nature - that one passage quoted under *Ādibharata* and not found in our printed NS., should be seen here and that other passages quoted under *Ādibharata* have no apparent place in this work - may stop us from taking this fragment to represent *Ādibharata*. But I cannot be positive. My whole object is to collect data and to leave the question about the identity of the work open.

(4) That these folios do not contain *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* is borne out by another line of argument. I have already noted that as far as the general style of the work contained herein is concerned, it represents a flowing epic style, free from any prose or poetic explanations. And though it is difficult to determine the connection between *Ādibharata* and *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*, I put the following before the readers: folios 12-14 are found twice in this Ms., and those that are out of place, show that they

treat of tālas. Also folios 34-47 contain a treatment of tālas as noted above ; but both these portions are not the same as detailed in the contents. Now both these portions - the additional folios 12-14 and folios 37-47 - begin with the following benedictory stanza :

Viṣṇum lokagurum praṇamya śirasā sanmārgasaṁdarsakam
kīrtiprītikaram janasya laghunā kālena kāmāpradam
sevyam sadyatibhiḥ dhṛtaplutaṭapadam nyāsottalokatrāyam
tālānāṁ kathayāmi lakṣaṇamaham pūrvoktāśāstrakramāt

In spite of this identical benedictory stanza, the matter seen at both these places, though treating of tālas, is different, one probably representing Nāṭyasarvasva and the other, the dīpikā thereon. My reason for so saying is that the additional folios 12-14, which contain the stanza as well as the tālalakṣaṇa, bear a marginal caption - Nāṭyasarvasvam - , which, therefore, may represent that work. Folios 34-47 bear a marginal caption - hastādhyāya - which is obviously wrong as they treat of tālas only. From the style of these folios (34-37) one can say that they may represent the dīpikā, for there are found prose explanations, quotations from other works on the same subject etc., which are the usual indications of a commentary.

It is on these grounds that I doubt folios 1-33 to contain a portion of Ādibharata, or, at least, to show a new light on the question of Ādibharata.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

VII

A MANUSCRIPT OF SAṂGĪTARĀGAKALPADRUMA AND ITS PROBABLE DATE

Aufrecht mentions in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* only one Ms. of a work on music under the title संगीतरागकल्पद्रुम. This is "Bd. 980", which is the same as No. 980 of 1887-91 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The Ms. consists of 31 folios and is incomplete. Folios 1 to 9 which comprise one chapter of the manuscript may possibly have been a later interpolation based on the 3rd chapter of the *Samgitaratnākara*. This chapter commences with the following statement indicating that the material has been borrowed from the *Samgitaratnākara* :—

"अथ श्रीकृष्णानंदव्यासदेव(वेदव्यास ?)रागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमे संगीत-सहितायां प्रकीर्णकाध्यायप्रारंभ(भोऽ)स्य तथाच संगीतरत्नाकरे." On folio 9 we get the following colophon of this Chapter :—

"इति श्रमदवय(श्रीमदनवय)विद्याविनोदश्रीकृष्णाधिपतिःश्रीसोढलदेवनंदनश्री-मन्निकश(श्रीमन्निःशङ्क) श्रीशाद्विदेव(श्रीशार्ङ्गदेव)विरचिते संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्ण-काध्यायस्तृतीयः इति श्रीकृष्णानंदव्यासदेव(वेदव्यास ?)रागसागरोद्भवसंगीतराग-कल्पद्रुमे संगीतायां(संगीतसंहितायां) संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्णकाध्यायः ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥"

After this some-what extraneous matter the real beginning of the *Samgitakalpadruma* is indicated by the following lines :—

श्रीअमरानंदव्यासदेवतस्यात्मजश्रीहीरानंदव्यासदेव तस्यात्मजश्रीकृष्णानंद-व्यासदेवरागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमग्रंथप्रारंभः । अथ संगलाचरण । देवीं सरस्वतीं नत्वा गणेशं हरिमीश्वरं । रागकल्पद्रुमं ग्रंथं कुरुते रागसागरः¹ ॥

1 "रागसागर" appears to be an honorific title of कृष्णानंदवेदव्यास. This is borne out by the line "कृष्णानंदवेदव्यासरागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमग्रंथ-प्रारंभः". There does not seem to be any necessity to suppose that the expression "रागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुम" is to be taken entirely in the metaphorical sense, for we have such combinations as "द्यानंदविद्यासागर" to justify the conclusion that रागसागर is an honorific title affixed to the name कृष्णानंद वेदव्यास.

In the above quotations the scribe appears to have confounded the epithet वेदव्यास with व्यासदेव. The correct epithet appears to have been वेदव्यास as is clear from the following verses which tell us that the author's name was कृष्णानन्द. He was the son of हीरकानन्द (or हीरानन्द) and grandson of अमरानन्द. The family name appears to have been वेदव्यास —

Folio 10 — “ पौत्रोहममरानन्दवेदव्यासद्विजन्मनः ।

पुत्रश्च हीरकानन्दवेदव्यासस्यधीमतः ॥

कृष्णानन्दाभिधोवेदव्यासोनत्वासरस्वर्ता ।

रागकल्पद्रुमं नाम क्लृप्ते ग्रंथं सतां मुदे ॥ ”

On folio 18, another chapter appears to commence with the same ग्रंथारंभ and मंगलाचरण as on folio 9. Subsequent matter of this new chapter appears to have been interspersed with verses which already appear in the previous chapter. However, the new chapter does not look like being a mere duplicate of the old one. Another colophon appears on fol. 27 :—

“ इति श्री कृष्णानन्द संगीतरागकल्पद्रुमे इन्द्रप्रस्थीययुधिष्ठिरश्रीकृष्ण-
मतामुयायी रागरागिणीपुत्रवधुरागउपरागसमयसंपूर्णे ॥ ”

After this colophon begins तालाध्याय which is introduced with the lines “ श्रीकृष्णानन्दव्यासदेवरागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमे संगीतरत्नाकरे संगीतसंहितायां तालाध्यायः and तालानां कथयामिलक्षणमिदं पूर्वोक्तशास्त्रे स्मृतम् । ”. The available portion of this incomplete तालाध्याय is covered up by folios 27 to 31.

The Ms. mentions among other references the following authors and works :—

- (1) आंजनेय (fol. 12, 20, 28); (2) चूडामाण (fol. 28); (3) नारद-
संगीत (fol. 22); (4) नारदसंहिता (fol. 10, 20); (5) नारायणसंगीत (fol.
10); (6) बृहत्संगीतरत्नाकर (fol. 22); (7) ब्रह्मसंगीत (fol. 10); (8)
भरतमत (fol. 22); (9) मणिदर्पण (fol. 28); (10) रत्नाकर (fol. 28);
(11) विज्ञानश्वर (fol. 10, 27); विष्णुपुराण (fol. 10, 19); (12) शिवसंगीत
(fol. 10); (13) शिवकिंकर (fol. 28); (14) शिवसंगीतरत्नाकर (fol. 10);
(15) संगीतभाष्य (fol. 10, 19); (16) संगीतनारायण (fol. 10)¹; (17)

1. Journ. Andhra His. Res. Society—Vol. III, 2, 3, 4.—

p. 205 — “ संगीतनारायण, a work of the 18th century by Nārāyaṇa of
the Gāṅga family ”

p. 206 — “ About A. D. 1750 Nārāyaṇadeva issued संगीतनारायण in five
chapters etc. ”

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संगीतदर्पण (fol. 10, 22); (18) संगीतलक्ष्मीनारायण (fol. 10) (19) संगीत-
रत्नाकर (fol. 19); (20) संगीतमहोदाय (fol. 19, 20); (21) संगीतसहिता
(fol. 21); (22) संगीतसार (fol. 22), which may be the work by विद्यारण्य
quoted in संगीतनारायण of the Nārāyaṇa of the गाङ्गा family; (23)
संगीतचंद्रिका (fol. 22) mentioned in संगीतहृद्य of Raghunātha of Tan-
jore about 1620 A. D. (JAHS. III, 2, 3, 4 p. 204); (24) संगीतसि(सि)ंधु
(fol. 22); (25) संगीतपारिजात (fol. 22); (26) संगीतार्णव (fol. 27);
(27) सरस्वतासंगीत (fol. 10); (28) हनुमन्मत (fol. 22).

In the above list of references, the references to संगीतनारायण
and संगीतपारिजात prove that the present work is a late compilation
from many works on Saṁgīta referred to by the author. The
chronology of many of these works is uncertain. We can, how-
ever, fix the probable time of this compilation from the mention
of संगीतपारिजात on fol. 22. The approximate time of the work as
fixed by Dr. P. R. Bhandarkar¹ is the latter half of the 17th
century (A. D. 1650 to 1700 A. D.). As Saṁgītapārijāta has not
been much made use of in the present compilation it must have
been a somewhat fresh work at the time. Perhaps it attained
importance later and was translated into Persian in A. D. 1724.
The reference to the संगीतनारायण on fol. 10, if it has reference to
a work of that name by नारायणदेव in five chapters issued about
A. D. 1750², still takes the date of composition of the *Saṁgītarāga-
kalpadruma* to a period immediately following A. D. 1750. If the
dates of the संगीतपारिजात and the संगीतनारायण as fixed above are
regarded as correct we can assign the संगीतकल्पद्रुम of कृष्णानंदवेदेव्यास-
रामसागर to a period between 1750 A. D. and 1800 A. D.

1. Vide his article on "Ancient Hindu Music", IA. XLI (1912), p. 160 —
"Ahobala's *Saṁgīta-pārijāta* — This work was translated into
Persian in the year 1137 A. H. or A. D. 1724 this work
represents a later stage in the development of Music than the last
treatise, and I have assigned it, therefore, to the latter half of the
17th century approximately."

2. JAHS — III, 2, 3, 4 — p. 206.

VIII

RASAVILĀSA OF BHŪDEVA ŚUKLA AND ITS
PROBABLE DATE -- ABOUT A. D. 1550

Dr. S. K. De mentions *Rasa-vilāsa*¹ of Bhūdeva Śukla among minor works on alaṃkāra literature and remarks that he "belongs to the 16th century." The following evidence not only corroborates Dr. De's remarks but enables us to fix the probable date of *Rasa-vilāsa*. On an examination of the two Mss.² of the work in the Govt. Mss. Library in the B. O. R. Institute, I find that Bhūdeva Śukla quotes³ from Śrīvatsalāñchana, who is evidently the commentator of Mammaṭa. As regards the date of Śrīvatsalāñchana Dr. De observes⁴ that he "cannot be earlier than the 14th century" but "is earlier than the 17th century, being quoted by Kamalākara (1612 A. D.) and Jagannātha". These remarks, however, are not sufficient to enable us to fix the probable date of *Rasavilāsa*. Mr. P. V. Kane refers⁵ in his History of Alaṃkāra Literature, to a Ms. of the Kāvya-parikṣā of Śrīvatsalāñchana which is dated 1550 A. D. This date proves that Śrīvatsalāñchana must have written his *Kāvya-parikṣā* before 1550 A. D. The Kāvya-parikṣā is an "independent work by Śrīvatsalāñchana which deals with the general characteristics of poetry and follows in the main the teachings of Mammaṭa". The facts that (i) *Rasavilāsa* quotes from Śrīvatsalāñchana's work⁶ and that (ii) there is a Ms. of one of Śrīvatsa's works dated 1550 A. D. lead us to infer that *Rasavilāsa* is a work written about A. D. 1550. We may, therefore, fix A. D. 1550 as the probable date of *Rasa-vilāsa* of Bhūdeva Śukla.

1. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 305.

2. No. 594 of 1887-91 and No. 337 of 1884-86.

3. Ms. No. 337 of 1884-86, folio 3—"तदुक्तं श्रीवत्सलाञ्छनेन ।

सवासनानां सभ्यानां रसस्यास्वादनं भवेत् ।

निर्वासनाः शाब्दिकाद्याः काष्टलोटाश्मसन्निभाः ॥ "

also "चिरमिति व्यभिचारिवारणायेति श्रीवत्सलाञ्छनः "

4. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 178.

5. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 2nd edition, 1923, Introduction, (Index of Works), p. CLXV — No. 187.

6. The verse quoted above may be either from *Kāvya-parikṣā* or from his commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*. I have not identified it.

IX

A COMMENTARY ON THE KUMĀRA-SĀMBHAVA, BY
HARICARANĀDĀSA, CALLED DEVASENĀ AND ITS
PROBABLE DATE -- BETWEEN 1630 AND 1680 A. D.

Aufrecht¹ records only one Ms. of a commentary by Haricaranādāsa called Devasenā, viz. "Peters 1. 114". This Ms. is the same as No. 37 of A. 1882-83 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The commentary is for cantos I and II only. In the colophon of Canto I on folio 14, as also in the colophon for Canto II on the last folio 24 we are told that the commentary देवसेना was composed by हरिचरणदास who is also styled in the 1st colophon as 'राधाकृष्णचरणकमलसेवि' - an epithet which is only a paraphrase of the author's name हरिचरणदास. That the author was a devotee of Hari is clear from the following stanzas at the beginning of the Ms. :—

“सकलविघ्नविनाशकरेकरे दधतमाद्युहरिंहरिणीदृशे ।
अरुणरागभरोष्टपुटे हितं विदधतं मुखरं सुशिरं भजे ॥ १ ॥
नायं नायं प्रतिं कृष्णं भावं भावं युरोर्वचः ।
देवसेनां कुमारस्य हरिष्ठीकां तनोत्यमूम् ॥ २ ॥”

Among authors and works referred to in the commentary the following are to be noted :— अमरः (fols. 1, 2, 3) ; हैमः (fols. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12, 16, 18, 21, 24) ; रामाश्रमाचार्य (fol. 1) ; भागवत (एकादशस्कंध) (fol. 2) ; वैजयंती (fol. 4) ; विश्वः (fols. 5, 6, 10) ; मेदिनी (fol. 7).

These references clearly show that it is not a very old commentary. In particular the following reference to रामाश्रमाचार्य enables us to fix us one terminus for the date of the commentary :

“रामाश्रमाचार्येणापि नक्षत्रसूक्ष्मं भं इत्याद्यै
भमित्यस्यसाधने अन्यत्र ग्रहणादनेनैव मः कृतः” etc.

The above comment has reference to the commentary² of Bhānu Dīkṣita alias Rāmāśrama on the following line of verse 21 in the Amarakośa (First Kāṇḍa) :—

“नक्षत्रसूक्ष्मं भं तारा तारकाप्युद्ध वा स्त्रियाम् ।”

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 110 b.

2. *Amarakośa* with commentary Vākyasadhā or Rāmāśramī of Bhānujī Dīkṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1915), p. 37.

This identification proves that the present commentary was composed after the commentary of Bhānu Dikṣita on the Amarakośa. Bhānu Dikṣita or Rāmāśrama was the son of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, whose date is about A. D. 1630.¹ Satvarāja, a disciple of Rāmāśrama wrote in 1641 A. D.² We may, therefore, conclude from these facts that Bhānu Dikṣita flourished between A. D. 1630 and 1641 and as Haricaraṇadāsa refers to Bhānuji Dikṣita's commentary on the Amarakośa in his present commentary Devasenā we must suppose that the latter was composed after 1641 A. D.

Another limit to the above date may be furnished by the following facts, if the underlying identity of authorship presumed by us is correct : Haraprasāda Shāstri describes a work called *सुतवृन्दावनरहस्य* in his *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*³ It is ascribed to one हरिचरण and is in Bengālī characters. Its subject is mentioned as "वैष्णवशास्त्र". The Ms is dated Śaka 1602 (= A. D. 1680). The name हरिचरणदास appears to have a Bengālī tinge about it and if he is identical with the हरिचरण who composed the *सुतवृन्दावनरहस्य* as I presume him to be, we may be justified in the inference that the commentary *Devasenā of Haricaraṇadāsa* was composed between A. D. 1641 and 1680 or towards the middle of the 17th century.

1. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* by S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1915, p. 47.

2. *Ibid*, p. 48 — Genealogical table.

3. *Second Series*, Vol. I, 1900, p. 90— Ms No. 95.

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X

EXACT DATE OF NAUKĀ OF GAṄGĀRĀMA JAḌĪ

(COM. ON THE RASATARĀṄGĪNI OF BHĀNUDATTA)

— 1742 A. D.

Dr. S. K. De states¹ that the commentary Naukā by Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi on the Rasatarāṅgīni of Bhānudatta is "dated in 1732 A. D." In another place² he remarks that Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi "belongs to the second quarter of the 18th century". I am not aware of the evidence on which Dr. De bases these statements. Presumably, however, it refers to the chronogram given by the author of the commentary at the end of the work. In a Ms.³ of this commentary in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute the relevant verses containing the chronogram run as under :—

“ गंगाधरस्य गंगेव विष्णोर्विष्णुपदीव वा ।

नौकाबुधाविनाभूः स्ताद्वीर्वागीर्वाण गौरवी ॥ ६ ॥

ग्रहांकनगपृथ्व्यंके १७९९ नौकांगिरसिवत्सरे ।

एकद्वित्रिचतुः श्लोका ४३२१ गंगारामेण पुरिता ॥ ७ ॥”

Now the chronogram (ग्रह, अंक, नग, पृथ्वी) is equal to the figures 9,9,7,1, which when read in the inverse order give us Samvat 1799 as the date of compilation of the work. In fact the figures 1799 are actually to be found in the Ms. as shown in the above verse. The date of Naukā as based on the above chronogram is A. D. 1742 and not 1732 as stated by Dr. De. I am not sure if "1732" is a misprint for "1742" in Dr. De's book under reference. In the Errata at the end of Dr. De's book this date is not corrected, in case it is a misprint.

1. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 253.

2. *Ibid*, p. 291.

3. No. 113 of 1919-24.

REVIEWS

MYSTERY OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, VOL. I, BY N. V.

THADANI, Published by BHARAT PUBLISHING HOUSE,
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It is one thing to conceive an idea, and quite another to work it out thoroughly. Even in the ordinary routine of daily life, scores of ideas crowd an imaginative head, but almost all — if not ALL — as readily disappear to give place to different new-comers. A few, perchance, do cling to their place of birth, with a hope of growth and their final appearance, in full concrete form in the outer world of existence. Of these lingering few, one or two sufficiently force themselves, and compel the person to work. But even these, after a little of actual labour, tire the person, and he throws away the task half-done, growing despondent of the drudgery attaching thereto. So, to work out an idea completely, is, in itself, a matter of no small credit to the worker. The world may or may not appreciate and accept his work, but he is there all the while silently drudging on at his self-imposed task.

Prof. Thadani's is a labour of this type. One can easily conceive the illimitable patience that the learned author had to practise, in systematically working out his problem and bringing it out in the form of a book, the first volume of which, has only recently been presented to the public, and the second, as the author promises, is to follow shortly. The real explanation of the mystery of the Mahābhārata, is, we learn from the preface, to appear in the forth-coming second volume; and the Introduction only supplies us an outline of what it is to be. The first volume of the work, as it were, is meant to prepare us for the reading of the second, and explains the thesis of the author, as far as the Vedas are concerned — or, more properly, in author's own words in the preface, — "the first volume ends with the Gods of the Vedas"; and yet, this alone covers no less than 500 pages!!

The origin of the work, as stated by the author, in the beginning of the Introduction, lay in "the idea of the MBh. as a great picture of a great Philosophy of life," occurring to him "almost like a dream". But the dream was not allowed to pass unnoticed. He "pursued it for nearly eight years," and we have as the result, the work under review.

So, Prof. Thadani has worked his interpretations, apparently, from the Great Epic back to the Vedas, though the actual presentation of the theme, as we gather from the volume in hand, is to be quite the reverse. Howsoever that be, the new idea has been placed before the reader in all the details, and to follow them in the proper spirit, he is, to start with, asked by the author to forget what we have, so long learnt to think of our sacred literature, especially about the MBh., that it is a history -- 'itihāsa' -- giving the story of the great fight on the Kurukṣetra. To put it in the author's own words: "the Sacred books ... deal with the one problem of all problems -- the truth of the life conceived in various ways. ... And all this can be demonstrated by means of the ancient method of interpretation, based on the analysis of words and names. ..." The author, in the present work, has, according to this ancient method, dealt with only the Vedas and the MBh., but, believing that "no student of the original work of the Hindus can lightly dismiss this interpretation," Prof. Thadani has asked others to volunteer their assistance in this huge work initiated by him, as, "the principal Sanskrit works will all require a new interpretation; not only in mass, but in data."

Modern Oriental scholarship of the Europeans, followed by Indians, has, for more than the last half century, put all the ancient Hindu literature, to a minute scrutiny, and gleaned historical facts pertaining to the Indian people. Thus, apart from the philosophy contained therein, we have before us a connected real story of the Vedic people, how they actually lived and fared, where they came from, who the Dasyūṣ were whom they had to fight with, and so on. The MBh. being understood to be an 'itihāsa' -- history -- first, is naturally read in that light, and we weep at the lamentations of the grieved there, jump with the fire

in Bhīma, look with awe upon Bhīṣma and Droṇa — in short, we treat the Pāṇḍavas, the Kauravas, nay, even Śrī Kṛṣṇa, as *real* human beings, who like us, had their span of life in the mortal world, shared the joys and sorrows as we do even now, and so our hearts respond in sympathy towards whatever they say or do, — and now we are asked to turn to the ancient method of interpretation and treat the Epic story as an allegory depicting the contest between the different systems of thought, such as Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, etc.

This, of course, with regard to what an ordinary reader would say ; but the fact is, there are really very few people, who would readily pick up and follow any thing beyond the beaten path. And still, Prof. Thadani's work has an interest and importance in the light referred to above.

It would be interesting to note here, that there have been a few scholars — although only a few — who have been in the field that Prof. Thadani has entered, putting forth the hypothesis that the whole, or a part of the Great Epic is an allegory, and Prof. Winternitz, in reviewing Mr. Dahlmann's *Mahābhārata*, has conveniently summed up all. Referring to Mr. Dahlmann's hypothesis that "the marriage of the five Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī, the embodiment of the goddess Śrī, is nothing but a *symbolical* representation of the joint possession of the common property belonging to the undivided family", the great MBh. Scholar goes on : "What Th. Goldstucker objects against Lassen's allegorical explanation of the polyandric marriage of Draupadī, holds good against all similar explanations, such as M. Bergaigne's mythical, and Mr. Dahlmann's symbolical explanation." "Either polyandry existed as an institution when this allegory was made — in that case there is no ground for considering a polyandric marriage as an improbable event in the history of the Pāṇḍavas themselves — or it as little existed in their time as in the later history of India. *In that case however, it would have offended the national sentiment, and no allegory of this kind could have entered a poet's mind, or obtained currency,*" ... "epic tradition in the mouth of the people was too strong to allow this essential and

curious feature in the life of its heroes, to be changed," and lastly, "...from every point of view the story of Draupadi and the five Pāṇḍavas has to be regarded as an ancient tradition illustrating an *actual* state of society, and in that sense as a "*real piece of history*", and certainly not (as Mr. Dahlmann thinks) an invention of some teacher of law, who wanted to illustrate his legal theories by a fanciful symbolical marriage of five men ... Everybody ... will agree ... that the MBh. could never have become the national epic of India, if it had been merely an illustration of Dharmaśāstra with all its legal antiquities."

To return to the volume in hand, a glance at the contents would give us a fair idea of what the work aims at; but before proceeding in that line it would be better to peep into the Introduction, where the author starts with "As it is in the cell, so it is in the Brahmāṇḍa", as the sole basis for his interpretation: "According to this idea, the Sanskrit language itself is conceived as a picture of the Brahmāṇḍa, reproducing by means of its vowels and consonants, general structure, saṁdhi rules and grammatical forms, the idea of the nucleus, cytoplasm, centrosomes and chromosomes of the cell, and the form, action and interaction of its constituent parts; so that each expression, word or letter might be the mirror of a great science, a great philosophy, and a great religion all united together in one Truth." This has been explained at great length in the major portion of this volume, — the cell (ch. III), the Golden Egg, or the Brahmāṇḍa (ch. IV), physical science as found in our literature, (ch. V), the origin and character of Sanskrit (ch. VI); and it is in ch. VII that we come across the method of interpretation, as put forth by the author, and with authority too, to back him.

Without going into details, which form the lot of the student and reader, and not of the reviewer, a few interesting interpretations may be given: Kāla, analysed according to the ecliptic method, denotes the cycle of Buddhi or the Sun completed in Prakritic Ether; similarly Gaja denotes the relation of Puruṣic Prakritic Ether.

Karṇa, of the Mahābhārata which latter, is "great treatise on the subject matter of Breath or Prāṇa ..." represents all seed, the essence of vegetable kingdom or the vegetable kingdom itself; while Kuntī, analysed into Kum. and ti, gives the meaning Earth for the former, and iti, meaning, 'that is to say' for the latter part of the word. So that we have Kuntī standing for the Earth, a meaning further strengthened by her other name Pṛthā, identical with Pṛthivī, the Earth. According to the author, the Pāṇḍavas of whom, Arjuna, like Indra, stands for Heart-energy, likewise, represent the animal kingdom; "and as our planet consists of all the five elements and is characterised by the energy of the Sun and the moon, both the kingdoms of life are conceived as born of her."

I purposely desist from making any reference to the author's different interpretations regarding the characters and their activities in the Mahābhārata, given with some detail in his Introduction, as, according to the promise of the author himself, his second volume mainly deals with the Great Epic, and it would be but right to look into the real mystery of the Mahābhārata when we have that promised volume in hand.

S. N. TADPATRIKAR

**THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, critically edited by P. P. S. SASTRI,
Vol. I, Parts 1 & 2, published by V. RAMASWAMI SASTRULU
& SONS, MADRAS**

Among India's glorious literary heritage the Mahābhārata, the great Epic of India, as Professor E. W. Hopkins styled it, occupies a foremost place as a finished piece of literary composition, a superb didactic work and as the accredited source of ancient historical tradition. The materials which it contains being invaluable to the students of history and philosophy, not to speak of literature, have compelled the International School of Oriental Scholars to focus their attention on the get up of a really critical edition based on almost all available manuscripts so as to make it a complete whole. Such an edition of rare value has been undestaken by the well known Oriental Institute of India, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona.

Coming nearer home the Kumbhakonam edition of the Mahābhārata, which we hear is out of print, supplied the longfelt need for a book of that kind in the south of India. There is still the need for handy volumes of the Mahābhārata which will be easily portable and can be handled with ease for ready reference. This is now satisfied by the enterprising publishing firm of Madras, Messrs. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras. It has been decided to publish the full work in a series of volumes, of which two parts are already out. They are edited by Professor P. P. S. Sastri of the Presidency College, Madras. There is clear evidence of the great care bestowed by Prof. Sastri in editing this work. This seems to be an endeavour to bring out a south Indian recension of the Mahābhārata and to this extent the learned editor has utilised five important manuscripts. From what one can gather from the two parts before us, there is no doubt that the work will be accorded a popular welcome and will be an invaluable and useful addition to the editions already in the market. The value of the work is very much enhanced by a table of contents giving a running summary of important incidents and an index indispensable to research scholars.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

PRĀṆAYĀMA (PART I) BY SWAMI KUVALAYANANDA,
Published by Kaivalyadhāma—Lonaola, priced at Rs. 2-8,
Pp. 156.

In ancient India our ancestors built up a civilisation peculiar to this country. Their main efforts were concentrated on the attainment of the highest perfection and "liberation" of the human soul. By itself it was the most laudable aim. The individual soul is a part of the universal soul. This realisation of unity or oneness of the Jivātman with Paramātman had to be realised. For this purpose they evolved a highly elaborate system of Yoga, consisting of physical and psychical processes which would help the individual to discover his inner essence and thus get absorbed in the Supreme. Life was not so complicated then, so the individual could spend the greater part of it in the realisation of this aim. Detailed treatises were compiled for the guidance of the seekers after this Truth. But the political upheavals, that history records, put this wonderful education and training in the background. During the Muslim rule even the study of Sanskrit became a clandestine affair. Most of the Sanskrit literature became extinct. In modern times the individual has become so much absorbed in political and economic struggle that he has almost forgotten that he has a soul. Even the body, the vehicle of the soul is neglected. This is due to the all-pervading influence of western civilisation. Darwin, the greatest scientist of the age, gave us the theory of the evolution of the species. Herbert Spencer developed the idea. But no one has paid the slightest attention to the evolution of the mind and the soul, which are the real powers behind the body. But now a reaction is setting in. Indians, specially, are now realising that the time has come for them to pay attention to their souls the only thing that belongs to them and which no one can take away from them. We might reasonably and proudly call it the renaissance of the Indian thought — Ramakrishna and Vivekananda set in ball rolling. Now the task has been seriously taken up by Mr. Gune, better known as Swami Kuvalayānanda.

13 [Annals, B. O. R- I].

For reviving what is best in the Indian civilisation he is the most suited person, with his high education, love of truth, honesty of purpose, respect for learning, devotion to humanity and an utter disregard of materialism. The only reward that he possibly expects for his efforts and labour is the satisfaction that he has been of some service to his fellow human beings. He is trying to spread this knowledge among as many people as he possibly can. With this end in view he has started a quarterly Journal under the name of *Yoga-Mīmāṃsā*, in which are embodied the results of his research work in this subject. The book under review is one of the popular series intended for laymen, who want to start physical exercises which would have the way for spiritual advancement. It might come to that or might not. By itself the course of physical culture given herein is a great boon to humanity.

The most prevalent human ailments, which are the curses of the modern civilisation are (1) tuberculosis, (2) digestive disorders and (3) nervous troubles. Other diseases take their source from them.

Tuberculosis is the result of living in crowded towns. In modern times an open air life has become almost impossible. Even outdoor exercise has become a luxury. The lungs do not get enough of Oxygen and hence are weakened. This leads to the deadly disease, from which the mortality is very high in India and in the west. The respiratory organs require a great deal of Oxygen taken from fresh air to ward off these dangers to health. *Prāṇāyāma* supplies the requisite amount of Oxygen to the lungs, which keeps them in perfect condition. Proper respiration can be admirably secured by the exercises that go under the names of *Ujjayi* — *Kapalbhati* and *Bhastriks*, so well described in this book.

The disorders of the digestive organs are caused by sedentary work, lack of proper exercise and unwholesome food. This leads to the commonest trouble of constipation. In its turn it gives birth to various grave ailments. Perhaps it would be true to say that more than half of the troubles that human body suffers from, arise from the disorder of the stomach. Certain exercises described herein, specially *Kapalbhati* and *Bhastrika*, give the

much needed exercise to the abdominal muscles. The Colon gets the necessary pressure to evacuate itself. The bowels are thus made to move freely. This tends to keep the digestive system in perfect condition.

Owing to the worry and strain of modern life, nervous troubles are very common. Every day we read of innumerable medicines and drugs advertised in the European papers for curing the jaded nerves. The author rightly claims that the Prāṇāyāma exercises would ward off nervous disorders. The blood is first enriched in Oxygen and then freely circulated throughout the human body. The glands get their necessary food and the nerves are toned up by this blood supply and some exercise.

Apart from its value as physical culture, Prāṇāyāma is the basis of all spiritual development. By cleansing the Nāḍīs it paves the way for "meditation". The author has done well in not dwelling at length on this aspect of Prāṇāyāma. It must be followed under the personal supervision of an expert or else it is likely to have disastrous effects on human body and brain. Secondly, it is such a vast subject that brevity in its description is apt to be dangerous. We hope that some day the author will give us a full and detailed description of that course.

Prevention is always better than cure. So everyone who wants to be out of the clutches of these deadly disorders and diseases, is well advised to take up these exercises of Prāṇāyāma which take only about twenty minutes a day. The author has done his duty by placing at service of the humanity a detailed description of this course.

The real value of this book lies in the fact that the author, a Sanskrit scholar of repute, has made a thorough study of the ancient and original literature on the subject. These ideas were then put to scientific tests in his laboratory and then interpreted in his usual simple but convincing style. Thus he has taken the help of science to give us, what for centuries had been considered a closed book of mystery. This book is bound to be received well by the public. We very anxiously look forward to the issue of more hand-books of this kind.

M. S. CHEEMA

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PARTS III-IV

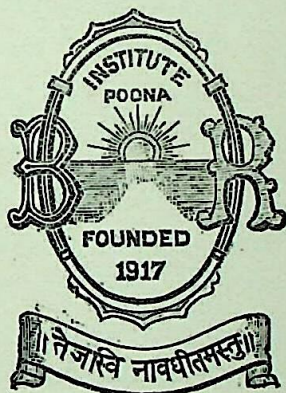
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[PARTS III-IV

GLEANINGS FROM THE UDAYASUNDARĪ-KATHĀ

BY

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, *Purātattva-vicakṣaṇa*; CALCUTTA

Udayasundarī-kathā is a *Campū-kāvya*, i. e. a work composed in prose interspersed with verses. It was written by a poet named Sodḍhala in the 11th century A. D. He was born in Lāṭa-deśa (South Gujarat) and was the court-poet of the three successive royal brothers of Konkana, named Cchittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummunirāja, whose capital was at Sthānaka, the modern Thānā. The ascertained date of Cchittarāja is 1026 A. D., and that of Mummunirāja is 1060 A. D.¹ For sometime he graced the court of Vatsarāja of Lāṭa also. He has given an account of his family in the first Uchhvāsaka or chapter of his book, which contains some very interesting historical information. As far as we know, this information has not hitherto been utilized by any scholar.

Sodḍhala writes that in the past there was a king named Śilāditya, whose capital was at Valabhī. His only younger brother was named Kalāditya.² In the family of this Kalāditya was born Caṇḍapati, whose son was Sollapeya. Sollapeya's

1 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 542ff.

2 Pp. 3-4.

son was Sūra, from whom, by his wife Pampāvati was born our poet Sodḍhala.¹ Śilāditya had a long struggle with Dharmapāla of the Māndhātṛ-vaṃśa, king of Northern India (Uttarā-patha). Through the tact and prowess of Kalāditya, Dharmapāla was besieged in a fort and had to submit to the authority of Śilāditya but was restored to his kingdom.² Śilāditya, now well established in his vast kingdom, thought of appointing an able administrator for his extensive territory. One night before going to sleep he was thinking as to whom to appoint to this responsible post. But as he could not come to a decision, he resigned himself to the providence of that deity through whose grace he acquired his dominion, and fell asleep. In the third part of the night his Rāja-lakṣmī (royal prosperity) appeared before him and he was roused from his sleep. She told him that she had come to advise him about the question of the appointment of his chief minister, over which he was troubling himself. She gave him a seal of gold and directed him to entrust Kalāditya with this seal and also with the general superintendence (*sarvādhi-kārasvāmīn*) of his kingdom. She also told him that this Kalāditya was an attendant (*gaṇa*) of Śiva who went by the name of Kāyastha. He was so named because he was in such close proximity that he was considered to be in the body of the god. (*sa ch = āṣṭāmūrtera = bhagavato jalamayīm mūrtim = adhiṣṭhitasy = āsanna-sa-hacaratvena kāye sthitatvāt kāyastha iti*). This attendant of Śiva named Kāyastha, under the orders of this god incarnated himself as Kalāditya, his brother, to protect his Rāja-lakṣmī. This Kāyastha-Kalāditya, the ornament of the Kṣatriyas (*kṣatriya-vibhūṣaṇa*) was then entrusted with the protection of the kingdom.³

Kalāditya's descendants then multiplied and were divided into many branches. They spread themselves to metropolitan towns for the triumph of the Kṣatriyas and as supporters of the creeper of royal prosperity. They came to be known as Valabha Kāyasthas as they hailed from Valabhi.⁴

1 Pp. 11-12.

2 Pp. 4-7.

3 Pp. 9-11.

4 P. 11.

Sodḍhala's father died while he was a child. He was brought up by his maternal uncle Gaṅgādhara, who was a friend of Yogi-rāja, the king of Lāṭa. Sodḍhala himself was a class-mate of prince Simharāja, son of king Kīrtirāja, king of Lāṭa. Their preceptor was one Candra. Kīrtirāja was the father of king Vatsarāja who was the patron of Sodḍhala. Sodḍhala's forefathers for generations held the post of Dhruva Prabhus (*dhruva-vṛtteḥ prabhuḥ*) of the districts of Sikkarahāriya seventy-two, Vāhirihāra seven hundred, Annāpalliya seven hundred and of other districts, of the Lāṭa country.¹ Dhruva denotes "a fixed or permanent hereditary officer in charge of records and accounts of a village," the Tālāṭi and Kulkarni of modern times. One of the chief duties of the Dhruvas was to see that revenue farmers did not take more than the royal share. The name is still in vogue in Cutch where the village accountants are called Dhru and Dhruva. Dhru is also a common surname among the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas and Modh and other Vanias in Cutch, Gujarāt and Kathiāvāra.²

Now, who could these Dharmapāla and Śīlāditya be? Both are historical names and there is no difficulty in identifying them. There are more than one Dharmapāla, but this Dharmapāla king of Uttarāpatha, could be no other than the king of the same name of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. That Dharmapāla was the emperor of the Uttarāpatha finds support from his own charter i. e. the Khālimpur copper-plate grant.³ From lines 27 and 28 of this plate we find that many kings of the Jambu-dvīpa (India) assembled at Pāṭaliputra to do homage to him. These expressions are also found in the charters of his successors.

Sodḍhala described Dharmapāla to be of the 'Māndhātṛ vaṃśa.' There has been much speculation about the caste of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. But here is a positive and disinterested piece of evidence, which sets all doubts at rest. Besides, this evidence is contemporary, for in Sodḍhala's time, in the eleventh century,

1 Pp. 151-2.

2 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 81-82.

3 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 243.

the Pāla dynasty was still reigning. All other accounts except that of Hāribhadra about the caste of the Pālas are later than Sodḍhala's. This is not all. The fact finds corroboration from the same Khalimpur charter. In verse 11 it has been described that Mahendra having suddenly found the advancing army of Māndhātā in close quarters and being unable to form an opinion of their number, owing to the volume of dust raised by them, which whitened the ten quarters, became alarmed and distracted. Mr. A. K. Maitra in the *Gauḍalekhamālā* has rightly held that here Mahendra refers to Indrāyudha, king of Kanauj and has an allusion to his defeat at the hands of Dharmapāla. He did not, however, explain why Dharmapāla's army had been compared to the army of Māndhātā. Māndhātā is said to be a friend of Indra, but no explanation has been given by anybody why he has been introduced in this verse as an adversary. There must be some justification for the poet for going against the mythological tradition. The reason for this extraordinary action on the part of the poet, seems to us to be to indicate that Dharmapāla was a descendant of Māndhātā. This allusion to Māndhātā was quite intelligible in Dharmapāla's time though it now requires elucidation. From this we are not, however, to conclude that the Pālas were really the descendants of Māndhātā. But this much we can say with certainty that they passed for as such, otherwise Sodḍhala, a poet of a distant province like Gujarāt of the eleventh century, had no reason or interest to describe Dharmapāla as of the *Māndhātṛ-vaṃśa*.

Now Śilāditya mentioned by Sodḍhala can be no other than a Śilāditya of the Valabhi dynasty, for his capital was at Valabhi. This Śilāditya was a contemporary of Dharmapāla, who flourished in the eighth century. Now of the seven Śilādityas of the Valabhi dynasty, the last three reigned in the eighth century. Of these Śilāditya VII might be the person who came into conflict with Dharmapāla. The ascertained dates of the last three Śilādityas are :— Śilāditya V. — 722 A. D. ; Śilāditya VI. — 760 A. D. and Śilāditya VII. — 766 A. D.¹ We have no information of Dharmapāla's having met with any reverse at the hands of any king of the Valabhi

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, Pp. 69-70,

dynasty. But we have evidence to show from the Khālimpur charter that he granted villages for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas of the Lāṭa country. Besides from verse 5 of the Monghyr grant of his son Devapāla,¹ it appears that he (Dharma-pāla) carried his conquering expedition as far as Kedāra-tīrtha in the north, Gaṅgā-sāgara in the south and to Gokarṇa-tīrtha, probably in the west. There is a celebrated place of pilgrimage named Gokarṇa even now, resorted to by large number of pilgrims, in Kōṅkaṇa in the Bombay Presidency.

Sodḍhala calls himself a Kāyastha and at the same time claims to be a Kṣatriya. There can be no doubt as to his claim to the Kṣatriyahood, as his book containing the assertion was read before two well-known Rajput princes, viz. the Cālukya Vatsarāja of Lāṭa and the Śilāra Mumunirāja of Kōṅkaṇa. If his mythical story of the origin of the word Kāyastha and of the Kāyastha caste, is given credence to, we should admit that the Kāyastha caste originated in the eighth century with Kalāditya. And this Kalāditya was a scion of the Valabhī dynasty which was admittedly of the Kṣatriya caste. But this is more than what we are prepared to believe. As far as we have been able to trace, the word Kāyastha as the name of a post can be found in epigraphy in the fifth century, in the Damodarpur copper-plate grants.² It is distinctly stated in the Brahmapurāṇa that Kāyastha was an officer, as in '*Mallā dūtās=ca kāyasthā ye c=ānye karmakārīṇaḥ*' (Chap. XLIV. V. 37). The word also occurs in *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā, Viṣṇu-saṁhitā &c., in the same sense. That in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* Kāyastha Dhanadatta was a Brāhmaṇa is apparent from the following address of Cārudatta to Śreṣṭhī and Kāyastha :—

'*Bhoḥ, adhikṛtebhyaḥ svasti haṁho niyuktāḥ, api kuśalaṁ bhavatām*'
(Act IX).

Here by the word '*niyuktāḥ*' (appointed) the Śreṣṭhī and the Kāyastha were meant. Now according to Manu, chap. II, verse 127 '*kuśalaṁ*' (happiness) should be asked of Brāhmaṇas only.

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, Pp. 254-257.

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, P. 130.

It may be argued, how can a Śreṣṭhī (merchant) be a Brāhmaṇa? There appears to be no bar. Cārudatta, although a Brāhmaṇa, was a Sārthavāha (merchant) for three generations and lived in śreṣṭhī-calvara.

The earliest mention of Kāyastha as a caste-name that we have hitherto been able to find, is in the Sañjān copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I, dated 871 A. D.¹ It was written by Dharmādhikaraṇa-senabhogika Guṇadhavala of the Vālabha-Kāyastha-vaṃśa, i. e. the very Kāyastha family to which our poet belonged. It does not appear from the statement of Soddhala that there were any other sections of Kāyasthas than his own in existence in his time in his part of the country. But the distinctive adjective Vālabha, signifying the locality of its origin, clearly shows that there were Kāyasthas other than the Vālabha, even in the ninth century. Although the word Kāyastha originally meant the name of a post, people following the occupation for generations came to be known as a distinct caste. This will be clear, if we look to the caste-names of India, which are mostly occupational names. It is not unlikely that Kāyastha as a caste commenced formation from the 8th century. It is difficult to say when the mythical stories about the origin of the different sections of the Kāyasthas came into existence. The story of the origin of the Vālabha-Kāyasthas is not of later date than the eleventh century. The Citragupta-origin of the Kāyasthas is, perhaps, still later. The earliest mention of Citragupta as one of the ten names of Yama is found in the Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra. He has not become a writer of Yama even then. The earliest epigraphic mention of Citragupta having any connection with the Kāyasthas is found in a charter of Govindacandradeva of Kanauj, dated 1115 A. D.² This plate was written by a Vāstavya-Kāyastha Thakkura named Jalhaṇa, who has been described as 'Karaṇik = *odgato vidyānś = Citragupt-opamo guṇaiḥ*' i. e. born of a Karaṇika family, resembling Citragupta in qualities (as a writer). This was only a prelude. From this resemblance in occupation, the idea of descent from him was

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, Pp 235ff.

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, Pp. 152n & 153.

conceived. Poet Śrīharṣa of *Naiṣadhīya-carita* was a contemporary of king Jayacandra, grandson of king Govindacandradeva, king of Kanauj, mentioned above. He described Citragupta as 'Kāyastha' and makes him present at the *Svayamvara-sabhā* of Damayanti, along with Agni, Indra, Yama &c. Jayacandra flourished towards the latter part of the 12th century. It may, therefore, be surmised that the legend of the Citragupta descent of some sections of the Kāyasthas dates from the 12th century. It is very curious that although there are ample references to Kāyasthas in epigraphy, there is no mention of their Citragupta-descent, not even in their own family *prāśastis*.

We have seen that the Vālabha Kāyasthas are mentioned in epigraphy and in Sanskrit literature, but they are not heard of now-a-days. Where are they gone? Are they all extinct? It is hard to believe that such an influential section of the Kāyasthas died out altogether. Let us see if any clue can be found of their present whereabouts. There is a sect of Brāhmaṇas called Bālam Brāhmaṇas, who resided in Valā or Valabhi. They were the family priests of the Kāyasthas residing there. These Brāhmaṇas quarrelled with the Kāyasthas, their Yajamānas and left the place for Dhundhuka.' Now this sect name of the Brāhmaṇas no doubt, was derived from Valā or Vala-grāma. We may, therefore, expect that the Kāyasthas of Valā came similarly to be called Balam. In fact we find mention of a Vālamya Kāyastha donor in a pillar inscription of Bhinmal, dated 1206 A. D.² We have seen that the forefathers of Soddhala held for generations the post of *Dhruva-Prabhu* (*dhruva-vṛtteḥ prabhuḥ*). We have already shown that the Dhruvas were village accountants and their posts were hereditary. The Dhruva-Prabhus were district accountants, having under them village accountants. By holding the post for generations, they perhaps came to be known as Dhruva-Prabhus. We find in the Bhinmal inscriptions that in some cases the writers of them were Dhruvas, which is the legitimate duty of the Kāyasthas. So these Dhruvas were most probably of the Kāyastha caste. There is a section of

1 *Bom. Gazetr.* Kathiawar Population, p. 673.

2 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 474.

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writers in the Bombay Presidency, who are called Dhruva-Prabhus. They say that they are descended from Dhruva, the son of king Uttānapāda. We believe they are the Vālabha Kāyasthas, and have completely forgotten their old tradition. As they are called Dhruva-Prabhu, they are connecting themselves with Dhruva, the epic hero.

These Dhruva-Prabhus claim to be of the same stock as the Pattana-Prabhus, another writer caste of the Bombay Presidency. This is admitted by the Pattana-Prabhus also. Their epithet of Pattana is derived from their residence in Pattana or Pāṭaṇ. They are also called Pāṭāre or Paṭhāriya. In the *Sahyādri-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* their descent has been traced from a king named Aśvapati of the solar race of Kṣatriyas. Under a curse from Bhṛgu Ṛṣi his descendants have been degraded from the kingly office to that of a writer. (Ch. 27 and 28). Details of these Prabhus will be found in the *Bom. Gaztr.* Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 185-255.

A stone inscription of the time of king Hammīr of Ranthām-bhar, (1288 A. D.), found in the Koṭāh State in Rājputānā, contains an eulogistic description of the minister of Hammīra. The family belonged to the Kaṭāriya Kāyastha varṇa, who went there from Mathurāpura. This Kaṭāriya, apparently, is a scriptic mistake for Paṭhāriya. We have not heard of any section of Kāyasthas going by the name of Kaṭāriya.

Svāmī Vidyānanda in his *Comprehensive History of the Kāyasthas* has identified the Vālabha Kāyasthas with the Vālmika Kāyasthas, but he has not given his reasons for thinking so. The Vālmika Kāyasthas trace their descent from Citragupta, whereas the Vālabha Kāyasthas, we have seen, are descended from Kalāditya. Besides it is doubtful whether Vālmika can be derived from Vālabha. Not only this, he has in his concluding sentence asserted that 'the kings of Vālabhi were Kāyasthas of a Śree Citragupta descent.' Because a scion of the family and his descendants by pursuing the Kāyastha profession became Kāyasthas, therefore, the whole dynasty was Kāyastha. A fine argument indeed!

Pandit Gaṅgāśaṃkara Pañcoli, a Nāgar Brāhmaṇa, on the other hand thinks that the Valābhi kings were *Sipāhī Nāgar*¹, i. e. the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, who took to fighting to defend their country.² He also says that a section of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas was called *Citragupta*. Another section again was called *Bhaṭṭa*.³ It is very strange that *Bhaṭṭa Nāgar* is a well-known division of the Kāyasthas.

1 *Nāgarotpatti*, p. 62n.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 61-62.

3 *Ibid*, p. 59.

2 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I].

KULĀRṆAVA TANTRA — ITS EXTENT AND CONTENTS

BY

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M. A.

According to the colophons of the published editions of the *Kulārṇava Tantra* the entire work consists of 125000 verses and the published portion (which covers only about 2000 verses) is stated to form only the fifth part of the whole thing. This is styled *Ūrddhvāmnāya Tantra*. The entire work of which the extent is referred to here is not known to have been found anywhere. Some manuscripts containing only a number of verses more than the published 2000 are however sometimes reported to exist. But we know of verses and topics stated to have been taken from the *Kulārṇava* which are not met with here. It is necessary, therefore, to take stock of all materials attributed to the *Kulārṇava* though some of the attributions may evidently be later and open to doubt.

The *Kulārṇava*, as it has been published by Arthur Avalon and others, consists of seventeen chapters or *ullāsas*. The *Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat* of Calcutta, however, has two manuscripts which contain an eighteenth chapter as well.¹

Topics not included in the published version of the *Kulārṇava* are found in several manuscripts² to have been ascribed to it. Of these mention may be made of *Kālikāsahasranāman* (one thousand names of the Goddess Kālī), *Gaṇapatipañcāṅga* (five essentials of the worship of Gaṇeśa), *Durgā-dakārādi-sahasranāmastotra* (one thousand names of Durgā the initial letter of each of which is *d*), *Devī-svarūpastuti* (the hymn of the exact nature of the Goddess), *Śāktakrama* (the order of worship of the Śāktas), *Śyāmākāvaca* (the talisman of Śyāmā or Kālī) etc. etc.

Some of the verses attributed to the *Kulārṇava* in works like the *Kaulāvali* of Jñānānanda Paramahansa and *Tantrasāra* of

1. C. Chakravarti—*Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat* (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* — Vol. XXXVIII, p. 243).

2. Cf. *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht under *Kulārṇava Tantra*.

Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa could not be traced either in the published editions of the work or in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat Manuscript of it, which we are going to describe below. Of these verses reference may be made to the long extract in the *Kaulāvalī* (IX. 31ff) which appears to have been ascribed to the Kulārṇava as also the verses in the Tantrasāra pertaining to the determination of the *Pakṣa* for initiation and the denunciation of the uninitiated.

A purely Vaiṣṇava work — the *Īśānasaṃhitā*¹ dealing with the greatness of the well-known Vaiṣṇava reformer Caitanya — is also represented as forming part of the Kulārṇava.

It cannot be stated if all these detached materials formed part of the Kulārṇava Tantra, for such attributions are not infrequently imaginary and unreliable and they are occasionally different in different manuscripts.² But the fact that the Kulārṇava consisted of more materials than what are found in the published version may be correct in view of the definite statement that it is only the fifth part of the whole work. Thus these detached materials — or at least some of them — might not unlikely have formed part of the big work or belonged to different versions of the work if not to entirely separate works bearing same or similar names. That the existence of more than one version of the work or the denomination of different works by its name, was recognised seems to be evident from the introductory portion of the *Kaulāvalī*. This refers to the Kulārṇava twice (not unlikely on account of the existence of two different versions³ of the work) in the course of enumerating the works on which it is based.

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1. A manuscript of this work is in the collection of the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat*. One manuscript of the work has been described by Rajendralala Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* I. 824.
 2. C. Chakravarti — *op. cit.* — p. 246f.
 3. Similar is the case not only with several other Tantra works but also with more than one Smṛti and Purāṇa works as well. Sometimes the same name is found to have been used in connection with similar or different works with qualifications like *laghu* (small) and *br̥hat* (big). Thus to mention only a few, we have *Hārītasṃṛti* and *Laghu-Hārītasṃṛti*, *Manu* and *Bṛhan-Manu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and *Bṛhan-Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Nilatantra* and *Bṛhan-nīlatantra*, *Nirvāṇa*, *Bṛhan nirvāṇa* and *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. In this connection see, Schrader — *Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* — p. 13,

Besides there are several manuscripts of a work called *garbha-kulārṇava* in the Madras Oriental Library. The name of the book as given in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Madras*¹ is *garbha-kulārṇava*; but a colophon of the twenty-fourth Paṭala (as quoted in the catalogue) gives the name as *garbha-kaulāgama*.

Several manuscripts of an entirely different work bearing the same name, *garbha-kaulāgama*, are also in the said Library. Two works of the name of *Kālī-kulārṇava* and *Lakṣmī-kulārṇava* have been referred to by Raghunātha in the bibliographical list given by him in the beginning of his extensive compilation — *Āgama-tattvavilāsa*.²

We have actually a complete work which styles itself as the *Kulārṇava* but has very little agreement with the published editions of the work. It is a unique thing in respect of contents which agree more with those of the *Yini Tantra* than with what we have in the published *Kulārṇava*. A manuscript of the work is in the Library of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta.³ The work in the manuscript is complete in twelve chapters, while the published editions have, as has already been pointed out, seventeen chapters. But owing to its smaller extent it cannot be stated to have preserved a shorter version, as there exists marked difference between it and the published text. The latter work calls itself *Mahā ahaṣya* (the great secret) and *Sarvāgamottamottama* (the best of the best of āgamas) while the work in manuscript styles itself *Kulācūra-rahasya* (secret of kula rites).

The subjects treated of in the work are as follows :—

Chapter I — The excellence of Kula practices.

Chapter II — The utility of the five objects of worship — e. g. wine, meat, fish, meal (*mudrā*) and sexual union.

1. Vol. XII, Nos. 5599—3605.

2. R. L. Mitra — *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* — Vol. IX.

3. A short description of the Ms. by the present writer has appeared in the Sanskrit organ of the Pariṣat — *Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat* (Vol. XIV, p. 269ff).

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Chapter III — The details of the Kula form of worship and the sanctification of the materials for the worship. For further details of the subject reference has been made to the *Ānandapaṭala* (fol. 15b).

Chapter IV — Worship of cakra or mystic circle.

Chapter V — Description of different cakras which are enumerated to be five in number e. g., Rājacakra, Deva-cakra, Kulacakra, Rāsacakra and Śricakra.

Chapter VI — Importance of the worship of the female organ of generation which is stated to be the abode of various deities. It is definitely asserted that the male organ is the symbol of the Supreme God — Śiva — and the female organ that of Mahāmāyā — the Supreme Goddess.¹

Chapter VII — Statement of the mantra for the worship (*mantroddhāra*).

Chapter VIII — Worship of Yonipīṭha.

Chapter IX — Secret worship. Every act in sexual enjoyment is here conceived of as a material for worship. Kissing is the sandal-paste, beating the breast the flower and so on.²

Chapter X — Utility of worship on particular days. The tenth chapter of the published *Kulārṇava* is also devoted to the same topic. But except for a few preliminary verses there is scarcely any agreement between the tenth chapters of the two works. The tenth chapter in our manuscript after re-

1. योनिरूपा महामाया लिङ्गरूपो महेश्वरः ।
या प्रोक्ता प्रकृतोर्निर्वा जगद्धेतुः सन्ततनी ॥
सैव योनिस्वरूपा च जगदुत्पत्तिकारिणी ॥ (fol. 26b)

2. पादस्पर्शं भवेत् पाद्यमर्घ्यं च मुक्तकेशके ।
ग्रमःशृते(?) महेशानि भवेदाचमनीयकम् ॥
चुम्बनेऽपि भवेद् गन्धं पुष्पं च स्तनमर्दने ।
आलिंगने धूपदीपौ नैवेद्यं ताम्बूलं प्रिये ॥
मैथुने च भवेज्जापं वीर्यपाते विसर्जनम् ॥ (fol. 35b)

ferring to the importance of worship on particularly auspicious days goes on to describe the origin of wine. It is stated that the goddess Surā (wine) appeared at the time of the churning of the ocean in the guise of a beautiful maiden. When she was eagerly sought after by gods like Viṣṇu she assumed a liquid form, portions of which were taken by the gods each of whom was thus satisfied.

Chapter XI — Preparation of wine and description of the five objects of worship (wine etc.).

Chapter XII — Hymn and talisman of the female organ of generation (योनिस्तोत्र and योनिकवच).

Some verses especially dealing with kula rites are found to be common to more than one Tantra. Some of the verses of the *Parīṣat* Manuscript under description also belong to this class. Of these :—

प्रवृत्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णा द्विजातयः ।

निवृत्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णाः पृथक् पृथक् ॥ (fol. 16a)

is a well known couplet.

नग्रां परलतां पश्यन्नयुतं यस्तु मानवः

प्रजपेत् स भवेत् सद्यो विद्यायाः बल्लभः स्वयम् ॥ (fol. 39a)

महाचीनद्रुमलतावेष्टनेन च यत् फलम् ।

तस्यापि षोडशंशिन कलां नार्हन्ति ते शवाः ॥

शवासनाधिकफलं लतागेहप्रवेशनम् ॥ (fol. 40a)

These two extracts are also found in *Kālī-Tantra*¹ as IV. 5-6 and IV. 18-19.

Now a word about the position to be assigned to the work in the domain of Kaula literature. Among the followers of the Kula form of worship two graduated types are recognised -- e. g. the *Pūrvakaulas* and the *Uttarakaulas*. According to *Lakṣmīdhara*, who commented on the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śaṅkarācārya, the *Pūrvakaulas* took recourse to a symbolical form of worship

1. *Sanskrit Sāhitya Parīṣat* edition,

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whereas the Uttarakaulas offered their worship to the actual organ of a maiden.¹

From a comparison of the nature of contents of the published edition and the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat copy of the work it would appear that the published edition belongs to the Pūrva-kaulas. Like the followers of the Pūrvakaula system it gives a symbolic interpretation² of the five *tattvas* or objects of worship so essential to the Kaulas.

The Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat copy of the work, however, seems to be a work belonging to the Uttarakaulas who are represented as being engaged in the crudest form of Sex-worship.

1. श्रीचक्रस्थितनवयोनिमध्यगतां योनिं भूर्जहेमवस्त्रपीठादौ लिखितां पूर्वकौलाः पूजयन्ति ।
तरुण्याः प्रत्यक्षयोनिमुत्तरकौलाः पूजयन्ति— Lakṣmīdhara's Commentary on *Saundaryalaharī* (Mysore Government Oriental Library Series) — p. 130, under verse 41.

2. V. 107—112.

SOME NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SENA KINGS OF BENGAL

BY

CHARU CHANDRA DASA GUPTA, M. A.

A storm of debate and discussion has centred round the problem of the chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal since the beginning of the early part of the nineteenth century. Writing about the date of Lakṣmaṇasena's accession, Smith observes, Ballāl Sena was succeeded in A. D. 1119 by his son Lakṣmaṇasena." (EHI. P. 419). He based his observation on the assumption that the first year of the Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat or La-Sam was the first year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign, and which Dr. Kielhorn calculated to be October 7, A. D. 1119. (IA. Vol. XIX, p. 1 ff). The late Dr. Kielhorn based his arguments on a statement in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nāmā which runs thus :-- " In the country of Banga (Bengal) dates are calculated from the beginning of the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, and that from that period till now there have been 465 years." It is further stated therein that at the time to which the writer refers, there had elapsed 1506 years of the Śalibāhana or Śaka era and 1641 years of the era of Vikramāditya. (Ibid). A calculation of this date enabled Dr. Kielhorn to ascertain a date which he took at 1119 A. D. (Ibid). But there are difficulties in the ascertainment of the Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat. The copper-plate grant of Śiva Singha which bears the date ' La-Sam 293 Śrāvaṇa vadi 7 Gurau, Śaka 1321, Saṁvat 1455 ' leads us to conclude that the Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat began in A. D. 1107, and not in 1119 A. D. as Dr. Kielhorn seems to have established. The question is thus not yet settled and the validity of Kielhorn's conclusion has also been questioned on astronomical grounds (JASB. 1926, p. 365-89). Moreover, it is very striking that the Sena kings of Bengal never use the era which they are said to have established. The Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena is dated in 62nd regnal year, the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena in 11th regnal year, the Ānuliā, the Govindapur, the Tarpanadighi copper plates and the Dacca Image inscription of

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Lakṣmanasena are dated in 3rd, 2nd, 2nd and 3rd regnal years respectively, the Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena in 3rd regnal year, the Madanpādā and the Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣat copper-plates of Viśvarūpasena in 14th regnal year. (Inscriptions of Bengal, By N. G. Mujumdar, Vol. III, pp. 57-149). This is a very remarkable fact which conclusively proves that the Senas never used the Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat. Even the records of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena, the two sons of Lakṣmanasena, form no exception to this rule. But it is all the more strange to see that the era was used in Behar and there came to be associated with a line of Sena kings who are described as lords of Piṭhi. The Jānibighā Inscription of king Jayasena of Piṭhi is dated in the year 83 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era and the two Bodh Gayā epigraphs of Buddhasena, the father of Jayasena bears the dates 51 and 74 of the Lakṣmanasena Era. Thus the Lakṣmanasena Era which was never used by the Sena kings of Bengal was frequently used by the lords of Piṭhi. It is therefore natural to conclude that the Senas of Bengal had scarcely to do anything with the Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat. (Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, pt. 2, p. 5).

The problem, therefore, stands where it had originally been. Let us therefore try to see if anything can be made out from a study of the inscriptions, the Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara. Writing in JRAS, January 1930, Mr. P. C. Barat, B. A. has re-adjusted the chronology of the following Sena rulers basing his arguments mainly on the evidence furnished by the Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara :--

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of birth</i>	<i>Date of accession</i>	<i>Date of retirement or death</i>
Vijayasena	A. D. 1069	A. D. 1095	A. D. 1158
Ballālasena	A. D. 1094	A. D. 1158	A. D. 1168
Lakṣmanasena	A. D. 1119	A. D. 1168	A. D. 1182

(JRAS. January 1930)

The Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara are two Sanskrit works attributed to Ballālasena. We know of 4 mss. of the Dānasāgara viz. those belonging to the India Office Library, the

3 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

214 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Rājā Vinaya Kṛṣṇa Deb Bahadur and Prācya-vidyāmahārṇava Nagendra Nāth Vasu. In the mss. in possession of the India Office Library and Mr. Nagendra Nāth Vasu we have the following verse :—

‘Nikhila-bhūpa-cakra-tilaka-Śrīmad-Ballālasena-devena ।
Pūrṇe Śāsi-nava-daśamita-śakavarṣe Dānasāgaro racitaḥ ॥’

The former ms. gives the date in the numerical figures also and the latter contains two more verses by way of elucidating the date. The passage may lead us to assume that Ballālasena was alive in S. 1091 = 1169 A. D. This assumption is confirmed by certain passages of the Adbhutasāgara which contain dates to show that he was alive in S. 1090 = 1168 A. D. This book was examined by many scholars including the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and the late Mm. H. P. Śāstrī. In 1905 Mm. Muralīdhar Jha collected 7 mss. from different places and edited the book. The book contains ‘Atha Mithilā-mahī-mahendra-niḥśaṅkara-śaṅkara Śrīmad Vallālasenadeva-sampādito’yaṁ Adbhutasāgarah ।’ at the beginning and ‘iti Śrī Mahārājādhirāja-niḥśaṅkara-śaṅkara-Śrīmad Vallālasenadeva-viracito’dbhutasāgare’ at the end of every chapter. In the extracts of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar there is the following verse :—

‘Śake kha-nava-khendva=bde ārebhe=dbhutasāgarah ।
Gauḍendra-kuñjavālānstaṁ bhavāhur=mahipatiḥ ॥’

(Collected Works II. 346)

This passage is found in all the mss. of the Adbhutasāgara. This fact most probably shows that this work is genuine. Now we have more passages in this work which shows that S. 1090 is the date when the Adbhutasāgara was begun. They are :—

1. In the chapter on Rāhor=adbhūtāvartaḥ,

‘Kha-nava-daśo-1090-na śakābdā dviguṇaḥ kāryā=rava-rudggole’

2. In the chapter on Vṛhaspatya=dbhūtāvartaḥ,

‘Athā=dbhutasāgarā=rambha-śakābdāt ṣaṣṭya=bda-yuga-gaṇanam.’

‘Kha-nava-daśo-1090-na śakābdāt’

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3. In the chapter on Ravya=di-varṣā=dbhutāvartaḥ,
 'Atas=tan=matenaikad-granthā=rambha-śakābda-varṣā
 =dhipa-gaṇanam'
 'Kha-nava-daśa-1090-śeṣa-śāke'...
4. In the chapter on Saṁvatsarā=dbhutāvartaḥ
 'Kha-nava-viya=dindu-1090-hina'...

All these passages go to show that Ballālasena was most probably alive in Ś. 1090=1168 A. D.

But when did Ballālasena die? The Adbhutasāgara helps us little to ascertain this point; but there is the passage :—

"Granthē'sminnasamāpta eva tanaye sāmrajya-lakṣmīṁ mudā
 Dikṣāparvaṇi dakṣiṇe nijakṛter=niṣpattima=sthāpayat |
 Nānā-dāna-tilam=vusaṁvalanabhaṁ sūryātma-jāsamgamam
 Gangāyam viracayya nirjarapuram bhāryānuyāto gataḥ ||
 Śrīmad Lakṣmanasena-bhūpatiḥ ratistaghyo yadudyo gato |
 Niṣpanno'dbhutasāgaraḥ kṛtirasau Vallālabhūmibhujaḥ ||"

We may on the strength of this passage accept the year S. 1090 as the date of his abdication. The Naihāṭi copper-plate grant of Vallālasena which is the only record uptill now found is dated in the 11th regnal year in the 16th day of Vaiśākha. Mr. Barat writes down "Only one copper-plate grant of Ballālasena Deva has been known till now, and it is dated in the eleventh year of his reign. Taking 1090 as the date when Ballālasena handed over the reins of kingship to his son, his accession to the throne falls in S. 1080 = A. D. 1158." (JRAS. Jan. 1930). But there is one internal evidence in the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Ballālasena which has not been noticed by Barat or any other scholar but which makes our position regarding the date of Ballālasena more certain than ever. It is well-known that this grant was made by Ballālasena on behalf of his mother Vilāsadevī on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The passage in question, runs thus :—

"Śrī Vardhamāna-bhuktya=ntahpātInyuttaro=Rādha-
 maṇḍale Svalpa-dakṣiṇa-vīthyām ... Vāllāhiṭṭhā-grāmo ...
 ācārya-śrīuvāsu-devaśarmmaṇe 'asmanmatri Śrī Vilasadevī-
 bhiḥ sura-sarīti suryo=parāge datta-hemā=śva-mahādāna-

sya dakṣiṇātveno=tsrṣtah ... tāmra-sāsanikṛtya pradatto'as mābhiḥ Sam 11 Vaiśākha-dine 16 Śrī ni mahasām karaṇa ni " — (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 74).

i. e. The village of Vāllāhitthā ... situated within the Svalpa-Dakṣiṇa-vīthi belonging to the Uttara-Rādhā-maṇḍala of the noted Vardhāmana-bhukti ... is given by me, by a copper-plate, ... as a fee to the preceptor, the illustrious Ovāsudevaśarmman... for the performance of the Great-Gift in which a golden horse is given away, by our mother the illustrious Vilāsadevi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. ... The year 11, the 16th day of Vaiśākha. Endorsed by the illustrious (king). Endorsed by the Mahāsan(dhi-vigrahika), the Karaṇa.

Thus it is quite clear that a grant was made by Vallālasena in the year 11 i. e., 11th regnal year and 16th day of Vaiśākha on account of a solar eclipse. The Adbhutasāgara has given Ś. 1091 = 1169 A. D. as the date of Lakṣmaṇasena's accession. Now when did the solar eclipse take place in the month of Vaiśākha immediately before 1169 A. D. ? According to Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai one solar eclipse took place in 1167 A.D. (Ś. 1089) on Saturday 21st April, obviously referring to the month of Vaiśākha. (Indian Chronology, p. 88). There was no solar eclipse in the month of Vaiśākha for 19 years before that date. (Ibid, p. 86). Thus 1167 A. D. or Ś. 1089 must be the 11th regnal year of Ballālasena. Thus the date of his accession must be referred to 1157 A. D. or Ś. 1079, a date which has a remarkable support in the passage of the Adbhutasāgara quoted above, viz., 'Bhuja-vasu-daśa-mite Śāke Ballālasena-rājyāda' i. e., 'in 1082 Ś. (1160 A. D.) at the beginning of Ballālasena's reign'. Ballālasena's reign may, therefore, be said to extend from Ś. 1079 = 1157 A. D. - Ś. 1091 = 1169 A. D.

Vallālasena's date being fixed, it is easy to find out the date of his father Vijayasena. We know as yet two inscriptions of Vijayasena viz., the Deopārā Inscription and the Barrackpur copper-plate dated in 62nd regnal year 7th Vaiśākha. There is an important passage in the latter inscription that throws a great deal of light on the point. The passage, in question, runs thus :—

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" Śrī Paundravardhana-bhuktya=ntahpātī-Khādī-viṣaye
 Ghāśasambhoga bhāṭṭabadā-grāme Samatatiya-nalena
 pāṭaka-catustaya Śrī-Udayakaradevasarmmaṇe
 ssomagrahe asman - mahā- mahādevī- Śrīmad- Vilāsa- de-
 vyā datta-kanaka-tulā-puruṣa-mahādāne homa-karmma-
 dakṣiṇā tāmrasasanikṛtya pradattā'smabhiḥ Sam
 62 Vaiśākha-dina 7 Śrī ni (ma)hā ni."

(Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 63-64).

i. e., 4 pāṭakas of land by the Nala of Samatata in the village of Ghāśasambhogabhāṭṭabadā belonging to the Khādī-viṣaya of the noted Paundravardhana-bhukti is given by me, by means of a copper-plate, to the illustrious Udayakaradevasarmman as fee for conducting Homa in the Great Gift of my Great Great Queen, the illustrious Vilāsadevī, in which the Golden Tulāpuruṣa was given away on the occasion of Lunar Eclipse. The year 62, the 7th day of Vaiśākha. (Endorsed by) the illustrious (king). (Endorsed by) the (Mahāsāmdhivigrahika or Mahāmātra).

Thus it is deducible from the passage quoted above that a grant was made by Vijayasena on behalf of his chief queen Vilāsadevī on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. In 1157 A. D. itself there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Vaiśākha i. e., on Thursday 11th April (Indian Chronology, p. 88). If 1157 A. D. is accepted as the date of Vallālasena's accession, then Vijayasena must have vacated the throne by that date. Taking the 62nd regnal year as the last year of Vijayasena's reign, we can easily have 1095 A. D. as the first year of his reign. He, therefore, may be said to have ruled from c. 1095 A. D. to 1157 A. D.

In conclusion I desire to thank Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for suggesting this problem to me and taking a great deal of interest in preparation of this note.

THE MĀLAVAS

BY

ADRISH CHANDRA BANERJI, M. A.

The earliest mention of the Mālavas whose history it is our intention to discuss here is in the writings of Alexander's historians where they are mentioned as the Mallois. In the first stage of Indological research scholars had failed to identify them with any Indian tribe. It was in 1872 that the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was able to identify the two tribes Malloi and Oxydrakoi with the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas of Sanskrit literature.¹

Neither the Mālavas nor the Kṣudrakas have been mentioned by Pāṇini. Nevertheless, there is a Sūtra in Pāṇini (V. 3. 114) which speaks of certain tribes living by the profession of arms (*āyudhajīvi saṁgha*) and included among the Vāhikas. The Kāśikā says that amongst these Saṁghas were the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas. According to Sylvain Levi the Vāhikas were in the Punjab,² for which he relies on the *Mahābhārata*. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, on the other hand, is inclined to extend the boundaries of the Vāhika country, and would make it co-extensive with the modern Punjab and Sindh minus the hill districts.³ Though the Mālavas are tacitly understood in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, there can be no doubt that they are actually mentioned as such by Patañjali (IV. 1. 68).

It was first pointed out, in my opinion, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar that there are three stages in their history. The first was in the Punjab, the second was in the Nāgar-chāl area of the Jaipur State, and finally in the north-west part of Central India.⁴ Let us now take the first stage of their history. In the time of Alexander they were settled in the Punjab. The Sanskrit name Kṣudraka-Mālava has been transliterated in Greek in various

1 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 23.

2 *Ibid*, 1906, p. 18.

3 Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 38.

4 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures 1921*, pp. 12-13.

ways. Thus Arrian calls them Mallai and Oxydrakai ; Curtius, Sudracae and Mallai ; Diodorus, Syrakusoi and Malli ; Strabo, Hydrakai and Malli ; and the Roman writer Pliny, Sydracae and Malli. As to the exact tribal territory opinion differs. The late V. A. Smith was of opinion that the Malloi occupied the country below the confluence of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab), that is, the country comprising the Jhang district and the whole or greater portion of modern Montgomery district.¹ But McCrindle thinks that the territory of the Mālavas was of great extent comprehending a part of the modern doab formed by the Akesines and the Hydraotes and extending according to Arrian to the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus. That is the modern Multan district with portions of Montgomery district.² It was during his retreat from the banks of the Hyphasis (Rāvi) that Alexander came into conflict with the Mallois. They were on the Hydaspes (Jhelum after its unity with Chenab). The scattered passages in the Greek works are our only source of information regarding the life, political and social, of these tribes at this time. The two tribes Mālavas and Kṣudrakas of Sanskrit literature, and Malloi and Oxydrakoi of Greek writers seem to have formed a league at this time. But whether they were able to oppose Alexander unitedly, it is very difficult to determine. Curtius informs us that their combined army was led by a brave Kṣudraka warrior. But Diodorus informs us that the Syrakusoi and Malloi could not agree as to the choice of the leader and ceased in consequence to keep the field together.³ Arrian, too, definitely tells us that Malloi had certainly agreed to combine with the Oxydrakoi and give battle to the common enemy, but Alexander had thwarted this design by his sudden and rapid march whereby these tribes were prevented from giving each other mutual help.⁴ We are further told that most of their cities were on the Chenab but their capital which was the last to be captured by Alexander was on the Ravi. Diodorus and Curtius

1 J. R. A. S. 1903, p. 631.

2 McCrindle — *Invasion of India*, App. Note, PP. 351.

3 *Ibid.* p. 236, fn. 1.

4 *Ibid.* p. 150.

wrongly assign this city to Oxydrakoi, but Arrian makes it quite clear that the city belonged to the Malloi. General Cunningham identifies the city with Multan, but St. Martin takes Harappa to be the 'Mallian capital'.

While sailing along the Hydaspes Alexander received the news that the Mallois and Oxydrokois "had conveyed their children and wives for safety into their strongest cities, and they meant to give him hostile reception." He, therefore, accelerated his voyage and reached the confluence of Akesines and Hydaspes, and then by forced marches through waterless tract brought his troops to the territory of the Mallois. As the Mallois never imagined that Alexander would attack them so soon by crossing so difficult a tract of country, they were taken by surprise being engaged in their fields. In a skirmish some were killed and the rest took shelter in a nearby stronghold. But the defeat suffered by the tribe was neither final nor decisive. The surprised tribe in sullen anger took shelter in fortified cities determined to resist till the end. As he had no infantry with him, Alexander besieged the city with the help of the Cavalry. This city has been identified with the ruins of Kot-Kamalia, a small but ancient town on a mound on the northern bank of the Ravi.¹ When the infantry arrived, Alexander sent Predikkas to attack another Malloi city, while he himself led assault on the besieged city. The place was soon captured, the majority of the defenders being put to the sword. In the meantime, Predikkas, who was sent to attack another city, found it deserted and easily captured it. The Mālavas had decided to oppose the Greeks at a more strongly fortified place, identified by Cunningham with Tulumba, but that city was also easily captured by a detachment under Predikkas.² Alexander then attacked a city of a tribe called the Brachmans, and then giving one day's rest to his worn out troops renewed his attack on the Mālavas. But this time he found most of their cities deserted, the men having preferred to make the desert and the jungle as their home, but not to submit to an alien yoke.

1 Cunningham — *Ancient Geography of India*, Ed. by S. N. Mazumdar Sastri, Pp. 238-241.

2 *Ibid.* Pp. 259-60,

Alexandar then sent Peithon and Demetrius against the largest city of the Mallois ; to which, he was informed, many men from other cities had fled for safety. For reasons unknown to us this city too was abandoned and the Mallois are said to have crossed the Ravi and arrayed themselves against the Greeks on its other bank. Alexander decided to reach the place with cavalry by forced marches, asking the infantry to follow. On seeing him crossing the river, the Mallois, at first attempted to retreat in good order but on noticing the small number of enemy, wheeled round to give battle. After some time perceiving that their heavy armed troops were in danger of being surrounded by the mobile Greek cavalry, they retired to a nearby city which was their capital where they made a last desperate effort to resist the foreign invader. On being forced off the city walls they took shelter in the citadel, but they could not hold it long, the bravery and leadership of Alexander overawed their every effort, and the citadel was captured, though he (Alexander) was seriously wounded in leading the attack. All the inhabitants including the men, women, and children were put to the sword. According to McCrindle, Diodorus and Curtius wrongly assign the city to the Oxydrakoi.¹ As a matter of fact if Arrian and Plutarch are to be believed the city belonged to Malloi and not to Oxydrakoi.

One who has gone through the works of Greek writers generally carries the impression that Alexander's conquest of the Mālavas and other small states of the Punjab was an easy affair. But quite contrary was the case. The resistance offered by this small tribe to the conqueror of nearly half of the ancient world, is truly amazing. This much must be conceded that the Macdonian soldiers, trained as they were under two foremost generals of ancient Greece, were no proper match for one or two small tribal states which played no important part in the political arena of India at any time.

The unguarded statements of the Greek writers confirm the above supposition. Curtius' statement as to the strength of the combined army of the Mallois and the Oxydrakois, has to be accepted with a grain of salt, because according to Arrian there

1 McCrindle — *Invasion of India by Alexander*. App. Note, Q. P. 351,

4 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

was no combination at all. The opposition of the small Punjab states seems to have disheartened the Greek soldiers very much. Because we are told by one authority that "When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war in which the most warlike nations of India were yet to take part, they began to chide the king in language of sedition".¹ The fear of the Macedonians was well justified. After the palpable resistance given by Darius III and meek submission of Ambhi, the Greeks thought that their conquest of India would be easy. After the battle of Hydaspes that dream of theirs was shaken. Henceforth every inch of the ground had to be fought for, every fortified place taken. It was this guerrilla warfare that had demoralised the Greek soldiers. No more they had to meet shaky armies of degenerated empire, ready to leave the field of battle at the first clash of arms. But they had now to meet men of different calibre, armed men who would stick to their post till hewn to death. Thus when they were first surprised while they were engaged in fields, the Mālavas did not tamely submit, but took shelter in a nearby stronghold. Then from city to city the carnage of war continued. On the fortified heights of Tulumba, and at Kot-Kamalia, they resisted the invader. They went so far as even to make the desert and jungle their homes rather than be slaves to the foreign conqueror, and it was when Alexander had exposed himself to gravest danger that the last Malloi city fell. The Greek writers in order to magnify Alexander convey the impression that Mālava tribe was practically annihilated, but that was far from the case. Both the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas are mentioned in Patañjali as we have seen above. Arrian too definitely tells us that the leading men from the Mallois and Oxydrakois came to conclude a treaty with Alexander, and a treaty was concluded. If there was practical annihilation, why then was there a treaty? Did Alexander conclude treaties with the people of Messaga, Aornos, Darius III, and others? A treaty is possible with a partially defeated people; it does not imply annihilation. What were the exact terms of the treaty we do not know, but these were probably some of the terms, namely,

1 *Ibid.* p. 234.

ontribution of chariots and horses or cavalry, and an annual tribute.¹

When they were attacked by Alexander, the Mālavas seem to have been in a fairly high state of civilization. They were mainly an agricultural community. Thus when Alexander made a surprise attack on them, they were engaged in their fields. They impressed the Greeks with their appearance, being men of tall stature and dignified bearing. "Their robes were of linen wrought with purple and gold." They also seem to have developed a currency of their own. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar draws our attention to a statement of Quintus Curtius referred to by General Cunningham: "that near the junction of the five rivers Alexander received from the Malli and Sudracae a present of 100 talents of white iron (*ferri candidi*). This white iron can be either nickel or tin. But tin was soft metal, therefore unsuitable for coinage; besides it was well known to the Greeks who would not have, therefore, called it white iron. Nickel, on the other hand, thinks Cunningham, is hard and magnetic, as well as white, and as it was not known to the Greeks they could call it white iron. Thus in his (Cunningham's) opinion Nickel was used for purpose of currency by the Indian tribes, Mālavas and Kṣudrakas, in the time of Alexander."²

With this ends the first stage of their history. We have no further information about their continuing to remain in this reign. Neither Kauṭilya nor Megasthenes mentions them. They seem to have migrated southwards and settled somewhere in Rajputana. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, in his *Hindi History of Rajputana*, has devoted but one page to an account of them which, unfortunately is very scrappy and uncritical.³ We will, therefore, try to reconstruct their history so far as it relates to their settlement in Rajputana. Just sixty-one years ago Carlyle found no less than 600 coins belonging to the Mālavas at Nāgar, also called Karkkoṭaka-Nagar, lying in

1 *Ibid.* Pp. 154 and 249.

2 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, P. 144.

3 Ojha — *Rājputānāki Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 96.

the territory of Raja of Uṇiārā a feudatory of Jaipur.¹ Carllyle traced the names of forty kings, but Smith found only twenty. A large portion of this hoard appears to have been lost. These Mālava coins are remarkable for their small size, and one of them which is No. 106 in Smith's *Catalogue* is regarded by him as the smallest in the world.² He remarks: "It is difficult to understand how such a coinage could have been used, as it was used for centuries." The size of the coins, however, can suggest only one thing — the low economic condition of the tribe.

In 1923 Mr. R. O. Douglas wrote a paper called "On some Mālava Coins" which was published in J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XIX, (N. S.) P. 42 ff. That paper is important in some respect. His reading Mālaya instead of Mālava on some coins is noteworthy, but even he has not been able to throw light on the name of supposed kings of the tribe, which, as noted above, are about forty according to Carllyle, and twenty according to Smith. But are they really names of any kings at all? Some of them are *Magaja*, *Magojaya*, *Majupa*, *Mayojapa*, *Mapaya*, and so forth. It will be seen that most of them begin with "Ma" and consist of permutations and combinations of five letters *Ma*, *ga*, *ja*, *sa*, *ya*. The probability is that these letters constitute not names so much, as abbreviations. In fact it was suggested to me long ago by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, that the three letters *Magaja* which occur for instance, on coins 82-84 of Smith's *Catalogue* and which had been taken to be the name of a king looked like an abbreviation of the legend: *Mālava-gaṇasya jayah* which occurs for instance on coins Nos. 58-61. As stated above it is worthy of note that the Mālava coins are very small in size. To engrave the whole legend, therefore, on any one of its surfaces must have caused considerable difficulty. This seems to be the reason why the legend was abbreviated into these three letters. Similarly it is a habit with the coin manufacturers not to engrave each letter fully and entirely. Thus what looks like the letter *pa* in *Mapaya* may be *la*, and *Mapaya* might thus stand for *Mālava* equal to *Mālava*.

1 Cunningham — *A. S. R.* vol. VI, 1871-3, pp. 72ff.

2 V. A. Smith — *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 178.

Mr. Douglas has already shown that the tribal name is sometimes written *Mālaya* instead of *Mālava*. Similarly *Mapaja* may be explained as equivalent to *Māla-jayah* equal to *Mālava jayah*. Again *Magajasa* may be equivalent to *Mālava-ganasya yaśaḥ*. It is thus not at all improbable to take these letters as the abbreviated forms of the legend. Otherwise we are compelled to weave the most fantastic names out of them.

I have already stated that the *Mālavas* were in south-western part of the Punjab before they migrated to the *Nāgar-Chāl* province of Jaipur State. If any proof is needed, it is furnished by the fact that the legend on some of the coins has to be read from right to left as in *Kharoṣṭhī* which is almost an unprecedented thing in *Brāhmī*; this is certainly due to their northern origin, where *Kharoṣṭhī* was the prevalent script since the Achaemenid conquest of North-west India. *Kharoṣṭhī* died a natural death in the 4th century A. D. It is thus evident that the *Mālavas* must have been settled in Jaipur area much earlier than this period. This is in keeping with the fact that the legend on the earliest coins as noted by Mr. Douglas are in *Prakrit* and not in *Sanskrit*. The *Mālava* occupation of this region is further confirmed by the Nasik Cave Inscription of *Uṣāvadāta*, a Śaka, son-in-law of *Kṣatrapa Nahapāna*.¹ It is inexplicable how Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha has lost sight of such an important fact in his *History of Rajputana*. The Nasik Inscription informs us that *Uṣavadāta* had gone at the command of his lord, who can be no other than *Nahapāna*, to relieve the Chief of *Uttamabhadras* who had been besieged by the *Mālavas*, who fled away at the mere sound of his approach, and were made the prisoners of the *Uttamabhadras*. *Uṣavadāta* is represented as afterwards having gone to *Puṣkaras* seven miles west of *Ajmere*. It is thus clear that the *Mālavas* were then settled in South-eastern part of Jaipur State. That the *Mālavas* were the same as *Mālavas* can not be doubted after the reading vouched for by Mr. Douglas on the coins examined by him. Thus we see that both on the first and second occasions the real cause of their migration was defeat at the hands of superior powers.

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 44.

It has been noted above that on most of their coins the term *Gaṇa* is associated with Mālava. It further deserves to be noticed that the inscriptions also speak of the Mālava *gaṇa*. The question that arises now is : what does *Gaṇa* signify? Rai Bahadur Ojha blindly following in the foot-steps of Monier-Williams and Fleet has taken the word to mean 'jāti'. In his Sanskrit-English Dictionary Monier-Williams translated the word by 'tribe'. This meaning was adopted by Fleet in his translation of the phrase *Mālava-gaṇasthiti* occurring in the two Mandasor Inscriptions.¹ Following them the Rai Bahadur has translated the English word by the Hindi term *jāti*, which means not only a tribe, but also a caste. It was Mr. K. P. Jayaswal who first pointed out that *gaṇa* signified a republic,² and Prof. Bhandarkar afterwards pointed out that it denoted a tribal oligarchy, — a federation of clans.³ The latter view is now generally accepted, but it was Mr. Jayaswal who placed the scholars on the right track, and Dr. Thomas challenged the late Dr. Fleet fifteen years ago in regard to the correctness of his rendering of the word *gaṇa* by tribe.⁴ Rai Bahadur Ojha's book was published but six years ago, and it is, indeed, a matter of regret that he has failed to take note of the exact significance of the term *gaṇa*. It will be thus seen that the Mālavas were a *gaṇa* — a tribal oligarchy, — at any rate from circa. 150 B. C. to circa. 550 A. D.

It is well known that the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta speaks of the Mālavas. In fact, they head the list of the tribes which were tributaries of the Gupta Emperor. The question arises : where are the Mālavas to be located in the Gupta period? It does not seem very difficult to find an answer. The scholars are fully aware that the years of the Vikrama Era were designated *Kṛta* in the Gupta epoch and earlier,

1 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp. 72ff & 79ff,

2 Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 29.

3 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 165, and *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 110.

4 *J. R. A. S.* 1914, pp. 413 and 1010; 1916 p. 162,

and that the Mālavas were somehow associated with them. The typical verse is found in the Mandasor Inscription of Narvarman which runs thus :— "*Śrī(r) -m Mālava-gaṇāmnāte praśaste kṛta-saṃjñite ...* " The second expression *Kṛta-saṃjñite* which qualifies the phrase expressing the date shows that "*Kṛta*" was the original name of the Vikrama Era. But what does the first expression, *Mālava-gaṇāmnāte*, signify ? It must mean "traditionally handed down by the Mālava Gaṇa", and indicates that the Mālavas had their own peculiar system of computing the Kṛta years. This point has already been dwelt upon by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and it is not, therefore, necessary to deal with it further.¹ Suffice it to say that the Mālavas were connected with the Kṛta Era so far as their system of reckoning went. Wherever the Kṛta years are specified in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, the name of the Mālavas occurs in most cases. We have, therefore, to see where these inscriptions have been found which associate the Mālavas with the Kṛta years. They are Mandasor in the Gwalior State, Kaṇṣuvām in the Kotah State, Nāgarī in Udaipur State, and so forth. These inscriptions are found within an area marked by longitude N. 23-26 and latitude E. 74-77. It will be thus seen that the Mālavas in the Gupta period were no longer confined to the Nāgar-chāl province of the Jaipur State, but had moved southwards and settled in a province comprising south-eastern part of Rajputana and north-west part of Central India. Shortly after Gupta period the Mālavas seem to have migrated still further southwards. In the *Gurvāvali-Sūtra* of Dharmasāgaragaṇi, Śrī Devendrasūri is represented to have gone from Ujjayinī in Mālavaka to Gurjaratrā (Gujarat).² It seems that Mālavaka touched Gujarat. Curiously enough this agrees with what the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chawang has stated.³ He makes *Po-lu-ka-che-po* (Bharoach) and *Mo-la-po* (Mālava) as two conterminous states about the middle of the 7th century A. D. He also tells us that Mālava was situated on the south-eastern side of the *Mo-ho* (v. l. *Mo-hi*=*Māhi*) river. This is also

1 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 187-94.

2 Weber — *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II, 990.

3 Watters — *Yuan Chawang*, Vol. II, p. 241.

confirmed by the copper-plate grants of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena II, dated G. E. 320-21.¹ The first inscription records that the king made a grant on the eastern boundary of Navagrāmaka in the *bhukti* of Mālavaka, whereas the second refers to his grant of land on the southern boundary of Candraputraka in the *bhukti* of Mālavaka. It is known that both these charters were found in the Rutlam State, and as a matter of fact Navagrāmaka mentioned in the copper-plate grant has been identified with Nogāwā in the same state. What is further noteworthy is that the Rutlam State is situated on the south-eastern side of the Mahī river at its source. This concurrent testimony points to the conclusion that in the post-Gupta period the Mālavas had occupied a province including the modern Rutlam State.

It must not however be supposed that the Mālavas migrated southward only. In the post-Gupta period they seem to have gone eastward also. All the copper-plates of Pāla kings excepting that of Dharmapāla refer to the Kulikas or cultivators as consisting not only of the Khasas and Hūṇas but also of the Mālavas. The above account of the Mālavas refers to the pre-Muhammadan times. Before, however, we conclude this paper, it would be well to notice whether they survive in the modern period. It is well known that there is a province called Malwa in Central India. "It consists solely of the plateau lying between 23° 30' and 24° 20' N and 74° 30' and 78° 10' E. which is terminated on the south by the great Vindhyan range, on the east by the arm of the same range which strikes north from Bhopal to Chanderi (the Kulācala parvata of the Purāṇas), on the west by the branch which reaches from Amjheri to Chitor (in Rajputana), and on the north by the Mukundwara range which is from Chitor to Chanderi²."

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 188 ff.

2 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, pp. 95-100.

It is also worthy of note that the name Mālava has survived not only in that of a province as just noted, but also in those of two Brāhmaṇa castes. They are called the 'Mālavīs' or 'Mālavikas'. They are the proper Brāhmaṇas of Mālava and the adjoining country. They are not only found in their special habitat, but also in Gujarat on one hand, and Central Provinces and United Provinces on the other. Perhaps the most noteworthy example of this caste is Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. These 'Mālavi' Brāhmaṇas, however, are isolated from their main stock in Malwa.¹

¹ Wilson — *Indian Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 114 and 189. Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, P, 153.

⁵ [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

ON THE DATE OF ŚRĪKANṬHA AND THE BRHAT-SAMHITĀ

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA, B. A. (Hons.)

Writing in the maiden number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, on the knotty problem of "the date of Śrīkanṭha and his Brahma-Mīmāṃsā",¹ Mr. T. R. Chintamani permits himself an unhappy digression in a foot-note wherein he bitterly complains against Śrī Madhvācārya having quoted the verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलम् ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ति च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

from "an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Brhat-Samhitā*"; and concludes with pretentious familiarity that "perhaps the source referred to by Śrī Madhvācārya in this connection is on a par with the Kātharāyaṇa — Mātharāyaṇa sources from which he is in the habit of citing certain *Śruti* texts!"

The writer's anxiety to create for himself many opportunities and lose none to criticise Madhva though obvious is yet highly regrettable. For, I perceive no earthly connection, from the writer's treatment of the problem at any rate, between the problem of Śrīkanṭha's date and Madhva's citing a verse (albeit also cited by the former) from the *Brhat-Samhitā*. That the writer himself was only too plainly conscious of the blessed irrelevance of Madhva's quotation to his subject is betrayed by the fact that he himself has to resort to the luxury of a foot-note to censure Madhva.

Having come to the happy conclusion that "Śrīkanṭha should have flourished about the middle of the 13th century" (p. 67), Mr. Chintamani proceeds to give some corroborative evidence and it is here that he introduces the verse 'उपक्रमोपसंहारौ' etc. Says he

1 The date of Śrīkanṭha and his Brahmamīmāṃsā, by T. R. Chintamani, M. A., Research Student, University of Madras. *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. i, part 1; January 1927.

"The date we have thus arrived at is confirmed by the following reference. Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलम् ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

"My revered preceptor, Professor S. Kuppusvami Sastrigal, has been able to identify¹ this verse as Akhaṇḍānanda's. Akhaṇḍānanda in his *Tattvadīpana* refers to this verse with the following remarks :

अत्र संग्रहश्लोकः

‘उपक्रमोपसंहारा.....’

Edition of *Tattvadīpana* in the

Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 687.

"It is a well-known fact that *Saṁgraha-śloka*s are the compositions of authors who refer to them as such²" (Italics mine).

I am sure, Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppusvami Sastri would certainly disclaim any conspicuous or extra-ordinary ability in tracing the verse in question in a printed prose work such as the *Tattvadīpana*; and I have no manner of doubt that he would be the last man to identify himself, sympathise with or lend his weighty support to the attacks and insinuations of his precocious pupil, Mr. Chintamani, against Madhva.

It would appear from the foregoing quotations that Mr. Chintamani would regard Śrīkaṇṭha as later than Akhaṇḍānanda for the very simple reason that the former quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो.....' in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, which has been -- in the writer's opinion -- shown to have been composed by Akhaṇḍānanda. Since Śrīkaṇṭha "belongs" to the middle of the 13th century, "Akhaṇḍānanda belongs to the beginning of the 13th century."

In spite of assiduous attempts, Mr. Chintamani has not successfully demonstrated a clear case of borrowing on the part of Śrīkaṇṭha from Akhaṇḍānanda. On the contrary, the occurrence of the verse in Śrīkaṇṭha as well as in the other, would at

1 The opening verse of the leading article in this number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, could similarly be identified as an unacknowledged adaptation with a change of the last quarter, of a well-known verse in the *Nilakaṇṭha Vijaya* of Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita; Madras 1924.

2 Op. cit., p. 68.

best only indicate that both have it from a common source. Nor is the verse indubitably Akhaṇḍānanda's own though quoted as a *Saṁgraha śloka*. Mr. Chintamani himself admits that "Akhaṇḍānanda is indebted to his teacher Prakāśātman for this verse" and that "with slight modifications, Akhaṇḍānanda adopted the verse and gave it as a *Saṁgraha śloka*¹" -- whatever one may think of the intellectual honesty involved in such a procedure. Anyhow it is amusing to note that Mr Chintamani's dictum that "it is a well-known fact that *Saṁgraha ślokas* are the compositions of authors who refer to them as such" (p. 68) is miserably contradicted by himself at the very next page.

Nor does it appear very necessary that Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse in question from Akhaṇḍānanda. There is nothing to support such a very original notion in Śrīkaṇṭha's work. In the first place, Mr. Chintamani does not express the entire truth when he baldly observes, "Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो.....'". Indeed, Śrīkaṇṭha quotes it with a significant remark: तथा पठन्ति which shows that the verse so quoted is of hoary antiquity -- being, in fact, the stock-in-trade of all Vedāntins. Śrīkaṇṭha is not likely to have borrowed it from Akhaṇḍānanda. There is no valid reason to support such a conjecture other than the flimsy one of *Saṁgraha ślokas* being the compositions of authors who refer to them as such which is so pathetically negated in the same breath by the writer himself. Nor is 'तथा पठन्ति' the usual or legitimate manner of acknowledging such a debt!

Lastly, Śrīkaṇṭha's priority to Madhva seems to be established by the repudiation of the pro-Śaiva interpretations of *śrutis* in the former's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* by Madhva in his *Anu-Vyākhyāna*. The strong Vaiṣṇavite tenor of Madhva's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and the strong plea which he puts forth on behalf of the supremacy of Viṣṇu throughout his commentary and notably in the commentary on the very first *Sūtra*² appear to be directed pointedly towards the repudiation of an

1 Loc. cit., p. 69.

2 ब्रह्मशब्दश्च विष्णवेव । न चेतर्ग्रन्थविरोधः । न च वैष्णवेषु तथा । तच्चैष मोहमित्युक्तं ॥ अनुमानतोऽन्ये न कल्पनीयाः

equally vehement and passionate Śaivite interpretation¹ of the *Sūtras*. The plausibility of Śrīkaṇṭha's work having been the one which Madhva ought to have had in view, is established beyond doubt by an actual and elaborate refutation of the Śaivite interpretation of the Upaniṣadic text :

‘ कृतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् ।
ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं ’

sponsored by Śrīkaṇṭha, in Madhva's *Anu-vyākhyāna* :

स्यादेतत् । ब्रह्मशब्दबलेनात्ममयादीनां विष्णुत्वं न निश्चेतुं शक्यते । ‘ कृतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलं । ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं शंकरं नीललोहितम् ’ इति तापनीयवाक्ये रुद्रेऽपि परं ब्रह्मश्रवणात् इत्यतः पूर्वोत्तरार्धे भिन्नविषयत्वेन व्याख्याति² ॥

In the *Ānandamaya* chapter Śrīkaṇṭha proclaims Śiva as the *ānandamaya* :

अतोयमानन्दमय आत्मा जीव एव न परमेश्वरः इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः आनन्दमयोयमात्मा परमेश्वर इति । कुतः । अभ्यासात्³ ॥ and Madhva naturally, is eager to refute this view as can be seen from his inclusion of the contention that *ānandamaya* is रुद्रः (परमेश्वर of Śrīkaṇṭha) in the *pūrvapakṣa* and from his *siddhānta* that *ānandamaya* is Viṣṇu : आनन्दमयो ब्रह्मादिः प्रकृतिर्विष्णुर्वा ? । ब्रह्मशब्दाद्विरण्यगर्भप्राप्तिः । शतानन्दनाम्ना च । अष्टमूर्तित्वात्सूर्यं प्रोक्तत्वाच्च रुद्रस्य । तथापि न ते आनन्दमय शब्देनोच्यन्ते किंतु विष्णुरेव⁴ ॥ These two instances would suffice to establish that Madhva is endeavouring to refute the Śaivite interpretation already current and established in his days. The probable identity of the Śaivite commentator responsible for those views with Śrīkaṇṭha deserves careful consideration especially when the views criticised by Madhva are directly traceable to Śrīkaṇṭha's *Bhāṣya*.

It is also significant to note Jayatīrtha echoing the term अभियुक्त used by Śrīkaṇṭha : तथा ह्यभियुक्तावदन्ति (p. 50) : न च तच्छास्त्रं विष्णुपरमिति वाच्यं । अभियुक्तैः शिवादिपरत्वे न व्याख्यातत्वात्⁵ ॥

1 शिव एको ध्येयः । अन्यथा कथं संसारनिवृत्तिः । शिव एको ध्येयः शिवंकरः सर्वमन्यत्परित्यज्येति शिवव्यतिरिक्तस्य मुमुक्षुणां ज्ञेयत्वं च परिसंख्यायते । अतः शिव एव परं ब्रह्म ।

Śrīkaṇṭha : *Brahma Mīmāṃsā*, Mysore Oriental Library Series, p. 25.

2 *Nyāya Sudhā* of Jayatīrtha, p. 128.

3 Śrīkaṇṭha, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

4 Madhva : *Commentary on Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 12.

5 *Nyāya Sudhā*, p. 112.

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Literary tradition among the commentators of the Dvaita school also endorses the view that Madhva implied a criticism of Śrīkaṇṭha also. The author of the *Candrikāprakāśa*¹ in commenting on Vyāsātīrtha's *Candrikā* indicates the Śaiva-Viśiṣṭa-dvaita tenets refuted² by Madhva. Vādirāja Svāmin roundly asserts that Madhva's work was the last word on the Vedānta :

अन्ते सिद्धस्तु सिद्धान्तो मध्वस्यागम एव हि³ ।

an assertion which could not have been made if the Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya had come later than Madhva. Vādirāja Svāmin is not usually an ill-informed person in such matters.

It would thus appear that Śrīkaṇṭha must have been a predecessor of Madhva, who falls entirely within the 13th century (1199-1272 A. D.). Śrīkaṇṭha must therefore have flourished at least a century earlier and may therefore be placed in the 12th century. Śrīkaṇṭha's emphatic Śaivite interpretation could thus be shown to have been directed against Rāmānuja and it will then be clear how Madhva had a double task of reclaiming and reaffirming the Supremacy of Viṣṇu as well as of refuting the Śaivite interpretations of Śrīkaṇṭha.⁴

Mr. Chintamani places Akhaṇḍānanda in the beginning of the 13th century. It is therefore quite impossible that Śrīkaṇṭha ever borrowed from or was otherwise indebted to Akhaṇḍānanda who was later than himself ; nor even from Prakāśātman who must have been, at the worst, a contemporary of his. Madhva, too, was a contemporary of Akhaṇḍānanda and to begin his philosophical career by misappropriating a verse from Akhaṇḍānanda must have sounded hideous to him — Mr. Chintamani's verdict notwithstanding, — especially when he could have had access to it in the earlier works of Śrīkaṇṭha and Sudarśana Sūri.

1 *Tātparya Candrikā* of Vyāsātīrtha with Comm., *Prakāśa*, by Rāghavendra Tīrtha, Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore.

2 Op. cit., Vol. i, p. 72.

3 *Yukti-mallikā* of Vādirāja Svāmin.

4 Cf. यदत्र कश्चिदुपक्रमादिना शिव एव वेदान्ततात्पर्यावधारणमत्र प्रतिज्ञायत इत्याह, तनु पूर्वाधिकरणोदाहृतवचनैः प्रत्यधिकरणं भाष्योक्तश्रुत्यादिभिः विष्णुपरोपक्रमादितात्पर्यलिङ्गैः विष्णोर्वेव तात्पर्यावधारणोपपादनेन मां विधत्तेऽभिधत्ते मामित्यादिरमृत्याच विरुद्धत्वादपेक्षलं बोध्यम् ॥

Candrikā Prakāśa, p. 72.

Mr. Chintamani seems to have been blissfully innocent of the fact that Sudarśana Sūri, the illustrious commentator on the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja shows clear traces of his acquaintance with the verse, 'उपक्रमो...' of which he quotes more or less the first half :

प्रमाणान्तराविरोधश्च तात्पर्यलिङ्गं । उपक्रमोपसंहारादिषु अपूर्वत्वमपि तात्पर्य-
लिङ्गतया ह्युक्तं । अभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलमिति । अपूर्वत्वं च साधकवाचकप्रमाणागोचरत्वं¹ ।

Sudarśana, apart from the probability of his having been slightly earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda, is not likely to have borrowed the verse from him. Mr. Chintamani, had he known Sudarśana's familiarity with the verse, would certainly have convicted him also of misappropriation. Sudarśana, then, has entirely escaped scot-free, thanks to the writer's ignorance. Anyhow, there is no doubt that the verse goes back to some source far earlier than Sudarśana.

We are therefore constrained to observe that Mr. Chintamani has come out rather very badly in the first part of his self-imposed task of settling the date of Śrīkaṇṭha. He seems somehow to have missed the royal road to successful research which lies in a patient collection of all available and unimpeachable references in the works of Śrīkaṇṭha², Madhva and Akhaṇḍānanda (if the last has any thing at all to do with the vexed question of Śrīkaṇṭha's date) to the views of their predecessors and contemporaries and then proceed to examine how far any one of them presupposes, quotes or criticises the other. Mr. Chintamani however seems to have set about it in the wrong way by

1 *Śrī Bhāṣya* with the Comm. of Sudarśana, p. 328; Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889.

2 The phrase पूर्वचार्यैः कलुषितं at the outset of Śrīkaṇṭha's Bhāṣya is taken by some to pre-suppose a reference to Madhva also and thus is relied upon to establish Śrīkaṇṭha's posteriority to all the three famous Bhāṣyakāra's of S. India. But firstly too rigid a numerical signification need not be attached to the casual use of the plural which could be explained otherwise; secondly, the required number of three Bhāṣyakāras can still be made up without including Madhva among predecessors of Śrīkaṇṭha; and thirdly because of the surmise of Madhva's probable inclusion in the phrase being negated by traces of his having used Śrīkaṇṭha.

attempting to make the whole problem turn on a stray quotation by Madhva of a certain verse "from an anonymous but contemporary work."

II

THE BRHAT SAMHITĀ

Worse is the fate that hath overtaken him in the other part of his self-imposed task of proving Madhva to have misappropriated the verse 'उपक्रमो' from the *Tattvadīpana*.

Mr. Chintamani remarks rather patronisingly, "This verse, in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*, seems to have become familiar to Śrī Madhvācārya through an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Br̥hat Samhitā*". (Italics mine). To be sure, Madhva quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो' in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 4, from the *Br̥hat Samhitā*; but there is nothing in this to occasion such a huge surprise. However, he manages to overcome his surprise and proffers a critical piece of advice to his readers that "this *Br̥hat Samhitā* ought to be differentiated from the astronomical work of the same name." The advice is quite unwarranted since not even a tyro of Madhva's works would confound for a moment, the two *Br̥hat Samhitās*. Perhaps, it is but the recrudescence of a subjective experience of the writer himself! Mr. Chintamani, however, finally declares for the supreme enlightenment of his readers "A *Br̥hat Samhitā* has been published as No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series. I have carefully examined the work and the verse in question does not occur anywhere in that work. Perhaps the source referred to by Śrī Madhvācārya " (Italics mine). All the trouble and credit of this amazing process of research is grievously annulled when it is revealed that No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series is not a *Br̥hat Samhitā* merely but a *Br̥had Brahma Samhitā* !! 'नहि त्रिषुत्रो द्विषुत्र इत्युच्यते' must certainly have escaped the notice of Mr. Chintamani! No wonder, therefore, that despite strenuous efforts Mr. Chintamani could not trace the verse quoted by Madhva from the *Br̥hat Samhitā* in the *Br̥had Brahma Samhitā*. One cannot, therefore, but heartily pity him for having wasted his critical acumen in the wrong place!

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Granting that the verse quoted by Madhva could not be found in the misleading No. 68 of the Ānandaśrama Series, it does not prove that the same must necessarily have been misappropriated from Akhaṇḍānanda's work or for the matter of that, even from Prakāśātman's *Śabdanirṇaya*.¹ The whole serio-comic is badly exposed when it is brought to light that Madhva has quoted not only the unfortunate verse 'उपक्रमः' from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (whatever it is), but also not less than twenty-five others in various places in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. Nor is this all. In his commentary on the *Śrī Bhāgavata* Madhva again quotes as many as eleven lines from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. I may take this opportunity of recording all the verses quoted from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* for obvious reasons.

यत्रानवसरोऽन्यत्र पदं तत्र प्रतिष्ठितं ।
 वाक्यं वेति सतां नीतिः सावकाशो न तद्भवेत्² ॥
 उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।
 अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये³ ॥
 शिरो नारायणः पक्षः दक्षिणः सत्य एव च
 प्रद्युम्नश्चानिरुद्धश्च संदोहो वासुदेवकः
 नारायणोऽथ संदोहो वासुदेवः शिरोपि वा
 पुच्छं संकर्षणः प्रोक्त एक एव तु पञ्चधा
 अङ्गाङ्गित्वेन भगवान्क्रीडते पुरुषोत्तमः
 ऐश्वर्यान्नविरोधश्च चिन्त्यस्त्वास्मिन् जनार्दने
 अतर्क्यं हि कुतस्तर्कस्त्वप्रमेये कुतः प्रमा⁴ ॥
 यथाहि पौरुषं सूक्तं विष्णोरेवाभिधायकं
 न तथा सर्ववेदाश्च वेदाङ्गानि च नारद⁵ ॥
 आत्मान्तरात्मेति हरिरेक एव द्विधा स्थितः
 निविष्टो हृदये नित्यं रसं पिबति कर्मजम्⁶ ॥
 परस्परविरोधे तु वाक्यानां यत्र युक्तता
 तत्रैवार्थः परिज्ञेयः नावाक्या युक्तिरिष्यते
 विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः
 तत्र दृष्टानुसारेण तेषामर्थोन्वयेक्ष्यते⁷ ॥

1 I hope, Mr. Chintamani would not have us believe that Madhva's references to and citations from a *Śabdanirṇaya* are really from Prakāśātman's *Śabdanirṇaya* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series !

2 Madhva on *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 1.

3 Ibid., i, 1, 4,

4 Ibid., i, 1, 15.

5 Ibid., i, 2, 26.

6 Ibid., i, 2, 11.

7 Ibid., ii, 1, 18.

6 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

एकोऽविभक्तः परमः पुरुषो विष्णुरुच्यते
 प्रकृतिः पुरुषः कालस्त्रय एते विभागतः
 चतुर्भिस्तु महान्प्रोक्तः पञ्चमाहं कृतिर्मता
 तद्विभागेन जायन्ते आकाशाद्याः पृथक् पृथक् ।
 यो विभागी विकारः स सोऽविकारः परोहरिः
 अविभागात्परानन्दः नित्यो नित्यगुणात्मकः
 विभागो ह्यल्पशक्तित्वं न तदस्ति जनार्दने¹ ॥
 न युक्तियोगाद्वाक्यानि निराकार्याण्यपि क्वचित्
 विरोध एव वाक्यानां युक्तयो न तु युक्तयः² ॥
 श्रोत्रादीनां तु पञ्चैव तथा वागादि पञ्चकं
 मनोबुद्धिसहायानि द्वादशैवेन्द्रियाणि तु
 विषयद्रवणात्तेषामिन्द्रियत्वमुदाहृतं
 तेषां नियामकः प्राणः स्थित एवाखिलप्रभुः³ ॥
 पार्थिवानां शरीराणामर्थेन पृथिवी स्मृता
 इतरेषां त्रिभागिन्य आपस्तेजस्तु भागतः
 इति सामान्यतो ज्ञेयं भेदस्तु प्रतिपूरुषं
 स्वर्गस्थानां शरीराणामर्थं तेज उदाहृतं⁴ ॥
 न देवानभिकाक्षेत कुत एव हरेर्गुणान्
 प्राजापत्यान् चार्षे च गान्धर्वादीनपि क्वचित्
 ऋष्यादिषु विशेषेतु दोषो नैव विशेषतः⁵ ॥
 अनादि जन्मसंबन्धं निभेतुं पापपञ्जरम् ।
 यावत्या सेवया शक्यं तावत्कार्यं न संशयः
 यावदूरे स्थितो गम्यात्तावद्दन्तव्यमेव हि
 इह जन्मान्तरे वापि तावत्यैव तु दर्शनं
 श्रवणं मननं चैव निदिध्यासनमेव च
 परे गुरौ च या भक्तिः परिचर्यादिकं हरेः
 एषा सेवेति संप्रोक्ता यया तद्दर्शनं भवेत्⁶ ॥
 विद्वेषिणोऽप्युदासीना भक्ता अपि न संशयः
 हरेर्हि सदनं यान्ति व्यक्तं भक्तैस्तु गम्यते
 आरभ्य तम आमुक्तेः कृष्णस्य सदनं यतः
 अन्यत्तहारिलोकत्वादन्येषामस्य लोकता⁷ ॥
 यथेष्टभावनाद्विष्णुरनुभूः परिकीर्तितः

1 Ibid., ii, 3, 7.

2 Ibid., ii, 1, 26.

3 Ibid., ii, 4, 18.

4 Ibid., ii, 4, 23.

5 Ibid., iii, 4, 42.

6 Ibid., iii, 4, 50.

7 *Bhāgavata Tātparyā* of Madhva, II, 7, 34.

उदधिः कर्मणामीशः सर्वः पूर्णगुणो यतः
 सत्यः केवलसारत्वात् नियमो नियते रजः^१ ॥
 तपः प्रियं सदा विष्णोस्तपसैवाप्यते हरिः
 स्वयं च तपसैवेदं विभर्ति ज्ञानमेवाह
 तपःशब्दाभिधं प्रोक्तं ज्ञानरूपो हरिर्यतः
 ज्ञानवीर्यो ज्ञानबलो ज्ञानानन्द उदाहृतः^२ ॥

I have also "carefully examined" No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series and not one of the verses quoted by Madhva from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* "occur in that work anywhere" which proves that apart from the obvious difference in their respective titles, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* should not be 'confounded' with the *Bṛhad Brahma Saṃhitā* as is most regrettably done by Mr. Chintamani. It will be news to him that Madhva himself makes a distinction between *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and a *Brahma Saṃhitā* and actually quotes from the latter. The identity of the latter, however, with No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series is tho' probable yet unproven.

A patient and sympathetic attention to the large number of verses quoted by Madhva from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* in his works, would show that they are on a variety of topics. A close scrutiny of their order and arrangement would also reveal many interesting facts. For instance, two or more verses are sometimes quoted consecutively dealing with a single topic. At other times, a half of a preceding or following verse is found together with a given complete verse. The interesting variety of topics with which they deal — theology, psychism, devotion, the physical constitution of bodies, etymology, and rules of interpretation go a long way to indicate that they are genuine quotations from a work now lost to us.

It is also significant to note that besides 'उपक्रमो' there are four other verses quoted in different contexts but all dealing with the proper method of interpretation and reconciliation of texts which proves that the verse 'उपक्रमो.....' has a legitimate place in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and was not (and in fact could not have been) falsely ascribed to an imaginary *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*.

1 Op. cit., ii, 2, 7.

2 Op. cit., ii, 9, 24.

Another important fact to be noticed in this connection is that one of the verses concerning the canons of interpretation cited by Madhva from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and later on quoted by Vyāsarāja Svāmin in his *Nyāyāmṛta* is seen to be quoted and passed over in silence by Madhusūdana Sarasvati in the *Advaita Siddhi*.¹ Now, from what we know of Madhusūdana, we can safely say that he would certainly have denied the genuineness of the text from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* rather than taken the trouble of quoting it and passing it over. Instances are not wanting² wherein Madhusūdana refuses to subscribe to the genuineness of texts cited by Madhva. Hence we may safely conclude that Madhusūdana had no difficulty in admitting the text 'विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः' as a genuine citation from a genuine work known as *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*.

The foregoing observations would establish the genuineness of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* once extant but no longer available. Instances are not rare of 'Saṃhitās' such as the present one which are known to have existed once through quotations in later works; but which to-day, have passed into the limbo of the forgotten and the irrecoverable. Rāmānuja and Madhva both quote from a *Parama Saṃhitā*; Sudarśana quotes from a *Śrīkūlottara* and Madhva again quotes from a *Prakāśa Saṃhitā* all of which are now completely lost. The present writer, however, has great pleasure in announcing to such as are interested that a small fragment of the *Prakāśa Saṃhitā* is extant and that a transcription from an old manuscript copy of it (also extant) is still in his possession. There is no inherent impossibility in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* having been extant in the times of Madhva nor is there any reason to discredit the Ācārya's statement so far as we know.

Anent "the Kāṭharāyaṇa-Māṭharāyaṇa sources from which he (Madhva) is in the habit of citing certain *Śruti* texts," time

1 विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः ।

तत्र दृष्टानुसारेण तेषामर्थान्वेक्ष्यते ॥ quoted in the *Pūrvapakṣa; Advaita Siddhi* p. 105, Śrī Vidyā Press, Kumbhakonam, 1893. The same text would be found quoted by Madhva under ii, 1, 18 (*Vedānta Sūtra*) and extracted on p. 237 ante.

2 'सत्यंभिदे'ति तु न भेदाभ्यासः । एतद्वाक्यस्य अप्रामाणिकत्वात् । Op. cit., p. 286,

and patient research alone would bring to light most of the untraceable *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis* quoted by Madhva in his works; but the attitude of mind which posits in the name of Madhva *Śrutis* even he has not cared to 'fabricate' will neither farther research in that direction by one single step nor reflect credit on the maker of such wild accusations.

Now for the question whether Akhaṇḍānanda is to be regarded as the *de facto* author of the verse 'उपक्रमो'; which, "in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*, seems to have become familiar to Śrī Madhvācārya." (Italics mine). The insinuation embodied in the italicised phrase needs no comment. On Mr. Chintamani's own showing, the verse goes back to an earlier source. I am really surprised at Mr. Chintamani's serious misrepresentation and deliberate misquotation from Akhaṇḍānanda. Says he "Akhaṇḍānanda refers to this verse with the following remarks :

अत्र संग्रहश्लोकः

‘उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।

अर्थवादोपपत्ति च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ’ ॥

Edition of the *Tattvadīpana* in

the Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 687."

But the real and undistorted fact is that Akhaṇḍānanda refers to the verse with the remark :

तथा च संग्रहश्लोकः

‘उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासो’ इति

Mr. Chintamani substitutes अत्र for तथाच in the original and altogether omits 'इति' of Akhaṇḍānanda and offers an emended

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- 1 The fact is that Madhva has cited only Kāṣāyaṇa and Māṭhara *Śrutis* in his works besides others but nowhere has he cited anything like Kāṭharāyaṇa and Māṭharāyaṇa *Śrutis*. Perhaps the *Śrutis* foisted on Madhva by Mr. Chintamani are the result of his original researches into the works of Madhva ! A learned critic of Madhva is said to have confounded the Tura *Śruti* of Madhva with Catura *Śruti*. Evidently Mr. Chintamani has tried to improve upon this prototype.
 - 2 The presence of this इति coupled with तथाच... would seem to indicate that Akhaṇḍānanda himself was quoting it faithfully from some earlier source.

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version. But this is playing tricks with evidence which cannot go undetected. I can only add how painful it is for me to expose the frantic attempts of Mr. Chintamani to foist the verse on Akhaṇḍānanda by such artificial means of questionable probity.

Far from emanating for the first time either from Akhaṇḍānanda or his preceptor, the *Tātparyā Līngas* (enumerated in the verse) have been the stock-in-trade of all Vedāntins from time immemorial. The six *Tātparyā Līngas* or principles of interpretation are as old as the *Vedānta Sūtras*. In fact, these enjoyed among the Vedāntins the same recognition and importance which the Mīmāṃsakas gave to another set of six canons of interpretation: श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानं समवाये पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात्¹। the order of authority here being in the ascending order from the last :

श्रुत्यादीनामतःषण्णामेकार्थोपनिपातिनां ।
पूर्वं पूर्वं बलीयः स्याद्दुर्बलं चोत्तरोत्तरम्² ॥

There is a remarkable parallelism³ between the two sets of canons and it is not altogether rare to find even the Mīmāṃsakas making use of the canons of their compeers, the Vedāntins. References to अपूर्वता, फलं and अर्थवाद are common enough in Mīmāṃsā literature :—

प्रतीयते विधिश्चायं बलीयानर्थवादतः ।
प्रधान्यात्प्रक्रमस्थत्वाद्प्राप्तविषयत्वतः ॥

उपक्रमस्थत्वाच्चासंजातविरोधो विधिर्निर्विघ्नमेव स्वार्थं बोधयन्नुपसंहारस्थं स्वविरुद्धमर्थवादे लक्षणां नयति⁴ ॥

फलार्थेषु गुणेषु स्याद्वाक्यभेदोऽर्थभेदतः ।
उपक्रमोपसंहारसाम्याच्चावैकवाक्यता⁵ ॥

1. *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* iii, 3, 14.

2. *Sūtradīpikā*, p. 249, Bombay, 1915.

3. Cf. उपक्रमादिलिङ्गानां बलीयो ह्युत्तरोत्तरं ।
श्रुत्यादेः पूर्वपूर्वं तु बलानर्कविनिर्णयात् ॥

4. *Sūtradīpikā* p. 91.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

The speculative age of the Upaniṣads which had already given currency to a number of new technical terms in logic¹ could not possibly have failed to evolve canons of interpretation corresponding to 'उपक्रमो'. Bādarāyaṇa himself makes striking use of some of them : अभ्यास, फलं and उपपत्ति. In the *Samanvaya Sūtra* तत्तु समन्वयात्, he tacitly admits the application of all the *Tātparya Lingas* in arriving at a satisfactory interpretation of the divergent testimony of the Upaniṣads in regard to the nature of Brahman. He himself makes significant use of *abhyāsa* : आनन्दमयोऽभ्यासात् ; *upapatti* : अन्तरउपपत्तेः अनुपपत्तेस्तु न शरीरः and of फल. Śaṅkara notes Audulomi's resort to *arthavāda* in his commentary.²

Prakāśātman himself in his *Śabdaniṣaya* declares that the identity of the individual with the Supreme is established by the proper application of the *Lingas* उपक्रम etc., in the interpretation of texts. His own statement,

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।

अर्थवादोपपत्ती च यतो जीवस्ततः परः ॥

does not give the impression that the '*Lingas*' herein brought together originate for the first time from him. On the contrary, Prakāśātman is visibly anxious to find support for his thesis in the hoary interpretational traditions of the Vedānta as embodied in the verse 'उपक्रमो'. This is quite clear from his own commentary on the verse : यस्मिन्वाक्ये षड्विधं तात्पर्यलिङ्गं यस्मिन्नर्थे गम्यते तद्वाक्यं तत्परमित्यध्यवसीयते whereupon he cites the relevant texts embodying these *Lingas* and concludes : एवं यतः वेदान्तवाक्येषु जीवस्य ब्रह्मात्मतायां वाक्यतात्पर्यलिङ्गानां षण्णां समुच्चयो ऽवकल्पो वा यथायोगं गम्यते

1 Cf. "In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Kāthopaniṣad* etc., there occur such terms as *tarka* (debate), *yukti* (continuous argument), *jalpa* (wrangling), *vitandā* (cavil), *chala* (quibble), *nirṇaya* (ascertainment), *prayojana* (purpose), *pramāṇa* (proof), *prameya* (object of knowledge)" etc. *History of Indian Logic*, Vidyabhushan, p. 23, Calcutta 1921.

2 'चितितन्मात्रेण तदात्मकत्वादित्यौडलोमिः' * * * * अत एव जक्षणादिसंकीर्तनमापि दुःस्वाभावमात्राभिप्रायं स्तुत्यर्थं ॥ इत्यौडलोमिराचार्यो मन्यते ।

Śaṅkara Bhāṣya on iv, 4, 6.

ततः परमात्मैवायं जीवः¹ ॥ Attention must be drawn to his use of the terms तात्पर्यलिङ्ग etc. without any explanation and to his reference even to the exact number of them as six inspite of the fact that actually seven *Liṅgas* are embodied in the verse given by him. The point is that उपक्रम and उपसंहार came to be treated as one *Liṅga* and the assumption of this attitude by Prakāśātman (see comm., ante) without any explanation also shows that even by the time of Prakāśātman and necessarily long before him, the Vedāntins had effected the amalgamation which continued to pass muster. This again, presupposes the popularity of the seven *Liṅgas* from very early days and Prakāśātman could not certainly have invented² them. Neither was he the first person to codify them for reasons already detailed. On the contrary, Prakāśātman seems to have simply adopted the well-known verse *mutatis mutandis* in his *Śābdanirṇaya*,

The author of the *Pañcapādikā* has clearly anticipated the *Tātparyā Liṅgas* though he does not make out an elaborate inventory of them which is done by Prakāśātman in his *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa*. Padmapāda's several references,

पदानां परस्परानवाच्छिन्नार्थानां अनन्याकाङ्क्षाणां अन्यतिरिक्तैकसप्रतिपादक-
मात्रान्वयः (समन्वयः³) ।

तथासति, तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यानां निरुपचरितब्रह्मात्मैक्यावगमः पदसमन्वयः विना-
कारणेन स्वेच्छामात्रेण संपर्क्षादिपरः परिकल्प्येत । तदवगमनिमित्तं च मिथ्याज्ञाना-
पायपूर्विका विस्मृतहस्तगतसुवर्णावातिवत् ब्रह्मप्राप्तिः फलमनुभवारूढमपहूयेत⁴ ॥

तदेवं वृद्धव्यवहारानुसारेणैव समन्वयानुसरणे⁵ सति तद्रम्यं ब्रह्म ॥

1. *Śābdanirṇaya* pp. 69-70. The most significant and 'tell-tale' lacuna here being the absence of the finite verb which betrays the verse in its true colors as an excerpt *mutatis mutandis*, it is easy to see that the verse is not a self-sufficing composition of Prakāśātman.
2. Nor is Śaṅkara the inventor, much less the codifier of the *tātparyā liṅgas* for the first time as is fondly believed by some. In fact Śaṅkara has nowhere referred to all the six *tātparyā liṅgas* in a connected manner in one place, nor given the verse embodying them in his *Bhāṣya* beyond noting in one place : उपक्रमोपसंहाराभ्यामैकार्थतावगमात् ॥ (III, 3, 36),
3. *Pañcapādikā* of Padmapāda, p. 84, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series.
4. Op. cit., p. 91.
5. Op. cit., p. 98,

prove that he was fully aware of the six *Tātparyā Liṅgas* and the use that Śaṃkara desires to be made of them.

The prevalence of these *Tātparyā Liṅgas* long before Prakāśātman is established by Padmapāda's references to फल, अर्थवाद etc. and by Vācaspati Miśra's references to some of them :—

नचैतान्युपक्रमपरामर्शोपसंहारैः क्रियासमभिहारेणीदृगात्मतत्त्वं अभिदधति तत्पराणि सन्ति शक्यानि शक्रेणाण्युपचरितार्थानि कर्तुं ; अभ्यासेहि भूयस्त्वमर्थस्य भवति¹ ॥

येनवाक्यमुपक्रम्यते येनचोपसंह्रियते तदेव वाक्यार्थ इति शाब्दाः² ॥

Reference has already been made to Sudarśana Sūri's familiarity with the verse.

Prakāśātman brings out clearly all the six *Tātparyā Liṅgas* anticipated by Padmapāda :

तच्च तात्पर्यं यस्मिन्नर्थे वाक्यस्योपक्रमोपसंहारैकरूप्यं³ यस्याचार्थस्य पुनः पुनरभ्यासो यस्मिन्नर्थे फलविशेषसंकीर्तनं अपूर्वार्थप्रमेयताच यत्रचार्थवादोपादानमुपपत्तिभिरुपपादनं चेत्यादीनि लिङ्गानि भवन्ति, तस्य वाक्यस्य तस्मिन्नर्थे तात्पर्यं⁴ ।

तस्मादुक्तानि तात्पर्यलिङ्गानि ब्रह्मणि दृश्यन्ते⁵ । and indicates at length the relevant Upaniṣadic texts embodying them.

It will be seen from the foregoing passage of the *Vivaraṇa* that its author has indicated at length the application of the six *Tātparyā Liṅgas* embodied in the well-known verse 'उपक्रमो' without himself quoting it in the *Vivaraṇa* but which he gives *mutatis mutandis* in his *Sābdanirṇaya* where the last quarter यतो जीवस्ततः परः seems to have been specially introduced in place of the regular one : लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ।

1 *Bhūmati* of Vācaspati Miśra, p. 8, (with Kalpataru and Parimala) Nirṇayasāgar Press, 1917.

2 Op. cit., p. 103.

3 Mark the reference to उपक्रम and उपसंहार as one *liṅga* here also without any attempt to explain the same.

4 *Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa* of Prakāśātman, p. 235, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, 1892.

5 Ibid.

7 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.].

246 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

Now, Akhaṇḍānanda, after making the necessary comments on the *Vivaraṇa* passage quoted above, cites the full verse too, which sums up the *Līngas* not with the remark अत्रसंग्रहश्लोकः which would mean that the *Śloka* is from his own pen but with the significant remark तथाच संग्रहश्लोकः 'उपक्रमो' इति' which implies that he is eager to bring the various texts quoted and correlated with their particular *Līngas* by Prakāśātman himself into line with the well-known verse giving the *Tūlparāya Līngas*. तथाच तात्पर्यलिङ्गसंग्राहकः प्रसिद्धः उपक्रमोपसंहा निर्णये इत्ययं श्लोकोऽस्मिन्नर्थे जागर्तीत्यर्थः—such will be the most legitimate and reasonable conclusion we have to draw from the manner of Akhaṇḍānanda's introducing the verse. I am afraid, Mr. Chintamani has no right to evade this natural interpretation of Akhaṇḍānanda after having purposely distorted his statement and given a curiously perverted misquotation.

We have already demonstrated Śrīkaṇṭha's priority to Akhaṇḍānanda. Even if our reasonings may not convince everybody, it is admitted by Mr. Chintamani himself that Śrīkaṇṭha was not removed from Akhaṇḍānanda by more than a couple of decades. In any case, it is clearly demonstrable that the verse goes back for earlier than both Śrīkaṇṭha and Akhaṇḍānanda. Śrīkaṇṭha cites the verse with the remark "वेदान्तवाक्यानां ब्रह्मणि तात्पर्यनिर्णायकानि कानि लिङ्गानीति चेदुपक्रमादानि तथा पठन्ति² 'उपक्रमो...' इति³" which is coolly and completely omitted by Mr. Chintamani. The phrase तथापठन्ति attests the hoary antiquity of the verse in question. Śrīkaṇṭha, as a predecessor of both Madhva and Akhaṇḍānanda, could not have borrowed the verse from Akhaṇḍānanda unless Mr. Chintamani now revises the dates he has assigned to both Akhaṇḍānanda and Śrīkaṇṭha. Secondly, if Śrīkaṇṭha had been in any manner indebted to Akhaṇḍānanda for the verse, he would have made the fact clearer by some such acknowledg-

1 *Tattvadīpana* of Akhaṇḍānanda, p. 687, Benares Sanskrit Series.

2 Śrīkaṇṭha *Brahma Mimāṃsā Bhāṣya*, p. 21, Mysore Oriental Library Series.

3 Attention has already been drawn to the significance of the term. See *ante* p. 241.

ment as तथोक्तं तत्त्वदीपने. The phrase तथा पठन्ति seems to smack more of indebtedness to some Purāṇic source.¹

This is happily confirmed by another quotation from some Śaiva Āgama work which Śrīkaṇṭha gives in which the *Tātparyā Lingas* are clearly presupposed :—

य उपक्रमादिभिस्तात्पर्यनिर्णयः तदेव वेदान्तवाक्यानां श्रवणमित्युच्यते । तथाह्युच्यते

अज्ञानप्रभवं दुःखं ज्ञानं तस्य निवर्तकं ।

सर्ववेदान्तवाक्यानां श्रवणं तत्प्रवर्तकं ॥

श्रवणं नाम वाक्यानां वैदिकानां परावरे ।

उपक्रमादिभिर्लिङ्गैः शिवे तात्पर्यनिर्णयः ॥ इति² ॥

This Āgama work must have been at least a century earlier than Śrīkaṇṭha and if the *Lingas* "उपक्रम etc.," are to be found presupposed in it, it readily stands to reason that they were far earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda — whatever his date.

Rāmānuja, who was certainly earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda in one place remarks :

उपक्रमविरोध्युपसंहारवाक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चयो न घटते³ ।

The probability of the verse 'उपक्रमो...' going back to some Purāṇic source (as supposed by Madhva), is endorsed by some quotations in Vidyāraṇya's *Vivaraṇa Prameya Saṃgraha* :

एतच्छ्रुतितात्पर्यस्यैव पुराणेषु प्रतिपादित्वाद् ।

तथाहि

श्रोतव्यः श्रुतिवाक्येभ्यो मन्तव्यश्चोपपत्तिभिः ।

मत्वाच सततं ध्येय एते दर्शनहेतवः ॥

तत्र तावन्मुनिश्रेष्ठाः श्रवणं नाम केवलं ।

उपक्रमादिभिर्लिङ्गैः शक्तितात्पर्यनिर्णयः⁴ ॥

1 Cf. मनोमहान्मातिब्रह्मा पूर्बुद्धिः ख्यातिरिश्वरः ।

प्रज्ञासंविच्चिनिश्चैव स्मृतिश्च परिपठ्यते ॥

Śaṅkara Bhāṣya i, 4, 1.

2 *Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya* p. 21, Mysore Oriental Library Series.

3 Rāmānuja's *Vedārtha Saṃgraha*, Pandit Reprints, p. 47.

4 *Vivaraṇa Prameya Saṃgraha*, Bengali Edn., Basumati Sahitya Mandir, Calcutta, pp. 7-8.

The exact identity of the Purāṇa is not however clear. There seems, however, to be some distant parallelism in tone to these verses in some of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* verses cited by Madhva :

श्रवणं मननं चैव निदिध्यासनमेव च ।

परे गुरौ च या भाक्तिः परिचर्यादिकं हरेः ॥

The reference to श्रवण, मनन and निदिध्यासन in both the sets of verses cannot simply be accidental. Nor is it without significance that "the *Līngas* such as उपक्रम etc.," should have been referred to in both the works — the one cited by Vidyāraṇya and the other by Madhva. Our quest for the parentage of the verse 'उपक्रमो...' leads us to unexpected quarters. Amalānanda in his *Sūtradarpaṇa*¹ seems to discern some of the *Tālparya Līngas* in some *Śruti* texts ! Granted that the verse 'उपक्रमो' is a genuine Purāṇic text, it can readily be traced to some *Śruti* text in conformity with a well-known Mīmāṃsaka dictum. It may not be entirely idle to point out for the serious consideration of scholars that Nārāyaṇa² in his commentary on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *Siddhānta Bindu* actually quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो' "in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*" as a *Śruti* text which whatever we may think of it, is much more startling and monstrous than Madhva's mere ascription of it to "an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* !"

However that may be, the suggestion may not after all be out of place here that the '*Purāṇa*' cited by Vidyāraṇya may be identical with the source referred to by Madhva as *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. Not infrequently, the texts and sources referred to by Madhva are found to be corroborated by earlier and later Advaitins. I shall bring my article to a close by referring to only one such instance of the citation of the verse :

1 श्रुतिः सच्चिदानन्दैकरसमेकात्मभूतं ब्रह्मोपक्रमपरामर्शोपसंहारैकरूप्यात्तात्पर्येणावगमयन्ती नोपचारमर्हति ॥ Bengali Edn., p. 656, Lotus Library, Śāka 1839.

2 उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।

अर्थवाद्गोपनी च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यानिर्णये ॥

इति श्रुत्या प्रकृतलिङ्गवद्कोपेत एव श्रुतीनां तात्पर्याक्तः ।

Siddhānta Bindu with Comm. of Nārāyaṇa, p. 238, Benares Sanskrit Series, 65, 1928,

अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखं ।

अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

quoted by Madhva from the *Skānda* in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* among a number of other verses from the same source which is corroborated by Padmapāda in his *Pañcapādika*¹ :

तथा च पौराणिकाः “अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं

The verse ‘अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं’ is as popular and authoritative among the Vedāntins as ‘उक्त्रमोपसंहारो’ etc. Madhva’s ascription of it to the *Skānda* is fully confirmed by Sudarśana Sūri’s classical commentary on the *Śrī Bhāṣya*² while its Purāṇic genuineness is admitted by Padmapāda.

It is not improbable that in the absence of such an earlier admission of and cross reference to the Purāṇic authenticity of this verse, Madhva’s ascription of it to the *Skānda* would certainly have been questioned by born sceptics and Madhva-phobes like Mr. Chintamani. Providence alone has to be thanked for yet preserving — sometimes prominently and at other times completely hidden from the searching eyes of enthusiastic researchers — some traces of the numerous texts cited by Madhva; and in the interests of historical and critical scholarship let us hope that many more texts and sources referred to by Madhva will in the near future be brought to light.

1 *Pañcapādika* p. 82,

2 *Śrūta Prakāśa* of Sudarśana, pp. 11-12, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889.

PALI CHRONICLES

BY

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The *Dīpavaṃsa* or the Chronicle of the Island of Lāṅkā is the earliest known work of its kind. It puts together certain well-known traditions handed down among the Buddhists of Ceylon, sometimes in a clumsy manner. Its diction is in places unintelligible, and its narrative is dull and interrupted by repetitions. Its authorship is unknown. The canonical model of this work is to be traced in a number of verses in the *Parivārapāṭha* of the *Vinayapiṭaka*. The *Dīpavaṃsa* is an authoritative work well-known in Ceylon at the time of Buddhaghosa, and as a matter of fact the great Pali commentator has copiously quoted from it in the introductory portion of his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*. Dr. Oldenberg has cited and translated the book into English. He says that the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* are in the main nothing but two versions of the same substance both being based on the historical introduction to the great commentary of the *Mahāvihāra*. The *Dīpavaṃsa* follows step by step and almost word for word the traces of the original. According to Oldenberg the *Dīpavaṃsa* cannot have been written before 302 A. D. because its narrative extends till that year. If we compare the language and the style in which the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* are written, it leaves no doubt as to the priority of the former. The *Dīpavaṃsa* was so popular in Ceylon that King Dhātusena ordered it to be recited in public at an annual festival held in honour of an image of Mahinda in the 5th century A. D. (Vide the *Dīpavaṃsa* edited by Oldenberg, Introduction, pp. 8-9). Dr. Geiger has published a valuable treatise known as the *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa* (1904).¹ An idea of its contents can be gathered from the summary given below.

1 *Dīpavaṃsa und: Mahāvaṃsa und die geschichtliche überlieferung in Ceylon*, Leipzig, 1905. Translated into English by E. M. Coomaraswamy, *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*, Colombo, 1908.

The first chapter gives an account of Buddha's first visit to the island of Laṅkā. Gotama obtained perfect enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree. He surveyed the whole world and perceived the island of Laṅkā, a dwelling place fit for saints. He foresaw that Mahinda, the son of the Indian King Aśoka, would go to the island and propagate the Buddhist faith there. Accordingly he placed a divine guard over the island. He visited Laṅkā and drove the Yakkhas, inhabitants of the place, out of the island.

Buddha visited the island for the second time when the island was on the verge of being destroyed by a terrific war which ensued between the mountain-serpents and the sea-serpents. The Lord exhorted them to live in peace and all the serpents took their refuge in him.

His third visit to the island was in connection with an invitation he got from the Nāga King Maṇiakkhika of Kalyāṇī.

The Dipavaṃsa then traces Buddha's descent from the Prince Mahāsammata, the first inaugurated king of the earth. Gotama Buddha was the son of Suddhodana, chief of Kapilavatthu and Rāhulabhadda was the son of Gotama. Mention is also made of many other kings who reigned before Suddhodana and after Mahāsammata.

A brief account of the first two Buddhist Councils and the different Buddhist schools that arose after the second council is also given. The first council was held under the presidency of Mahākassapa and under the patronage of Ajātasattu. The first collection of Dhamma and Vinaya was made with the assistance of Upāli and Ānanda. The second council was held during the reign of Kālāsoka. The Vajjiputtas proclaimed the ten indulgences which had been forbidden by the Tathāgata. The Vajjiputtas seceded from the orthodox party and were called the Mahā-sāṃghikas. They were the first schismatics. In imitation of them many heretics arose, e. g., the Gokulikas, the Ekabbohari-kas, the Bahussutiyas, etc. In all there were eighteen sects — seventeen heretical and one orthodox. Besides these there were other minor schools.

The Dipavaṃsa further deals with the reign of the great Indian King Asoka, the grandson of Candagutta and son of Bimbisāra, and the notable events that took place in his time. It was during his reign that Mahinda went to Ceylon and spread Buddhism there with the help of the Ceylonese King Devānaṃpiyatissa who was a contemporary of Asoka the Great. It is said that this great king built 84,000 vihāras all over the Jambudvīpa. The third Buddhist Council was held under the presidency of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa and under the patronage of Asoka. After the council was over the Thera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries (Gandhāra, Mahisa, Aparantaka, Mahārāṭha, Yona, Himavata, Suvannabhūmi, and Laṅkā) for the propagation of Buddha's religion.

The Dipavaṃsa gives a brief account of the colonization of Ceylon by Vijaya, son of the King of Vaṅga, and also a systematic account of kings of Ceylon who ruled after Vijaya and their activities in promoting the cause of Buddhism. Sihabāhu, King of Vaṅga, enraged at the bad conduct of Vijaya, his eldest son, banished him from his kingdom. Vijaya with a number of followers went on board a ship and sailed away on the sea. They in course of their journey through the waters visited the sea-port towns of Suppāraka and Bharukaccha and later on came to Laṅkā-dīpa. Vijaya and his followers set on colonising this country and built many cities. Vijaya became the first crowned king of the island. After Vijaya we find a long list of kings among whom Devānaṃpiyatissa stands out pre-eminent.

It was during the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa that Buddhism was first introduced into Laṅkā through Mahinda who at the instance of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, the President of the Third Council, went to Ceylon for the propagation of the Buddhist faith there. It may be noted here that the great Indian King Asoka was a contemporary of Devānaṃpiyatissa and that they were in friendly terms. Asoka sent a branch of the Bodhi-tree of the Tathāgata to Laṅkā which was planted with great honour at Anurādhapura.

After the death of Devānaṃpiyatissa Buddhism was not in a flourishing condition. The immediate successors of the king

were weak. The *Damīlas* came over to *Laṅkā* from Southern India and occupied the country. The people were tired of the foreign yoke. They found in *Dutthagāmaṇi*, a prince of the royal family, who could liberate the country from the foreign domination. *Dutthagāmaṇi* at the head of a huge army drove the *Damīlas* out of the country. He was the greatest of the Sinhalese kings. Whether as a warrior or a ruler, *Dutthagāmaṇi* appears equally great. He espoused the cause of Buddhism and built the *Lohapāsāda*, nine storeys in height, the *Mahāthūpa*, and many other *vihāras*. Indeed Buddhism was in its most flourishing condition during the reign of this great king.

Dutthagāmaṇi was followed by a number of kings, among them *Vatthagāmaṇi* was the greatest. His reign is highly important for the history of Buddhist literature. It was during his reign that the *bhikkhus* recorded in written books the text of the three *Piṭakas* and also the *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Vatthagāmaṇi* was also succeeded by a number of important kings. The account of the kings of Ceylon is brought down to the reign of king *Mahāsena* who reigned for 27 years from circa 325 to 352 A. D.

At the close of the 4th century A. D. there existed in Ceylon, an older work, a sort of chronicle of the history of the island from very early times. The work was a part of the *Aṭṭhakathā* which was composed in old Sinhalese prose mingled with Pali verses. The work existed in the different monasteries of Ceylon and on it, the *Mahāvamsa* is based. The chronicle must have originally come down to the arrival of *Mahinda* in Ceylon; but it was later carried down to the reign of *Mahāsena* (4th century A. D.) with whose reign the *Mahāvamsa* comes to an end. Of this work, the *Dīpavamsa* presents the first clumsy redaction in Pali verses. The *Mahāvamsa* is thus a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the *Dīpavamsa* as a sort of commentary on the latter.

Author The author of the *Mahāvamsa* is known as *Mahānāman*.

A well-known passage of the *Cūlavamsa* alludes to the fact that King *Dhātusena* bestowed a thousand pieces of gold and gave orders to write a

8 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

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dīpikā on the Dipavaṃsa. This dīpikā has been identified by Fleet with the Mahāvamsa; and if this identification be correct, then the date of its origin is more precisely fixed. Dhātusena reigned at the beginning of the 6th century A. D., and about this time the Mahāvamsa was composed.

The historicity of the work is established by the following
Histicity of the work facts :—

(a) As to the list of kings before Asoka, namely the nine Nandas, Candagutta and Bimbisāra, the statements concerning Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu as contemporaries of the Buddha agrees with canonical writings, and in respect of the names, with those of the Brahmanic tradition. In the number of years of Candagutta's reign, the Ceylonese tradition agrees with the Indian. Candagutta's councillor Cāṇaka (Cāṇakya) is also known.

(b) The conversion of Ceylon, according to the Chronicles, was the work of Mahinda, son of Asoka, and this is confirmed to a considerable extent by the fact that Asoka twice in his inscriptions (Rock Edicts XIII & II) mentions Ceylon to be one of the countries where he sent his religious missionaries, and provided for distribution of medicines. It receives further support from Hiuen Tsang who mentions Mahendra, a brother of Asoka, expressly as the man by whom the true doctrine was preached in Sinhala. Even before Mahinda, relations existed between India and Ceylon, for the chronicles relate that Asoka sent to Devānaṃpiyatissa presents for his sacred consecration as the king of Ceylon.

(c) An inscription from a relic-casket from Tope No. 2 of the Sāñci group gives us the name of Sapurisasa Mogaliputasa who, according to the tradition, presided over the third Council under Asoka's rule. There is no doubt that he is identical with Moggalliputta Tissa of the Ceylonese Chronicles.

(d) The narrative of the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from Uruvelā to Ceylon finds interesting confirmation in a representation of the story on the reliefs of the lower and middle architrave of the East gate of the Sāñci stūpa.

(e) The contemporaneity of Devānaṃpiyatissa with Asoka is established on the internal evidence of the Dipavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa, as well as by archæological evidence. Another contemporaneity of King Mahāvarman reigning from C. 352-379 A. D. with Samudragupta is established by the Chinese account of Wang Hientse.

(f) There is a general historical reminiscence underlying the stories of three Buddhist Councils recorded in the Chronicles.

But the historical statements are not always infallible; and the longer the interval between the time of the events and the time when they are related, the greater the possibility of an error, and the more will be the influence of legend noticeable. As regards the period from Vijaya to Devānaṃpiyatissa, there is a considerable distrust of tradition and traditional chronology. Also during the period from Devānaṃpiyatissa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there is matter for doubt. But in the later periods we encounter no such difficulties and impossibilities. The chronology is credible, the numbers appear less artificial, and the accounts more trustworthy.

In the ninth month after Buddhahood, when the Lord Buddha was dwelling at Uruvelā, he one day personally went to Laṅkā and converted a large assembly of Yakkhas as well as a large number of other living beings. After this, he came back to Uruvelā but, again in the fifth year of his Buddhahood when he was residing in the Jetavana, he, in an early morning out of compassion for the Nāgas went to the Nāgadīpa (apparently the north-western part of Ceylon) where he preached the five moral precepts and established the three refuges and converted many Nāgas. The Lord then came back to Jetavana, but, again, in the eighth year of his Buddhahood the Teacher, while dwelling in the Jetavana, went to Kalyāṇi and preached the Dhamma, and then came back to Jetavana.

Text — the visit of
the Tathāgata

The Chapter II gives a long list of kings beginning with Mahāsammata from whose race sprang the Great Sage, the Tathāgata. Descendants of this race of kings ruled in Kuṣāvati, Rāja-

The Race of Mahā-
sammata

gaha and Mithilā, and they reigned in groups in their due order. One group whose chief was Okkāka ruled at Kapilavatthu and was known as the Śākyas. In this line was born Yasodharā, a daughter of king Jayasena, and she was married to Sakka Añjana. They had two daughters, Māyā and Pajāpatī, who were both married to Suddhodana, a grandson of Jayasena and son of Sihahanu. The son of Suddhodana and Māyā was the Lord Buddha whose consort was Bhaddakaccānā, son was Rāhula, great friend was Bimbisāra, and another contemporary was Bimbisāra's son, Ajātasattu.

The first Buddhist Council¹ was convened three months after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha (at Kuśīnārā)
 The Three Buddhist Councils in the Sattapanni Cave at Rājagaha where his nearest disciples followed by seven hundred thousand Bhikkhus and a large number of lay men assembled to establish the most important rules of the Order as, according to their recollection, the Master himself had laid down. The work of the compilation was entrusted to Thera Ānanda and Thera Upāli. Thera Upāli spoke for the Vinaya, and Thera Ānanda for the rest of the dhamma; and Thera Mahākassapa seated on the Thera's chair asked questions touching the Vinaya. Both of them expounded them in detail and the Theras repeated what they had said. The work of the First Council took seven months to be completed, and the Council rose after it had finished compilation of the Dhamma, and the canon came to be known as Thera Tradition.

A century after the parinibbāna of the Buddha when Kālāsoka was the reigning king, there were at Vaiśālī many Bhikkhus of the Vajji clan who used to preach the ten points of Buddhism. But the Theras of Pāvā and Avantī with their leader, the great Thera Revata, declared that these ten points were unlawful, and wanted to bring the dispute to a peaceful end. All of them followed by a large number of Bhikkhus then went to Vaiśālī and there met the Bhikkhus of the Vajji clan. Kālāsoka too

1 Prof. Przyluski's *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pt. I, pp. 8, 30, 66 and 116 should be consulted. Read also *Buddhist Councils* by Dr. P. C. Majumdar published in the *Buddhistic Studies*, Edited by Dr. B. C. Law,

went there, and, hearing both sides, decided in favour of the true faith, held out by the Theras of Pāvā and Avantī. The brotherhood then came together finally to decide, and Revata resolved to settle the matter by an *Ubbāhikā* wherein four from each of the two parties were represented. Thera Revata, in order to hold a council, chose also seven hundred out of all that troop of Bhikkhus, and all of them met in the Vālikārāma and compiled the Dhamma in eight months. The heretical Bhikkhus who taught the wrong doctrine founded another school which came to bear the name Mahāsāṅghika.

The Third Council was held under better circumstances during the reign of King Asoka at the Asokārāma in Pāṭaliputta under the guidance and presidentship of Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Within hundred years from the compilation of the doctrine in the Second Council, there arose eighteen different sects in the Buddhist Order with their respective schools and systems, and another schism in the Church was threatened. At this time, 218 years from the parinibbāna of the Buddha, Asoka came to the throne, and after a reign of four years, he consecrated himself as king Pāṭaliputta. And, not long after, Sāmaṇera Nigrodha preached the doctrine to the king, and confirmed him with many of his followers in the refuges and precepts of duty. Thereupon the King became bountiful to the Bhikkhus and eventually entered the doctrines. From that time the revenue of the brotherhood was on the increase but the heretics became envious, and they too, taking the yellow robe and dwelling along with the Bhikkhus, began to proclaim their own doctrines as the doctrine of the Buddha, and carry out their own practices even as they wished. They became so unruly that King Asoka was obliged to arrange an assembly of the community of Bhikkhus in its full numbers at the splendid Asokārāma under the presidency of Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Then did the king question one by one on the teachings of the Buddha. The heretical Bhikkhus expounded their wrong doctrine, upon which the king caused to be expelled from the Order all such Bhikkhus and their followers. Only the rightly believing Bhikkhus answered that the Lord taught the Vibhajja-doctrine, and this was supported and confirmed by Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Three thousand learned Bhikkhus were then

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selected to make a compilation of the true doctrine under the guidance of the great Thera, and they completed their work at the Asokārāma in nine months.

Vijaya of evil conduct was the son and prince regent of King Sihabāhu, ruler of the kingdom of Lāla; but he was banished from the kingdom by his father for his many intolerable deeds of violence. Boarded on a ship with his large number of followers with their wives and children, Vijaya first landed at Suppāraka, but afterwards, embarking again landed in Laṅkā in the region called Tambapaṇṇi, where he eventually married and consecrated himself as king and built cities. After his death, he was succeeded by his brother's son Paṇḍuvāsudeva who married Subhaddakaccāna and consecrated himself as king. He was in his turn succeeded by his son Abhaya who was followed by Paṇḍukābhaya. Between Paṇḍukābhaya and Abhaya, there was no king for 17 years.

Paṇḍukābhaya's son Muṭasiva followed his father and was succeeded by his second son Devānaṃpiyatissa whose friend was Dhammāsoka whom he had never seen, but to whom he was pleased to send a princeless treasure as a gift. Dhammāsoka appreciated the gift, and sent as a return-gift another treasure to Devānaṃpiyatissa who was now consecrated as King of Laṅkā.

After the termination of the Third Council, Moggalliputtatissa Thera, in order to establish the religion in adjacent countries, sent out learned and renowned missionaries to Kāśmīr, Gandhāra, Mahisamaṇḍala, Varavāsa, Aparāntaka, Mahārāṭṭha, Suvanna-bhūmi (Burma), and to the Yona country. To the lovely island of Laṅkā, he sent there Mahinda, the Theras Itṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla to preach the religion.

Mahinda, then a monk, came out to Laṅkā with four Theras Saṅghamittā's son Sumana, the gifted Sāmaṇera. Even on their landing many devas, nāgas and supaṇṇas were converted to the doctrine, and he with his followers entered the capital city where people thronged to see him, and he preached the true faith

to them. The wise king Devānampiyatissa heard him explain some of the miracles and teachings and episodes of the life of the Buddha, and became one of his most devoted patrons. The king then built for the great Thera the Mahāvihāra, henceforth known as the Mahāmeghavanārāma which the Thera accepted. Next the king built for him and his followers, another vihāra on the Cetiyapabbata, henceforth known as the Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra, which too the Thera accepted. The wise king then became eager to enshrine one of the relics of the Great Lord the Buddha in a stūpa, so that he and the followers of the faith might behold the Conqueror in his relics and worship him. Upon his request Mahinda sent Sumana to King Dhammāsoka with the instruction to bring from him the relics of the Sage and the alms-bowl of the Master, and then to go to Sakka in the fair city of the gods to bring the collar-bone of the Master from him. Sumana faithfully carried out the instruction, and when he landed down on the Missaka mountain with the relics, the king and the people were all filled with joy, and thirty thousand of them received the Pabbajjā of the Conqueror's doctrine. Later on the king sent his nephew and minister Aritṭha again to Dhammāsoka to bring the Bodhi-Tree, which at Dhammāsoka's approach, severed of itself and transplanted itself in the vase provided for the purpose. Aritṭha then came back on board a ship across the ocean to the capital with the holy tree and a gay rejoicing began. With the Bodhi-tree came also Therī Saṅghamittā with eleven followers. The Tree and its Saplings were planted with due ceremony at different places, and royal consecration was bestowed on them. Under the direction of the Thera Mahinda who converted the island, Devānampiyatissa continued to build vihāras and thūpas one after another, and thus ruled for 40 years, after which he died. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, prince Uttiya; but in the eighth year of his reign, the great Thera Mahinda, who had brought light to the island of Laṅkā died at the age of sixty; and the whole island was struck with sorrow at his death, and the funeral rites were observed with great ceremony.

After a reign of ten years Uttiya died, and was followed by Mahāsīva, Sūratissa, two Daṁḍas, Sena and Guttaka, Asela and

Elāra, a Damiḷa from the Cola country, in succession. Elāra was killed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi who succeeded the former as King.

Gāmaṇi, for such was his original name, was born of prince Kākavannatissa, overlord of Mahāgāma, and Vihāradevī, daughter of the King of Kalyāṇi. Gāmaṇi was thus descended through the the dynasty of Mahānāga, second brother of Devānampiyatissa. Kākavannatissa had another son by Vihāradevī named Tissa, and both Gāmaṇi and Tissa grew up together. Now when they were ten and twelve years old, Kākavannatissa who was a believing Buddhist, wanted his sons to make three promises ; first, they would never turn away from the Bhikkhus, secondly, the two brothers would ever be friendly towards each other, and, thirdly, never would they fight the Damiḷas. The two brothers made the first two promises but turned back to make the third, upon which their father became sorry. Gāmaṇi gradually grew up to sixteen years, vigorous, renowned, intelligent, majestic and mighty. He gathered round him mighty and great warriors from far and near villages, as well as from the royal and noble families. Gāmaṇi developed a strong hatred towards the Damiḷas who had more than once usurped the throne of Laṅkā, and became determined to quell them down. Now he had gathered a strong army of brave and sturdy warriors round him, he approached his father for permission to make war on the Damiḷas. But the king, though repeatedly requested, declined to give any such permission. As a pious Buddhist devoted to the cult of ahimsā, he could not give permission for war that would result in bloodshed and cruelty. He also dissuaded the warriors to fight for his sons. Gāmaṇi, thereupon, became disgusted with his father, and went to Malaya ; and because of his anger and disgust towards his father, he was named as Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. In the meantime King Kākavannatissa died, and there arose a deadly scramble for the throne between the two brothers, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Tissa. Two battles were fought with considerable loss of life, and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi eventually became victorious. Peace was then concluded and the two brothers began to live together again. He took some time to provide for his people who had suffered during the last wars and then went out to fight against the Damiḷas. He overpowered Damiḷa Chattā, conquered Damiḷa Tittthamba and many

other mighty *Damīla* princes and kings. Deadly were the wars that he fought with them, but eventually he came out victorious and united the whole of *Lāṅkā* into one kingdom. *Gāmaṇi* was then consecrated with great pomp, and not long after he himself consecrated *Maricavāṭṭi vihāra* which he had built up. Next took place the consecration of the *Lohapāsāda*, but the building up of the Great *Thūpa* was now to be taken up. He took some time to the obtaining of the wherewithal, i. e., the materials of the *thūpa* from different quarters, and then began the work in which masons and workmen from far and near did take part and at the beginning of which a great assemblage of *Theras* from different countries took place. When the work of the building had considerably advanced, the king ordered the making of the Relic-chamber in which the relics were afterwards enshrined with due eclat, pomp, and ceremony. But ere yet the making of the *chatta* and the plaster work of the monument was finished, the king fell ill which later on proved fatal. He sent his younger brother *Tissa*, and asked him to complete the *thūpa*, which *Tissa* did. The ill king passed round the *Cetiya* on a palanquin and did homage to it, and left with *Tissa* the charge of doing all the work that still remained to be done towards it. He then enumerated some of the pious works he had done in his life to the *Theras* and *Bhikkhus* assembled round his bed, and one of the *Theras* spoke to him on the unconquerable foe of death. Then the king became silent, and he saw a golden chariot came down from the *Tusita* heaven. Then he breathed his last, and was immediately seen reborn and standing in celestial form in a car that had come down from the *Tusita* heaven.

Dutthagāmaṇi was succeeded by his brother *Saddhā Tissa* who ruled for 18 years, and built many *cetiyas* and *vihāras*. He was followed by *Thūlathana*, *Lañjatissa*, *Khallāṭanāga* and *Vatthagāmaṇi*. The last named was a famous king during whose reign the *Damīlas* became powerful and again usurped the throne. *Vatthagāmaṇi* was thus followed by *Damīla Pulahattha*, *Damīla Bāhiya*, *Damīla Panayamāraka*, *Damīla Pilayamāraka* and *Damīla Dāṭhika*. But the *Damīlas*

9 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

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were dispossessed of their power not long after by Vattagāmaṇi, who now ruled for a few more years.

After his death, his adopted son Mahācūḷi Mahātissa reigned for 14 years with piety and justice. He was followed by Coranāga, Tissa, Siva, Damila Vaṭuka, Brahman Niliya, Queen Anulā, Kūṭakappa Tissa, Bhātikābhaya, and Mahādāthika Mahānāga¹. All of them had short reigns and were builders of vihāras and cetiyas. Anulā was a notorious queen and to her love intrigues at least four kings, Siva, Tissa, Damila Vaṭuka and Brahman Niliya, lost their lives. Except Tissa, they were all upstarts and they rightly deserved the fate that had been theirs.

After Mahādāthika's death, Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya, his son, followed him on the throne. He was followed by Kaṇirajānutissa, Cūḷābhaya, Queen Sivali, Iḷanāga, Candamukhasiva, Yasalālakatissa, Subharāja, Vaṅkanāsikatissaka, Gajabāhukagāmaṇi and Mahallaka Nāga in succession. Most of these kings were worthless, and their merit lay only in the building or extension of vihāras and other religious establishments and in court-intrigues. Two of them, Iḷanāga and Subharāja were however comparatively more noted for their acts of bravery and valour exhibited mostly in local wars.

After the death of Mahallanāga, his son Bhātikatissaka reigned for 24 years. He was followed in succession by Kanitṭhatissaka, Kuḷjanāga, Kuñcanāga, Sirināga Tissa (I), Abhayanāga, Sirināga II, Vijayakumāraka Saṃghatissa, Sirisaṃghabodhi, Goṭhābhaya and Jeṭṭhatissa who are grouped together in a chapter entitled "Thirteen Kings" in the Mahāvamsa. Scarcely there is anything important enough to be recorded about these kings, besides the fact that most of them ruled as pious Buddhists always trying to further the cause of the religion by the foundation and extension of religious

1 In the list of ancient kings of Ceylon the name of Dārubbhatika tissa appears after Damila Vaṭuka (Vide Geiger, Mahāvamsa, Introduction, p. xxxvii).

establishments, and that they carried out the affairs of the kingdom through wars, intrigues, rebellions and local feuds.

The Jetṭhatissa was succeeded by his younger brother, Mahāsena, who ruled for 27 years and during whose reign, most probably, the Mahāvamsa was given its present form. Originally it ended with the death of King Dutthagāmaṇi, but now it was probably brought up-to-date.

On his accession to the throne, he forbade the people to give food to any Bhikkhu dwelling in the Mahāvihāra on penalty of a fine of hundred pieces of money. The Bhikkhus thus fell in want, and they left the vihāra which remained empty for nine years. It was then destroyed by the ill-advisers of the king and its riches were removed to enrich the Abhayagiri-vihāra. The king wrought many a deed of wrong upon which his minister Meghavannābhaya became angry and became a rebel. A battle was imminent, but the two former friends met, and the king, repentant of his misdeeds, promised to make good all the harm done to the religious establishments of Laṅkā. The king rebuilt the Mahāvihāra, and founded amongst others two new vihāras, the Jetavanavihāra and the Maṇihīra vihāra. He was also the builder of the famous Thūpārāma vihāra, as well as of two other nunneries. He also excavated many tanks and did many other works of merit.

Dr. Kern says in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* that the Mahāvamsa deserves a special notice on account of its being so highly important for the religious history of Ceylon. Dr. Geiger who has made a thorough study of the Pali chronicles, has edited the text of the Mahāvamsa for the P. T. S. London and has ably translated it into English for the same society, with the assistance of the late Dr. M. H. Bode. G. Turnour's edition and translation of this text are now out of date. Prof. Geiger has translated it into German. Mrs. Bode has retranslated it into English and Dr. Geiger himself has revised the English translation. There is a commentary on the Mahāvamsa known as the Mahāvamsaṭṭikā (Wamsatthapakāsini revised and edited by Baṭuwantudawe and Nāṇissara, Colombo, 1895) written by Mahā-

nāma of Anurādhapura. This commentary is helpful in reading the text. It contains many additional data not found in the text. Readers are referred to the Mahāwanse, ed. by Turnour, Ceylon, 1837, Mahāvamsa revised and edited by H. Sumāngala Batuwantudawe, Colombo, 1883, and Cambodjan Mahāvamsa by E. Hardy, J. R. A. S. 1902. There is a Sinhalese translation by Wijesinha, Colombo, 1889 (chapter & verse).

It has long been ascertained that both the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa owe their origin to a common source - the Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa of the Mahāvihāra monastery, which, evidently was a sort of chronicle of the history of the island from very early times, and must have formed an introductory part of the old theological commentary (Atthakathā) on the canonical writings of the Buddhists. Both Oldenberg and Geiger, the celebrated editors of the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa respectively, are of opinion that this Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa was composed in Sinhalese prose, interspersed, no doubt with verse in the Pali language. This book (Mahāvamsa-Atthakathā) existed in various recensions in the different monasteries of the island, and the author of both the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa borrowed the materials of their works from one or other of the various recensions of that Atthakathā. This borrowing presumably was independent, and quite in their own way; but even then, in the main, they are nothing but two different versions of the same thing. But as the Dipavamsa had been composed at least one century and a half earlier than the Mahāvamsa, it shows perhaps more faithfulness to the original, i. e., to the Atthakathā, for, as Oldenberg points out, that the "author of the Dipavamsa borrowed not only the materials of his own work, but also the mode of expression, and even whole lines, word for word, from the Atthakathā. In fact, a great part of the Dipavamsa has the appearance not of an independent, continual work, but of a composition of such single stanzas extracted from a work or works like the Atthakathā".¹ But the author of the Mahāvamsa is not so fettered in his style or execution. Coming as he did at least one

¹ Dipavamsa (Oldenberg), Introduction, p. 6.

century and a half later (i. e., the beginning of the 6th century A. D.) than the author of the *Dipavaṃsa* when the islanders had attained much more freedom in their learning and writing of the Pali language, he evidently showed greater ease and skill in his use of the language, as well as in his style and composition, and finally, a more free and liberal use of the material of his original.

It is well-known that *Mahānāma* was the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, whereas we are completely in the dark as to the authorship of the *Dipavaṃsa*. A further proof of the fact that both the authors were indebted to a common source is provided by a very striking coincidence of the two narratives, namely, that both the chronicles finish their accounts with the death of King *Mahāsena* who flourished about the beginning of the 4th century A. D. It was not much later that the *Dipavaṃsa* was composed, but as the *Mahāvaṃsa* was composed still later, we might as well expect the bringing down of the narrative to a later date. But this was not the case, apparently for the fact that their common source, the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* of the *Mahāvihāra* monastery, as shown by Oldenberg, was very intimately connected with King *Mahāsena* with whose reign the glorious destinies of the monastery came practically to an end, and there the *Aṭṭhakathā* could only logically stop its account¹.

But the historical writers of the *Mahāvihāra* fraternity did not at once bring down their account to the reign of *Mahāsena*. The *Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa* seems to have originally brought down its account only to the arrival of *Mahinda* in Ceylon; but it was later on continued and brought down to the reign of *Mahāsena*, where both the *Dipavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* as already noticed came to an end.

That the *Dipavaṃsa* was well-known to the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is evident from the very arrangement of the chapters and events of the narrative, so much so that the *Mahāvaṃsa* seems to be more an explanatory commentary on the earlier chronicle. The account in the *Dipavaṃsa* is condensed, and the sequence of events and characters presents the form more of a list and cata-

¹ *Dipavaṃsa* (Oldenberg), Introduction, p. 8.

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logue than of any connected account. The Mahāvamsa, on the other hand, is elaborate, more embellished, and seems rather to explain the catalogue of events and characters of the earlier chronicle so as to give it the form of a connected narrative. Geiger rightly thinks in this connection that "the quotation of the Mahāvamsa refers precisely to the Dipavamsa."¹ The well-known passage of the Cūlavamsa (3859), ' Datvā sahaṣṣaṃ dipetum Dipavamsaṃ samādisi ' which Fleet translates as ' he (King Dhātusena) bestowed a thousand (pieces of gold) and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the Dipavamsa ', also lends support to this view², for this *dīpikā*, Fleet says, is identical with Mahāvamsa.

It is interesting to compare the more important chapters of the two chronicles to see how their subject matters agree or differ. We have already indicated that their contents are almost identical ; in the Dipavamsa they are condensed, and in the Mahāvamsa elaborate. After an identical account of the race of Mahāsammata, both the earlier and later chronicles proceed to give a more or less detailed account of the three Buddhist Councils. The account of the First Council is almost the same. Five hundred chosen Bhikkhus assembled under the leadership of Mahākassapa in the Sattapaṇṇa cave at Rājagaha and composed the collection of the Dhamma and the Vinaya. The Dipavamsa mentions the fourth month after the Master's death as the time at which the first council was held. This was the second Vassa-month, i. e., Sāvāṇa. This date is substantially confirmed by that provided by the Mahāvamsa which mentions the bright half of Āsāḍa, the fourth month of the year as the beginning of the Council. But as the first month was spent in preparations, the actual proceedings did not begin till the month of Sāvāṇa. The account of the Second Council too is substantially the same. It was brought about by the *dasavāthūni* of the Vajjians of Vesālī, a relaxation of monastic discipline ; and 700 Bhikkhus took part in the discussion of the Council. It was held in the 11th year of the reign of Kālāsoka ; there is, however, a slight discrepancy about the

1 Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. p. XI.

2 Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. p. XI — where Geiger quotes Fleet,

locality where the Council was held. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions *Vālikārāma*, whereas the *Dīpavamsa* mentions the *Kūṭāgārasālā* of the *Mahāvana* monastery as the place of the Council. The tradition of the schism in the second Council is also identical in the two chronicles. The *Dīpavamsa* states that the heretical monks held a separate Council called the *Mahāsāṃgīti*, and prepared a different redaction of the Scriptures. The tradition is also noticed in the *Mahāvamsa* where it is related that they formed a separate sect under the name *Mahāsāṃghika*. The account of the Third Council is identical. It was held at *Pāṭali-putta* under the presidency of *Tissa Moggaliputta* and lasted for nine months.

The list of Indian Kings before *Asoka* and pieces of historical account connected with them, the traditional date of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, and the duration of reigns of individual Indian kings are always almost identical in both the chronicles. The story of the conversion of Ceylon, that the coming of *Vijaya* and his consecration, the list and account of Ceylonese Kings up to *Devānaṃpiyatissa* and that of the latter's contemporaneity with king *Dhammāsoka* are for all practical purposes the same. But before the two chronicles take up the account of *Mahinda's* coming to Ceylon, the *Mahāvamsa* inserts a somewhat elaborate account of the conversion of different countries under the efficient missionary organisation of *Moggaliputta Thera*. The *Mahāvamsa* thus rightly stresses the fact that it was a part of the religious policy of the great *Thera* that *Mahinda* came to Ceylon. Here again the accounts of the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* are identical; then follow the identical accounts of *Mahinda's* entry into the capital, his acceptance of the *Mahāvihāra* and that of the *Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra*, the arrival of the relics, the receiving and coming of the *Bodhi Tree*, and the *Nibbāna* of the *Thera Mahinda*. From *Vijaya* to *Devānaṃpiyatissa* the tradition and traditional chronology are almost identical; there is only a discrepancy about the date of *Devānaṃpiyatissa* himself. The earlier chronicle states that king *Devānaṃpiyatissa* was consecrated king in the 237th year after the Buddha's death, whereas the *Mahāvamsa* places it on the first day of the bright half of the ninth

month, Maggasira (Oct. -Nov.), showing a discrepancy involved probably in the chronological arrangement itself.¹

The account of the kings from the death of Devānampiya-tissa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is also identical in the two chronicles. But the Mahāvamsa is much more detailed and elaborate in its account of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi giving as it does in separate chapters the topics of the birth of prince Gāmaṇi, the levying of the warriors for the war of the two brothers Gāmaṇi and Tissa, the victory of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the consecrating of the Maricavatti vihāra, the consecrating of the Lohapāsāda, the obtaining of the wherewithal to build the Mahāthūpa, the beginning of the Mahāthūpa, the making of the relic-chamber for Mahāthūpa, the enshrining of the relics and finally his death : whereas the Dīpavamsa touches and that also in brief, the two accounts only in their main outline.

The list and account of the later Kings from Duṭṭhagāmaṇi to Mahāsena in the Dīpavamsa are very brief. In the Mahāvamsa, however, though the essential points and topics are the same, the accounts differ considerably in their detail which may be due to the more liberal use by the author of the original as well as of other historical and traditional sources than the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa. He might have also used those indigenous historical literature and tradition that might have grown up after the author of the Dīpavamsa had laid aside his pen. This is apparent from a comparison of the respective accounts of any individual king, say, the last King Mahāsena. Thus the Dīpavamsa relates that while he was in search of really good and modest Bhikkhus, he met some wicked Bhikkhus ; and knowing them not he asked them the sense of Buddhism and the true doctrine. Those Bhikkhus, for their own advantage, taught him that the true doctrine was a false doctrine. In consequence of his intercourse with those wicked persons, he performed evil as well as good deeds, and then died. The Mahāvamsa account is otherwise. It gives the story of his consecration by Saṅghamittā, the account of the vicissitudes of the Mahāvihāra, how it was left desolate for nine years, how a hostile party succeeded in obtaining the king's

¹ See Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. pp. xxxi foll.

sanction for destroying the monastery, why for this fault of the king the minister became a rebel, how the Mahāvihāra was reconstructed and came to be again inhabited by Bhikkhus, how an offence of the gravest kind was made against Thera Tissa and how he was expelled, how the King built the Maṇihira-vihāra destroying the temples of some Brahmanical gods, and how he built many other ārāmas and vihāras, and a number of tanks and canals for the good of his subjects.

One such instance as just noticed is sufficient to explain the nature of the difference in the accounts of individual kings as given in the two chronicles. The duration of ruling years as given to individual kings is in most cases identical; there are only a few discrepancies, e. g., with regard to the reigns of Sena and Gutta, Lajjitissa (the Mahāvamsa gives the name as Lañjattissa), Niliya, Tissa Yasalāla, Abhaya and Tissa. In the case of Sena and Gutta, the Dipavamsa gives the duration of rule as 12 years, whereas the Mahāvamsa gives it as 22 years. The Dipavamsa gives 9 years 6 months to Lajjitissa, whereas the later chronicle gives 9 years 8 months. Niliya is given 3 months in the earlier chronicle, but in later chronicle he is given 6 months. Tissa Yasalāla is given 8 years 7 months and 7 years 8 months respectively; and the order of the rule of Abhaya and Tissa of the Dipavamsa is transposed in the Mahāvamsa as Tissa and Abhaya, and Abhaya is given only 8 years in place of 22 as given by the Dipavamsa.

In the early days of the study of the Ceylonese Chronicles, scholars were sceptical about their value as sources of authentic historical tradition and information. But now after lapse of years when the study of Indian and Ceylonese history has far advanced, it is now comparatively easy for us to estimate their real value.

Like all chronicles, the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa contain germs of historical truth buried deep under a mesh of absurd fables and marvellous tales. But if they do contain mainly myths and marvels and read more like fantasies, they are like other chronicles of their time. This, however, should not be used as any argument for completely rejecting the chronicles as positively

false and untrustworthy. It is, however, important that one should read them with a critical eye as all records of popular and ecclesiastical tradition deserve to be read. Buried in the illumination of myths, miracles and legends there are indeed germs which go to make up facts of history, but they can only be gleaned by a very careful elimination of all mythical and unessential details which the pious sentiment of the believer gathered round the nucleus. "If we pause," Geiger rightly says, "first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese chronicles will absurdly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive hearers or readers."¹

The very fact that both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa* are based on the earlier *Aṭṭha-kathā-Mahāvāṃsa*, a sort of a chronicle which itself was based upon still earlier chronicles, ensures us in our belief that they contain real historical facts, for, with the *Aṭṭhakathā*, the tradition goes back several centuries, and becomes almost contemporary with the historical incidents narrated in the chronicle.

Even in the very introductory chapters, there are statements which agree with other canonical writings, and find confirmation in our already known facts of history. Such are the statements that Bimbisāra was a great friend of Buddha, and both Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu were contemporaries of the Master. There does not seem to be any ground for rejecting the tradition of the chronicles that Gotama was five years older than Bimbisāra, though the duration of the rule ascribed to each of them disagrees with that ascribed by the *Purāṇas*. But whatever that might be, there can hardly be any doubt as to the authenticity of the list of Indian kings from Bimbisāra to Asoka provided by the chronicles. The Jain tradition has, no doubt, other names; "this" as pointed out by Geiger, "does not affect the actual agreement. There can be no doubt that the nine Nandas as well as the two forerunners

1 *Mahāvāṃsa* (Geiger), Intro., p. xv.

of Asoka, Candagutta and Bindusāra, were altogether historical personages." But more than this is the complete agreement of the Ceylonese and Paurāṇic tradition in the duration of reign, namely 24, ascribed to Candagutta. The discrepancy of the two traditions in respect of regnal duration of Bindusāra and Asoka, namely 3 years and 1 year respectively, is almost negligible. Still more interesting is the name Canakka (Cāpakya) the Brahman Minister of Candagutta, who was known to the authors of the *Dipavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*.

So much with regard to the historical value of the Ceylonese chronicles in respect of Indian history. But more valuable are the chronicles with regard to the history of Ceylon. As regards the oldest period from Vijaya to Devānaṃpiyatissa the chronicles are certainly untrustworthy to the extent that the duration of years ascribed to each reign seems incredible in view of the fact that they appear to be calculated according to a set scheme, and present certain insuperable difficulties of chronology with regard to one or two reigns, e. g., of King Paṇḍukābhaya and Muṭasiva. Moreover, the day of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon has been made to synchronise with the date of Buddha's death, which itself is liable to create a distrust in our mind. But even in the first and the earliest period of Ceylonese history, there are certain elements of truth which can hardly be questioned. Thus there is no ground for doubting the authenticity of the list of kings from Vijaya to Devānaṃpiyatissa; nor is there any reason for rejecting the account of Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns, as well as the detailed account of the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa, which seem decidedly to be historical. We have also sufficient reason to believe the contemporaneity and friendship of Tissa and Asoka who exchanged greetings of gifts between themselves.

As for the period from Devānaṃpiyatissa to Mahāsena, the chronicles may safely but intelligently be utilised as of value. There are no doubt gaps in the traditional chronology which have been carelessly filled in, notably in the period from Devānaṃpiyatissa to Dutthagāmaṇi but after Dutthagāmaṇi there is no such careless and fictitious filling in of gaps, nor any set up system of chronology, and on the whole the list of kings

and their duration of reigns are creditable. But even where the chronology is doubtful, there is no ground whatsoever for doubting the kernel of historical truth that lies mixed up with mythical tales in respect of the account of each individual reign, say, for example, of the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. It may, therefore, be safely asserted that the Ceylonese chronicles can be utilised, if not as an independent historical source, at least as a repository of historical tradition in which we can find important confirmatory evidence of our information with regard to early Indian and contemporary Ceylonese history.

But the Chronicles must be considered to be of more value for the ecclesiastical history not only of Ceylon but of India as well. With regard to this there are certain notices in the Chronicles that have helped us to start with almost definite chronological points which are equally important in respect of the political history of the continent and its island. One such fixed point is provided by the Chronicles where it has been stated that 218 years after the Sambuddha had passed into Nirvāṇa when Asoka was consecrated. This corner stone has helped us to ascertain one of the most knotty and at the same time most useful starting point of Indian history, namely, the year of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa and his birth, which, according to the calculation based on the date just cited are 483 B. C. and 563 B. C. respectively.¹

Next in point of importance with regard to the history of Buddhism is the conversion of the island by Mahinda, who is represented in the Chronicles as a son of Asoka. Historians have doubted the tradition in view of the fact that there is no mention of it in the numerous edicts and inscriptions of Asoka. Geiger has very ably shown that this argument is at least an *argumentum e silentio* and can hardly be conclusive. The tradition of the Chronicles is unanimously supported by the tradition of the country itself, and finds further confirmation in the account of Yuan Chwang who expressly states that the conversion of Ceylon was the work of Mahendra or Mahinda, who is, however, represented as a brother of Asoka. But it must not be understood that Ceylon was converted all on a sudden by Mahendra or Mahinda.

1 See Mahāvamsa (Geiger); Secs. 5 and 6. Introduction.

Similar mission must have been sent earlier; "a hint that Mahinda's mission was preceded by similar missions to Ceylon is to be found even in *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*, when they relate that Asoka, sending to Devānaṃpiyatissa, with presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha."¹

Geiger has also been able to find very striking confirmation of the history of the religious missions as related in the *Chronicles* in the relic-inscriptions of the Sāñci stūpa No. 2.² He has thus pointed out that Majjhima who is named in the *Mahāvāṃsa* as the teacher who converted the Himalaya region and Kassapagotta who appears as his companion in the *Dīpavaṃsa* are also mentioned in one of the inscriptions just referred to as 'pious Majjhima' and 'pious Kassapagotta, the teacher of the Himalaya.' In another inscription also Kassapagotta is mentioned as the teacher of the Himalaya. Dundubhissara who is also mentioned in the *Chronicles* as one of the Theras who won the Himalaya countries to Buddhism, is mentioned in another inscription as Dadabhisāra along with Gotiputta (i. e., Kotiputta Kassapagotta). The Thera, i. e., Moggaliputta Tissa who is described in the *Chronicles* as having presided over the Third Buddhist Council is also mentioned in another inscription at Moggaliputta. These facts are guarantee enough for carefully utilising the *Chronicles* as an important source of information for the early history of Buddhism.

This would be far more evident when we would consider the accounts of the three Buddhist Councils as related in the two *Chronicles*. The authenticity of the accounts of these Councils had during the early days of the study of the two *Chronicles* often been doubted. But it is simply impossible to doubt that there must lie a kernel of historical truth at the bottom of these accounts. As to the First Council, both the northern and southern traditions agree as to the place and occasion and the President of the Council. As to the second Council, both traditions agree as to the occasion and cause of the first schism in the

1 *Mahāvāṃsa*, (tr.) p. XIX.

2 *Ibid*, pp. XIX - XX.

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Church, namely, the relaxation of monastic discipline brought about by the Vajjian monks. As to the place of the Council, the northern tradition is uncertain, but the southern tradition is definite inasmuch as it states that it was held in Vesālī under King Kālāsoka in 383/2 B. C. and led to the separation of the Mahāsāṃghikas from Theravāda. The Ceylonese tradition speaks of a Third Council at Pāṭaliputra in the year 247 B. C. under King Dharmāsoka which led to the expulsion of certain disintegrating elements from the community. The Northern tradition has, however, no record of a Third Council, but that is no reason why we should doubt its authenticity. Geiger has successfully shown that the "distinction between two separate Councils is in fact correct. The Northern Buddhists have mistakenly fused the two into one as they confounded the Kings, Kālāsoka and Dharmāsoka, one with another. But traces of the right tradition are still preserved in the wavering uncertain statements as to the time and place of the Council." ¹

The succession of teachers from Upālī to Mahinda as provided by the Chronicles is also interesting from the view point of the history of early Buddhism. The succession list which includes Upālī, the great authority on Vinaya at the time of the Buddha, Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, Moggaliputta Tissa and Mahinda, may not represent the whole truth, they even might not all be Vinaya-pāṃokkhā, i. e., authorities on Vinaya; but the list presents at least an aspect of truth, and is interesting, presenting as it does, 'a continuous synchrological connexion between the history of Ceylon and India.' The list can thus be utilised for ascertaining the chronological arrangement of early Indian history as well as of the teachers of early Buddhism.

The Chronicles can still more profitably be utilised as a very faithful record of the origin and growth of the numerous religious establishments of Ceylon. They are so very elaborately described and the catalogue seems to be so complete that a careful study may enable us to frame out a history of the various kinds of religious monastic establishments, e. g., stūpas, vihāras, cetiyas, etc. of Ceylon. Thus the history of the Mahāvihāra, the Abhaya-

¹ Mahāvamsa. (Geiger's Tr.) pp. LIX - LX and ff.

giri vihāra, the Thūpārāma, Mahāmeghavanārāma, and of the host of others is recorded in elaborate detail. Incidentally they refer to the social and religious life led by the monks of the Order as well as by the lay people. It is easy to gather from the chronicles that the great architectural activity of the island began as early as as the reign of Devānampiyatissa and continued unabated during each succeeding reign till the death of Mahāsena. The numerous edifices, tanks and canals whose ruins now cover the old capitals of the island were built during that period, and their history is unmistakably recorded in the Chronicles. Religious ceremonies and processions are often vividly described, and they give us glimpses of the life and conditions of the time. Not less interesting is the fact, often times related as a part of the account of these religious edifices, of very close intercourse with more or less important religious centres of India, namely Rājagaha, Kosambī, Vesālī. Ujjeni, Pupphapura, Pallava, Alasanda (Alexandria) and other countries. Every important function was attended by brother monks and teachers from the main land to which the Ceylonese Kings and people turned for inspiration whenever any question of bringing and enshrining a relic arose. There are also incidental and stray references which are no less valuable. The Māhāvamsa informs us that King Mahāsena built the Maṇihīra-vihāra and founded three other vihāras, destroying temples of the (Brahmanical) gods. It shows that Brahmanical temples existed side by side, and religious toleration was not always the practice.

As for the internal political history and foreign political relations with India, especially with the Damilas, the Chronicles seem to preserve very faithful records. No less faithful is the geographical information of India and Ceylon as supported by them. But most of all, as we have hinted above, is the information contained in them, in respect of the history of Buddhism and Buddhist establishments of the island. There is hardly any reason to doubt the historicity of such information.

The Cūlavamsa¹ is not an uniform and homogeneous work. It

1 Edited by Dr. W. Geiger in two volumes for the P. T. S., London, translated into English by Geiger and Mrs. R. Rickmers, 1929 and 1930. The translation with copious notes and a learned introduction is very useful.

Cūlavamsa is a series of additions to, and continuations of the *Mahāvamsa*. The *Mahāvamsa* is the work of one man - Mahānāma, who compiled the work during the reign of Dhātusena in the 6th A. D. But the single parts of the *Cūlavamsa* are of different character, written by different authors at different times. The first who continued the chronicle was according to Sinhalese tradition the Thera Dhammakitti. He came from Burma to Ceylon during the reign of King Parakkamabāhu II in the 13th century A. D.

Between chapters 37 and 79 no trace is found of the commencement of a new section. This part of the chronicle seems to be the work of the same author. So it is clear, if the Sinhalese tradition is authentic, then about three quarters of what we call the *Cūlavamsa* (Pages 443 out of 532 pages of Geiger's edition of the *Cūlavamsa*) were composed by Dhammakitti.

The second section of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with the reign of Vijayabāhu II, the successor of Parakkamabāhu I, and ends with that of Parakkamabāhu IV. Hence it follows, the second part of the *Cūlavamsa* consists of the Chapters from 80 to 90 both inclusive.

The third portion begins with the chapter 91 and ends with the chapter 100.

The *Mahāvamsa* gives us a list of kings from Vijaya, the first crowned king of Ceylon to Mahāsena. Mahānāma simply followed here his chief source, the *Dīpavamsa*, which also ends with King Mahāsena. The *Cūlavamsa*, however, begins with the reign of King Sirimeghavanna, son of King Mahāsena and ends with Sirivikkamarājasīha.

The first section of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with Sirimeghavanna and ends with Parakkamabāhu I. Evidently this portion gives a chronological account of 78 kings of Ceylon. Altogether eighteen paricchadas are devoted to the glorification of the great national hero of the Sinhalese people, Parakkamabāhu I. Revd.

R. S. Copleston has called this portion of the Cūlavamsa the 'epic of Parakkama'. This king was noted for his charity. He not only made gifts of alms to the needy, but also to the Bhikkhus. As a warrior this king also stands out pre-eminent. The Coḷas and Damiḷas came to Laṅkā from Southern India and occupied Anurādhapura. Parakkama fought many battles with them and drove them out of the country and became king of the united Laṅkā. He then espoused the cause of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He built many great vihāras and thūpas. He also constructed many vāpis and uyyānas.

The second portion of the Cūlavamsa begins with Vijayabāhu II and ends with Parakkamabāhu IV. Thus it refers to 23 kings of Ceylon.

The third section begins with Bhuvanekabāhu III, and ends with Kittisirirājasīha. Thus it refers to 24 kings.

The last chapter gives a brief account of the last two kings, e. g., Sirirājādhirājasīha and Sirivikkamarājasīha.

There are in both the Chronicles, the Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa, interesting references to Pali texts affording very useful material for the history of Pali literature as well as of early Buddhism in Ceylon.

List of Pali Texts in
the Ceylonese Chron-
icles.

In the Dīpavamsa references are not only made to Vinaya texts, the five collections of Sutta Piṭaka, the three Piṭakas, the five Nikāyas (they are not separately mentioned), and the nine-fold doctrine of the Teacher comprising the Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhuta and Vedalla but also to the seven sections of the Abhidhamma, the Paṭisambhidā, the Niddesa, the Piṭaka of the Āgamas and the different sections namely, Vaggas, Paññāsakas, Samyuttas and Nipātas into which the Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta and Anguttara Nikāyas are respectively divided. Mention is also made separately of the two Vibhaṅgas of Vinaya, namely, Parivāra and Khandhaka, the Cariyā-Piṭaka, the Vinaya Piṭaka, the Pātimokkha and the Aṭṭhakathā. We find further mention of the Kathāvatthu of the

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Abhidhamma, the Petavatthu and the Saccasamyutta of the Vimānavatthu. Of Suttas and Suttantas separate mention is made of the Devadūta Sutta, Bālapaṇḍita Suttanta, Aggikkhaṇḍa Suttanta, Āsivisa Suttanta, Āsivisūpama Suttanta, Anamataggiya Sutta, Gomayapiṇḍaovāda Suttanta, Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta and the Mahāsamaya Suttanta.

INDEX OF PALI TEXTS IN THE DĪPAVAMSA

- Abhidhamma, 5, 37 ; 7, 56.
- Abbhuta, 4, 15.
- Aggikkhandha Suttanta, 14, 12.
- Anamataggiya Suttanta, 14, 45.
- Aṭṭhakathā, 20, 20.
- Āgamas, 4, 12 ; 4, 16.
- Āsivisa Suttanta, 14, 18.
- Āsivisūpama Suttanta, 14, 45.
- Itivuttaka, 4, 15.
- Udāna, 4, 15.
- Kathāvatthu, 7, 41 ; 7, 56.
- Khandhaka, 7, 43.
- Geyya, 4, 15.
- Gāthā, 4, 15.
- Gomayapiṇḍaovāda Suttanta, 14, 46.
- Cariyā Pitaka, 14, 45.
- Jātaka, 4, 15 ; 5, 37.
- Dhutaṅga, (precepts), 4, 3.
- Dhamma, 4, 4 ; 4, 6.
- Dhātuvāda precepts, 5, 7.
- Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta, 14, 46.
- Devadūta Sutta, 13, 7.
- Nipāta, 4, 16.
- Niddesa, 5, 37.
- Nikāyas, 7, 43.
- Pitakas, 4, 32 ; 5, 71 ; 7, 30 ; 20, 20.
- Parivāra, 5, 37 ; 7, 43.
- Paññāsakas, 4, 16.

- Petavatthu, 12, 84.
 Pātimokkha, 13, 55.
 Paṭisambhidā, 5, 37.
 Vinaya, 4, 3 ; 4, 4 & 6 ; 7, 43.
 Veyyākaraṇa, 4, 15.
 Vedalla, 4, 15.
 Vaggas, 4, 16,
 Vimānavatthu, 12, 85.
 Bālapandita Suttanta, 13, 13.
 Vinaya Piṭaka. 18, 19 ; 18, 33 ; 18, 37.
 Vibhaṅgas, 7, 43.
 Mahāsamaya Suttanta, 14, 53.
 Sutta, 4, 15 ; 4, 16.
 Sutta Piṭaka (pañcanikāya) 18, 19 ; 18, 33.
 Saṃyuttas, 4, 16.

In the Mahāvamsa too we find numerous mentions of Pali texts. But, curiously enough, references to independent texts are much less comprehensive than that of the earlier chronicle ; though mention of Suttas and Suttantas mainly of the three Nikāyas, the Aṅguttara, the Majjhima and the Saṃyutta, as well as of the Sutta Nipāta and the Vinaya Piṭaka are much more numerous. There are also several references to Jātakas. The three Piṭakas are often mentioned as important texts, but only the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya are mentioned by name, and that too only once or twice in each case.

INDEX OF PALI TEXTS IN THE MAHĀVAMSA

- Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 5, 150.
 Āsivisūpamā (Aṅguttara Nikāya), 12, 26.
 Anamatagga Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 12, 31.
 Aggikkhandopama Sutta (Aṅguttara), 12, 34.
 Kapi Jātaka, 35, 31.
 Kālakārāma Suttanta, 12, 39.
 Khajjaniya Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.) 15, 195.
 Khandhakas (Sections of the Mahāvagga and
 Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka), 36, 68.

- Gomayapinḍisutta (Saṃyutta N.), 15, 197.
 Cūlahatthipadūpama Suttanta, (Majjhima N.), 14, 22.
 Cittayamaka (Ref. Yamakappakarana of the Abhidhamma),
 5, 146.
 Jātaka (tales), 27, 34 ; 30, 88.
 Tipitaka, 4, 62 ; 5, 84 ; 5, 112 ; 5, 118 & 119 ; 5, 210 ; 27, 44.
 Tittira Jātaka, 5, 264.
 Devadūta Suttanta (Majjhima N.), 12, 29.
 Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta (Mahāvagga of the V. P.),
 12, 41 ; 15, 199.
 Bālapandita Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.), 15, 4.
 Brahmajāla Suttanta, 12, 51.
 Vessantara Jātaka, 30, 88.
 Vinaya, 5, 151,
 Mahā-Nārada-Kassapa Jātaka, 12, 37.
 Mahāppamāda Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.), 16, 3.
 Maṅgala Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), 32, 43.
 Mahāmaṅgala Sutta (Sutta N.), 30, 83.
 Mahāsamaya Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 30, 83.
 Samacitta Sutta (Samacittavagga in the Duka Nipāta of the
 Aṅguttara Nikāya), 14, 39,
 Sutta Piṭaka, 5, 150.

The Buddhaghosuppatti deals with the life and career of Buddhaghosa, the famous commentator, less authentic than the account contained in the Cūlavamsa. It gives us an account of Buddhaghosa's boyhood, his admission to the priesthood, his father's conversion, voyage to Ceylon, Buddhaghosa as a witness, permission to translate scriptures, his objects attained, return to India and his passing away. The book is written in an easy language. It is more or less a historical romance. As to the historical value of this work readers are referred to my work, 'The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa' (Ch. II, pp. 43-44). The Buddhaghosuppatti has been edited by James Grey and published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London. Grey has also translated the book into English.

The stories in the *Milindapañha*, the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Buddhaghosuppatti* are so similar that one doubts it very much that the author of this work borrowed the incidents from the *Milindapañha* and the *Mahāvamsa* and grafted them on to his own.

A critical study of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* does not help us much in elucidating the history of Buddhaghosa. The author had little authentic knowledge of the great commentator. He only collected the legends which centred round the remarkable man by the time when his work was written. Those legends are mostly valuable from the strict historical point of view. Grey truly says in his introduction to the *Buddhaghosuppatti* that the work reads like an "Arthurian Romance". The accounts given by the *Buddhaghosuppatti* about the birth, early life, conversion etc., of Buddhaghosa bear a great similarity to those of Milinda and Moggaliputta Tissa. In the interview which took place between Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta, the latter is said to have told Buddhaghosa thus, "I went before you to compile Buddha's word. I am old, have not long to live and shall not therefore be able to accomplish my purpose. You carry out the work satisfactorily."

In Buddhadatta's *Vinayavinicchaya* we read that Buddhadatta requested Buddhaghosa to send him the commentaries when finished that he might summarise them. This request was complied with by Buddhaghosa. Buddhadatta summarised the commentary on the *Abhidhamma* in the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the commentary on the *Vinaya* in the *Vinayavinicchaya*. The above statement in the *Vinayavinicchaya* which is more authoritative than the *Buddhaghosuppatti* is in direct contradiction to the statement in the latter book. The author has made a mistake in the 6th chapter of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* in which it is stated that Buddhaghosa rendered the Buddhist scriptures into Māgadhī. In the seventh chapter of the same book we read that after the lapse of three months when he completed his task, the works of Mahinda were piled up and burnt. Buddhaghosa translated Sinhalese commentaries into Māgadhī and not the texts themselves. Had it been so there would not have been any occasion for burning the works of Mahinda. On the other hand they would

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have been carefully preserved as the only reliable and authentic interpretation of the sacred texts. It has been distinctly stated in the Mahāvamsa that the texts only existed in the Jambudīpa and Buddhaghosa was sent to Ceylon to translate the Sinhalese commentaries into Māghadhī. If the tradition recorded in the Mahāvamsa is to be believed, then only we can get an explanation for the destruction of Mahinda's works.

The Saddhammasaṃgaha is a collection of good sayings and teachings of the Master. There are prose and poetry portions in it. It consists of nine chapters. It was written by Dhammakīṭyā-bhidhānāthera. It has been edited by Nedimāle Saddhānanda for the P. T. S. London. The Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara and Khuddaka Nikāyas are mentioned in it. The books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka are referred to in this work. There are references in it to the Vajjiputtakas of Vesālī and Yasā's stay in the Kūṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana. It is mentioned in this book that Moggalliputta Tissa recited the Kathāvatthu in order to refute the doctrines of others. This treatise contains an account of the missionaries sent to various places to establish the Buddha's religion. Thera Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhāra, Mahādeva Thera to Mahisamandala, Rakkhita Thera to Vanavāsī, Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita Thera to Aparāntaka, Mahādhammarakkhita Thera to Mahārāṭṭha, Mahārakkhita Thera to the Yonaka region, Majjhima Thera to the Himalayan region, Sonaka and Uttara to the Suvannabhūmi and Mahinda Thera to Laṅkā with four other Theras, Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla. Besides there is a reference to the Buddha preaching his dhamma to the inhabitants of the city of Campaka (Campakanagaravāsīnam),

The Sandesa Kathā has been edited by Minayeff in J. P. T. S. 1885. It is written mostly in prose. It dilates on many points, e. g., Mahinda, Mahāvijaya, Kittisīrīrājasīha, etc.

The Mahābodhivamsa has been edited by Mr. Strong for the P. T. S. London. The Sinhalese edition by Mahābodhivamsa Upatissa and revised by Sarandada, Colombo, 1891, deserves mention. There is a Sinhalese translation of this

work in twelve chapters. Prof. Geiger says that the date of the composition of the Mahābodhivaṃsa is the 10th century A. D. (Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, p. 79).

The Thūpavaṃsa contains an account of the thūpas or dagobas built over the relics of the Buddha. Readers' attention is invited to a paper on this book by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe (J. R. A. S. 1898). This work has not yet been edited by the P. T. S. London. A Sinhalese edition of this work is available (Ed. by Dhammaratana, Paeliyagoda, 1896).

The Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vaṃsa or the history of the temple of Attanagalla consists of eleven chapters written in simple Pali. Eight chapters deal with an account of King Siri-Saṅghabodhi and the last three chapters deal with the erection of various monumental and religious edifices on the spot where the king spent his last days. It reads like a historical novel. J. D'Alwis's English translation with notes and annotations deserves mention. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera has undertaken an edition and English translation of this work in the Indian Historical Quarterly. There is an edition of this work published in Colombo 1909 under the title, "Attanagalu-vihāra-vaṃsa".

The Dāthāvaṃsa or the Dantadhātuvāṃsa means an account of the tooth relic of the Buddha Gautama. Dāthāvaṃsa Vāṃsa means chronicle, history, tradition, etc. Literary it means lineage, dynasty, etc. The Dāthāvaṃsa is a quasi-religious historical record written with the intention of edifying and at the same time giving an interesting story of the past. This work is noteworthy because it shows us Pali as a medium of epic poetry.

The work was written by Mahāthera Dhammakitti of the city of Pulatti. He was a disciple of Sāriputta, the author of the Sāratthadīpanī ṭīkā, Sāratthamañjūsā ṭīkā, Ratanapañcika ṭīkā on the Candravākyakaraṇa and the Vinayasamgraha. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Māgadhibhāṣā, Tarkaśāstra (logic), Vyākaraṇa (grammar)

Kāvya (poetry), Āgama (religious literature), etc. He was fortunate enough to secure the post of a Rājaguru. Two Vāṃsas of the Pali Buddhist literature, the Sāsanavāṃsa and the Gandhavāṃsa, tell us that it was he who composed the Dāthāvāṃsa (P. T. S. Ed. p. 34 and J. P. T. S. 1886, p. 62). We know from the Dāthāvāṃsa that originally it was written by the poets in the Sinhalese language and later on rendered into Māgadhibhāsā by Dhammakitti for the benefit of the people of the other countries at the request of Parakammo, the Commander-in-chief of Ceylon, who placed Līlāvati on the vacant throne of Ceylon. This Līlāvati, later on, became the queen of Parākramavāhu, the king of Ceylon (verses 4-10).

The Dāthāvāṃsa was written in the Buddha era 845 during the reign of King Kittisirimeghavanna of Ceylon. Kern says that it is also known as Daladāvāṃsa composed about 310 A. D. It was translated into Pali in A. D. 1200 under the name of the Dāthāvāṃsa (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 89).

The Dāthāvāṃsa is an important contribution to the history of Pali Buddhist literature. It is an historical record of the incidents connected with tooth-relic of the Buddha. It is as important as the Mahāvāṃsa and the Dipavāṃsa. The history of Ceylon would be incomplete without it.

The Dāthāvāṃsa is a specimen of fine poetry. It contains Pali and some debased Sinhalese words. Its vocabulary is rich. Kern rightly remarks that it belongs to the class of compendiums and contains repetitions of passages from more ancient works with more or less apocryphal additions. (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 9). In the first chapter, stanzas are written in Jagatī chanda. Sixty stanzas are written in Vāṃsastha vṛtta and the last two in Sragdharāvṛtta; in the second chapter, stanzas are written in Anuṣṭupachanda in Pathyavaktra vṛtta and in Mandākranta vṛtta; in the third chapter, the stanzas are written in triṣṭhupa chanda in Upajāta, Indravajra, Upendravajra and Sikharanī vṛttas; in the fourth chapter, stanzas are written in Atisakvarīchanda, in Mālinī, Sād-

dulavikrīḍita vṛttas; and in the last chapter, s'tanzas are written in Sakvarīchanda in Vasantatilaka and Sragdharā vṛttas.

The Dāṭhāvamsa gives an account of the tooth-relic of the Buddha which is said to have been brought to Ceylon by Dantakumāra, Prince of Kalinga from Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga. It consists of five chapters, a brief summary of which is given below.

Chapter I. While the Buddha Dipamkara was coming to the city of Rammavati at the invitation of the people of the city, a hermit named Sumedha showed his devotion by laying himself down on the muddy road which the Buddha was to cross. The Buddha walked over his body with his disciples. Sumedha prayed to the Buddha Dipamkara that he might be a Buddha himself in future. Dipamkara granted him the boon whereupon he set himself in all earnestness, to fulfil the ten pāramitās (perfections). The hermit was in heaven prior to his last birth. At the instance of the gods, he was reborn in Kapilavastu in the family of Suddhodana and in the womb of Mahāmāyā. As soon as he was reborn, he stood up and looked round and was worshipped by men and gods. He went seven steps northwards. He was named Siddhattakumāra. Three palaces suitable for the three seasons of the year, were built for him. While going to the garden, he saw an old man, a diseased man, a dead man and a hermit. He then made up his mind to renounce the worldly life. With the help of the gods he left the palace and reached the river Anomā and on the banks of the river, he cut off his hair and threw it upwards to the sky. Indra got the hair and built a caitya over it which is still known as Cūlamanī Caitya. A potter brought a yellow robe, a beggar's bowl, etc. for him. He put on the yellow robe and left the Rājagaha. Thence he went to Uruvelā and made strenuous efforts for six years to acquire bodhi (enlightenment). In the evening of the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, he went to the foot of the Bodhi-tree and sat on a seat made of straw and defeated Māra's army. In the last watch of the night he acquired supreme knowledge. After the attainment of Bodhi, he spent a week, seated on the same seat at the foot of the Bo-tree, enjoying the bliss of emancipation. He spent another

week, looking at the Bodhi tree, with steadfast eyes. Another week was spent by him at a place called Ratanaghara near the Bodhi tree, meditating upon paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination). He then went to the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree where he spent a week in meditation. He went to Mucalinda-nāgabhavana where he was saved by the nāga from hailstorm. He then visited the Rājāyatana. Thence he started for Isipatana-migadāva to preach his first sermon known as Dhammacakkapavattana but on the way two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, offered him madhupiṇḍika (a kind of food prepared with honey and molasses). The Buddha placed them in two refuges. He then reached Isipatana on the full-moon day of the month of Āṣāḍha. He preached the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta to the first band of five disciples headed by Aññakondañña.

Chapter II. The Buddha was thinking of doing good to the world. Nine months after his attainment of Bodhi, the Buddha made an aerial voyage to Laṅkā to fulfil his mission and descended on the garden named Mahānāgavana. Then he went to the meeting of the Yakkhas and terrified them by creating storm, darkness and heavy rains. The Yakkhas having been greatly troubled by these, came to the Buddha and asked for protection. In the midst of the meeting he sat down on a seat of leather but by his miraculous power he made the seat very hot and owing to the excessive heat radiating from the seat, the Yakkhas became very much distressed and the leather expanded so as to cover the whole of the island Laṅkā and the Yakkhas gathered together on the coast, unable to bear the excessive heat. The Giridīpa which was full of shady trees, was brought close to the island of Laṅkā by the Buddha and the Yakkhas, to save themselves from the extreme heat, went to the Giridīpa which was again set on its former site and thus the island of Laṅkā was rid of the Yakkhas. As soon as the Yakkhas left the island of Laṅkā, he stopped his miracle and many gods came to the island and surrounded him. The Buddha preached to the Devas dhamma and gave one of his hairs to God Sumana who built a Caitya over it on the top of the Sumanakūṭa Hill and worshipped it. Then the Buddha returned to Jetavana. Again he went to Laṅkā five years after his enlightenment and pacified the contest between

Cūlodara and Mahodara for a jewelled throne. Again he came to the island of Laṅkā eight years after his enlightenment being invited by a Nāga named Maṇiakkhika. The Buddha with five hundred disciples went to the house of Maṇiakkhika in Kalyāṇī. A caitya built over the seat offered by Maṇiakkhika and used and left by the Buddha, was worshipped by the Nāgas there. This caitya was named Kalyāṇī Caitya. The Buddha then visited the Sumanakūṭa Hill and left his footprints there. Thence he went to Dīghavāpī where he sat in meditation for some time. Thence he visited the site of the Bodhi-tree at Anurādhapura where also he sat in meditation for sometime. Thence he visited the Thūpārāma and finished his work in Ceylon. He preached dhamma for forty-five years and obtained parinibbāna on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in the garden named Upavattana of the Malla Kings near Kusinārā. In the first watch of the night of his parinibbāna, he preached dhamma to the Mallas, in the middle watch, he made Subhadda an arahat and in the last watch he instructed the Bhikkhus to be ardent and strenuous. Early in the morning he rose up from meditation and passed away. Many miracles were seen after his parinibbāna, e. g., the earth quaked from end to end, celestial music was played, all trees became adorned with flowers, though it was not the time for flowers to bloom. The body of the Buddha was wrapped up in new clothes and cotton, five hundred times. It was put into a golden pot, full of oil. A funeral pyre was prepared with scented wood such as sandal, twenty cubits in height and the Mall chiefs put the oil-pot in the pyre. As Mahākassapa did not arrive, fire could not be kindled because it was desired by the gods that the Buddha's body must not be burnt before Mahākassapa had worshipped it. As soon as Mahākassapa came and worshipped the dead body of the Buddha, fire was kindled. The dead body was so completely burnt as to leave no ashes or charcoal. Only the bones of the Buddha of the colour of pearl and gold remained. On account of the Buddha's desire the bones became separated excepting the four bones of the head, two collar bones and teeth. Sarabhu, a disciple of Sāriputta, went to Mahiāṅga in Ceylon taking with him one of the collar-bones of the Buddha and built a caitya. An arahat named Khema took a left tooth relic of the Buddha and over the remaining bone relics, kings of the eight countries began to quarrel. Dona

settled the dispute and divided the bones equally among the eight countries. The kings after having received the relic, took them to their respective kingdoms, built caityas over them and worshipped them. One tooth-relic taken by Khema was given to Brahmadaṭṭa, king of Kalinga who built a caitya over it and worshipped it. Brahmadaṭṭa's son, Kāsīrāja, succeeded his father and worshipped, like his dead father, the caitya built over the tooth relic of the Buddha. Kāsīrāja's son, Sunanda, succeeded him and did the same. Sunanda's son Guhasiva, succeeded him to the throne and did the same. Guhasiva's minister who was a false believer, asked the king whether there was anything supernatural in the tooth relic of the Buddha which the king worshipped and for which valuable offerings were given by him. The king then narrated the various qualities of the tooth relic which showed miracles when prayed for. The minister gave up his false belief and became a follower of the Buddha. The heretics seeing this became very much dissatisfied. Guhasiva ordered all the Nigaṇṭhas to be driven out of the kingdom. The Nigaṇṭhas went to King Paṇḍu of Pāṭaliputta, who was then a very powerful king of Jambudīpa. They complained to Paṇḍu that King Guhasiva being a king subordinate to him (Paṇḍu) worshipped the bone of a dead person (that is, Buddha's relic) without worshipping Brahmā, Siva and others whom he (Paṇḍu) worshipped and they further complained that Guhasiva ridiculed the deities worshipped by him (Paṇḍu). Hearing this King Paṇḍu grew angry and sent one of his subordinate kings called Cittayāna with a fourfold army to arrest and bring Guhasiva with the tooth relic. Cittayāna informed Guhasiva of his mission and Guhasiva welcomed him cordially, showed him the tooth relic of the Buddha and narrated to him the virtues possessed by it. Cittayāna became very much pleased with him and became a follower of the Buddha.

Chapter III. Cittayāna then informed Guhasiva of the order of King Paṇḍu. Guhasiva with the tooth relic on his head, followed by a large number of followers with valuable presents for King Paṇḍu, went to Pāṭaliputta. The Nigaṇṭhas requested King Paṇḍu not to offer any seat to Guhasiva and they also

requested him to set fire to the tooth relic. A big pit of burning charcoal was dug by the king's command and the heretics after taking away the tooth relic, threw it into the fire. As soon as it came in contact with fire, fire became as cool as the winter breeze and a lotus blossomed in the fire and in the midst of the lotus, the tooth relic was placed. Seeing this wonder, many heretics gave up false beliefs but the king himself being a false believer for a long time, could not give up false belief and ordered the tooth relic to be destroyed by stone, which found its place in the sky. The Niganthas asked the king not to attach great importance to the miracles as they were not unprecedented. The tooth-relic was put in a casket and the Nighanthas were asked to take it out and throw it away but none could do so. The king declared that he who would be able to take out the tooth relic, would be rewarded. Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson recollecting the virtues of the Buddha and the deeds done by his great grandfather for the Buddha, was very much pleased to know of the declaration and went to take the tooth relic out of the casket. He praised the tooth relic much and then the tooth relic rose up to the sky and then came down to rest on the head of the great grandson of Anāthapiṇḍika. The Niganthas told King Paṇḍu that due to the influence of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson the tooth relic could rise up to the sky and come down to rest on the head of the great grandson. The Niganthas denied the influence of the relic which displayed various miracles according to the desire of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson. The tooth relic was thrown into a moat. Cittayāna advised the king that he should follow dhamma of the Buddha because by worshipping the tooth-relic, Bimbisāra and other kings attained nirvāṇa. Thus advised he gave up false belief and brought the tooth relic with great pomp. King Guhasīva was cordially received by King Paṇḍu and both of them did many meritorious deeds.

Chapter IV. A King named Khiradhāra came to fight with King Paṇḍu who became victorious. Paṇḍu after re-establishing peace in his kingdom, sent back Guhasīva with Buddha's tooth relic to Kālīṅga. Dantakumāra, son of the king of Ujjain, came to Kālīṅga to worship the tooth relic. Guhasīva cordially wel-

comed him and became pleased to hear the qualities of Dantakumāra and afterwards gave his daughter in marriage to Dantakumāra. After the defeat of Dantakumāra his son and nephews came to Malayavana, a town near Dantapura, to take away the tooth relic by force. Fully realising the danger, Guhasīva asked his son-in-law and daughter to go to Ceylon with the tooth relic. As the king of Ceylon and his subjects were faithful to the Buddha, he thought Ceylon would be the best and safest place for the relic. At this time Mahāsena, a friend of Guhasīva, was the king of Ceylon. The son-in-law and the daughter with the relic sailed by a merchant ship from the port of Tāmralipti. The ship reached Ceylon safely with the relic.

Chapter V. Dantakumāra and his wife with the relic went to a village near the eastern gate of Anurādhapura in the ninth year of the reign of Kittisirimegha, son of Mahādisena. Dantakumāra met an Arahāt and informed him of the tooth relic which he brought to Ceylon for its safety. The Arahāt after hearing this went to the king and informed him of the matter. Mahādisena, the preceding king of Ceylon was a friend of Guhasīva, king of Kalinga who did not know that Mahādisena had died and his son Kittisirimegha was on the throne of Ceylon. Dantakumāra and his wife became very much grieved to know that Mahādisena was no more and his son Kittisirimegha had succeeded him on the throne. The king of Ceylon after learning from the Arahāt that the tooth relic was brought to Ceylon for its safety by Dantakumāra and his wife, became very much pleased. The king and the queen of Ceylon went barefooted to Meghagirivihāra, residence of the Arahāt, to receive the relic. They brought the relic to the palace and placed it on the throne with great devotion. The citizens of Ceylon, the Bhikkhus well-versed in the Tripiṭakas and the Arahāts came to worship it. The king knew that the colour of the relic was as white as the morning star. But finding it not to be so when it was taken out of the casket, suspicion arose in the mind of the king, but his suspicion was soon removed when the relic displayed several miracles. The king built a special temple and kept it there. All the Simhalese monks and householders assembled at Anurādhapura to worship the tooth

relic. At this time a question arose as to the section of the monks to whom the tooth relic would be entrusted for its safety and management. The king decided that the tooth relic would select its own abode. The tooth relic placed on a fully decorated elephant was taken round the city and was brought to the place where the Thera Mahinda preached his first sermon after reaching Ceylon. The King of Ceylon ruled that the relic would be taken round the city once in a year in spring. The temple where it was kept, was extended at the cost of nine lacs. After the death of Kittisirimegha, his successors such as Buddhadasa worshipped it with devotion and protected it.¹

The Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff of St. Petersburg in the Journal of the P. T. S. 1885. It is a work by a modern Burmese author of unknown date. It is a mixture of prose and poetry. It contains an account of hair relics of the Buddha.

The Gandhavaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff in J. P. T. S., 1886. His edition is based on Burmese manuscripts. It is a small and interesting outline of the history of Pali books. It is written mostly in prose. Besides the books of the canon, there is contained in it a sketch of the history of more modern Pali works far more detailed than that in the Sāsana-vaṃsa. A list of authors and their works as stated in the Gandhavaṃsa is given below :

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- 1 The Dāṭhāvaṃsa has been edited in Devanāgarī character and translated into English by Dr. B. C. Law and published by Messrs. Motilal Banarsidas, Proprietors of the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. Besides, there are two Sinhalese editions (by Terunnanse and Sīlā-lāṅkārs), and a P. T. S (London) edition published in 1884 in J. P. T. S. There is another English translation of this work by Mutu Coomaraswami published by Messrs. Trübner & Co., London in 1874. A French version of this work appeared in Paris in 1884 under the " Le Dāṭhāvaṃsa, ou, Histoire de la dent relique du Buddha Gotama ; poème épique Pali de Dhammakitti. " There is a commentary on the Dāṭhāvaṃsa known as the Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsaṭṭikā mentioned in an inscription of the 15th century A. D. Vide also G. Turnour — Account of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon (J. A. S. B. vi).

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Mahākaccāyana :— Kaccāyanagandho, Mahāniruttigandho, Cullaniruttigandho, Nettigandho, Peṭakopadesagandho, Vaṇṇanītigandho.

Buddhaghosa :— Visuddhimaggo, Sumaṅgalavilāsini, Papañca-sūdanī, Sāratthapakāsini, Manorathapūraṇī, Samantapāsādikā, Paramatthakathā, Kaṅkhāvītaṇī, Dhammapadatthakathā, Jātakatthakathā, Khuddakapāṭhatthakathā, Apadānatthakathā.

Buddhadatta :— Vinayavinicchayo, Uttaravinicchayo, Abhidhammāvatāro, Madhuratthavilāsini.

Ānanda :— Mūlatīkaṃ,

Dhammapāla :— Nettipakaraṇatthakathā, Itivuttaka-atthakathā, Udānatthakathā, Cariyāpitaka-atthakathā, Theragāthātthakathā, Vimānavatthussa Vimalavilāsiniṇāma atthakathā, Peta-vatthussa Vimalavilāsini nāma atthakathā, Paramatthamañjūsā, Dīghanikāyatthakathādīnaṃ Catunnaṃ atthakathānaṃ Linatthapakāsini nāma tīkā, Jātakatthakathāya Linatthapakāsini nāma tīkā, Paramatthadīpanī, Linatthavaṇṇanā.

Mahāvajirabuddhi :— Vinayagaṇḍhi.

Vimalabuddhi :— Mukhamattadīpanī.

Cullavajiro :— Atthabyakkhyānaṃ,

Dīpaṅkaro :— Rūpasiddhipakaraṇaṃ, Rūpasiddhitīkaṃ Summapaṇcasuttaṃ.

Culladhammapālo :— Saccasaṅkhepaṃ.

Kassapo :— Mohavicchedanī, Vimaticchedanī, Buddhavaṃso, Anāgatavaṃsa.

Mahānāma :— Saddhammapakāsani, Mahāvaṃsa, Cullavaṃsam.

Upasena :— Saddhammatthitīkaṃ.

Moggallāna :— Moggallānabyākaraṇaṃ.

Samgharakkhita :— Subodhālaṃkāraṃ.

Vuttodayakāra :— Vuttodaya, Saṃbandhacintā, Navatīkaṃ.

Dhammasirī :— Khuddasikkham.

Anuruddha :— Khuddasikkham.

Anuruddha :— Paramatthavinicchayaṃ, Nāmarūpaparicchedaṃ, Abhidhammatthasaṃgahapakaraṇaṃ.

Khema :— Khemaṃ.

Sāriputta :— Sāratthadīpaṇī, Vinayaṃgahapakaraṇaṃ, Sāratthamañjusaṃ, Pañcakaṃ.

Buddhanāga :— Vinayatthamañjusaṃ.

Navo Moggallāna :— Abhidhānappadīpaṇi.

Vācissaro :— Sambandhacintāṭikā, Moggallānabyākaraṇassaṭṭikā, Nāmarūpaparicchedaṭṭikā, Padarūpavibhāvanaṃ, Khemapakaraṇassaṭṭikā, Mūlasikkhayaṭṭikā, Vuttodayavivaraṇaṃ Sumaṅgalopasādanī, Bālāvatāro, Yogavinicchayo, Sīmālakāra, Rūpārūpavibhāga, Paccayaṃgaho.

Sumaṅgala :— Abhidhammatthavikāsaṇī, Abhidhammatthavibhāvaṇī.

Dhammakitti :— Dantadhātupakaraṇaṃ.

Medhamkaro :— Jinacaritaṃ.

Saddhamasiri :— Saddatthabhedacintā.

Devo :— Sumapakūṭavannaṇā.

Cullabuddhaghoso :— Jātattagīnidānaṃ, Sotattagīnidānaṃ.

Raṭṭhapāla :— Madhurasavāhiṇī.

Aggavaṃsa :— Saddanītipakaraṇaṃ.

Vimalabuddhi :— Mahāṭikāṃ.

Uttama :— Bālāvatāraṭṭikāṃ, Liṅgatthavivaraṇaṭṭikāṃ.

Kyaovāraṇṇo :— Saddabindu, Paramatthabindupakaraṇaṃ.

Saddhammaguru :— Saddavuttipakāsaṇaṃ.

Aggapandita :— Lokupatti.

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Saddhammajotipāla :— Simālaṃkārasaṭṭikā, Māṭikatthadīpaṇi, Vinayasamutthānadīpaṇi, Gandhasāro, Paṭṭhānagaṇaṇānayo, Saṃkhepavaṇṇā, Suttaniddeso, Pātimokkhaṇḍaṇi.

Nava Vimalabuddhi :— Abhidhammapaṇṇarasatthānaṃ.

Vepullabuddhi :— Saddasāratthajālīniyāṭikā, Vuttodayaṭikā, Paramatthamañjusa, Dasagaṇḍhivaṇṇā, Magadhabhūtāvidaggaṃ, Vidadhimukkhamaṇḍanaṭikā.

Ariyavaṃso :— Maṇisāramañjusaṃ, Maṇidīpaṃ, Gaṇḍabharaṇaṃ, Mahānissaraṃ, Jātakavisodhanaṃ.

Civaro :— Jaṅghadāsassa ṭikaṃ.

Nava medhaṃkaro :— Lokadīpakasāraṃ.

Sāriputto :— Saddavuttiṭṭipakāsakassaṭṭikaṃ.

Saddhammaguru :— Saddavuttiṭṭipakāsanaṃ.

Dhammasenāpati :— Kārikaṃ. Etimāsamidīpakam, and Manohāraṃ.

Nānasāgaro :— Liṅgatthavivaraṇapakāsanaṃ.

Abhaya :— Saddatthabhedacintāya mahāṭikaṃ.

Guṇasāgaro :— Mukhamattasāraṃ taṭṭikaṃ.

Subhūtaṇḍana :— Liṅgatthavivaraṇapakaraṇaṃ.

Udumbaraṇāmācariyo :— Peṭakopadesassa ṭikaṃ.

Upatissācariya :— Anāgatavaṃsassa aṭṭhakathā.

Buddhapiya :— Sāratthasaṃgahanāmagandho.

Dhammānandācariya :— Kaccāyanasāro, Kaccāyanabhedam, and Kaccāyanasārassatṭikā.

Gandhācariyo :— Kurundiḍḍigandho.

Nāgītācariya :— Saddhasāratthajālīni.

Works of unknown authors mentioned in the Gandhavaṃsa are stated below :—

Mahāpaccariyaṃ, Pūrāṇaṭṭikā, Mūlasikkhāṭṭikā, Līnatthapakāsinī, Nisandeho, Dhammānusāraṇī, Ñeyyāsandati, Ñeyyāsandatiyā ṭikā, Sumahavatāro. Lokopaññattipakaraṇaṃ, Tathāgata-pattipakaraṇaṃ, Nalātaḍḍhitavaṇṇanā, Sīhalavitttha, Dhammapa-dāpako, Paṭipattisaṃgaho, Visuddhimaggagandhi, Abhidhamma-gandhi, Nettipakaraṇagandhi, Visuddhimaggacullaṭṭikā, Sotappa-mālīnī, Pasādani, Oṭṭasālokasūdanī, Subodhālāṅkāraṇaṃ Navaṭṭikā, Gūḷhatthaṭṭikā, Bālapabbodhanāṃ, Saddatthabhedacintāya maj-jhimaṭṭikā, Kārikāyaṭṭikā, Etimāsamiḍḍipikāyaṭṭikā, Dīpavaṃsa, Thūpavaṃsa and Bodhivaṃsa.

The author of the Sāsana-vaṃsa gives an outline of Buddha's life and briefly deals with the three Buddhist Councils held during the reigns of the three Indian kings, Ajātasattu, Kālāsoka and Asoka. After the third Council was over, Moggaliputta Tissa Thera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Paññāsāmi, the author of the Sāsana-vaṃsa, speaks of the nine regions visited by the missionaries. But of these nine, five are placed in Indo-China. Dr. Mobil Bode is of opinion that the author's horizon seems to be limited, first by an orthodox desire to claim most of the early teachers for the countries of the South (and hence to prove the purest possible sources for the Southern doctrines), and secondly by a certain feeling of national pride. According to this account, Mahā-Moggaliputta Tissa sent two separate missionaries to the neighbouring regions in the valley of the Irawaddy besides three others, who visited Laos and Pegu.

The Thera Mahinda went to Ceylon for the propagation of the faith during the reign of the Sinhalese King Devānaṃpiyatissa who was a contemporary of the Indian King Asoka.

Sona and Uttara visited Suvannabhūmi (Sudhammapura, that is, Thaton at the mouth of Sittaung River). The author holds that even before the sending out of the missionaries to Suvannabhūmi by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the President of the Third Buddhist Council, Buddha came here personally with a number of Bhikkhus to preach his doctrines.

Mahārakkhita Thera spread Buddhism in Yona country (the country of the Shan tribes about Zimmé).

Yonarakkhita Thera visited the country of Vanavāsī (the region round Prome) and propagated Buddhism there.

Majjhantika visited Kasmīra and Gandhāra (the Gandhāra country) which lay on the right bank of the Indus, south of Kabul and the whole country became a strong Buddhist hold.

It was through Mahā-Revata Thera that Buddhism found its way into Mahimsakamaṇḍala (Andhra country).

Mahā-Dhammarakkhita Thera went to Mahārāṭṭha (Mahā-nagara-rāṭṭha or Siam) and spread Buddhism there.

Majjhima Thera spread the Buddhist faith in Cīnarāṭṭha (the Himavantapadesa of the Ceylon books).

Now we shall deal with the history of the spread of Buddhism in Aparantarāṭṭha which (placed by European scholars west of the Punjab) is no other than the Sunāparanta of the Burmese, i. e., the region lying west of the upper Irawaddy.

The Sāsana-vamsa brings before us a picture of the relations of State and Saṅgha in Burma from the time of Anuruddha, with his constant adviser, Arahanta, to the time of Meng-Dun-Meng, with his Council of Mahātheras. Those relations were one of mutual dependence. The Order, though enriched by the gifts of pious laymen, yet depends, in the last resort, upon the king. The peaceful and easy life dear to the Burmese Bhikkhu, the necessary calm for study or the writing of books, the land or water to be set apart for ecclesiastical ceremonies, all these are only secured by the king's favour and protection. This accounts for the general loyalty of the Saṅgha to the head of the State. The king's despotism is also held in check. " At the lowest, the royal gifts of vihāras and the buildings of cetiyas are either the price paid down for desired prosperity and victory, or the atonement for bloodshed and plunder ; and the despot dares not risk the terrors, the degradation, that later births, in coming time, may hold in store for him, if he injures or neglects the Saṅgha." As a rule, the king was the recognised authority in ecclesiastical affairs. This is

evident from Anuruddha's vigorous reforms. The Saṅgharāja is not the elected Head of the Order. He is appointed by the king whose favourite and tutor he usually is. It appears from the Pārupana Ekamsika controversy that the king's power to settle a religious question by royal decree is fully recognised by the Saṅgha. But we also see the king himself under his ācariya's influence, so far as to ensure his favouring the orthodox or unorthodox school, according to the views of the Saṅgharāja.

The History of Religion in Mramma is nothing more than the history of the Buddhist Order in Sunāparanta and Tambadīpa. The history of the Burmese as a nation centres in a group of cities -- Pugān, Sagain, Ava, Panyā, Amarapura, Mandalay -- each, in its turn, the seat of kings.

The early Buddhist stronghold in Burma was at Sudhammapura, the capital of Manohari, King of Pegu. Anuruddha, King of Pagan, at the instance of Arahanta, a great Thera who came from Sudhammapura to Pugān, made war with Manohari and brought the sacred relics and books to Pugān. All the members of the Saṅgha in Thaton (Sudhammapura) were also transferred to Pugān. Anuruddha further sent for copies from Ceylon, which Arahanta compared with those of Pegu, to settle the readings.

During the reign of Narapatisisa the celebrated teacher Uttara-jīva came from Sudhammapura to Arimaddana and established religion there. His pupil Chapada who spent ten years studying in Ceylon, returned with four colleagues to the capital. After the death of Chapada separate schools came into existence, having their origin in certain differences that arose between the three surviving teachers -- Sivali, Tamalinda and Ānanda. The schools are together known as Pacchāgaṇa to distinguish them from the earlier school in Arimaddana (Purimagana) founded by Arahanta.

The reign of Kyocvā is highly important for the history of Buddhism. He was himself the author of two manuals -- Paramatthabindu and Saddabindu, for the use of his wives, and one of his daughters wrote the Vibhatyattha. We are told of the science and zeal of the women of Arimaddana, and anecdotes are told of their skill in grammar and the keenness of their wit.

In the reign of Bureng Naung religion thrived most. It is recorded of him that he even forced Buddhism on the Shāns and Muslims in the north of his kingdom.

In the reign of Siri Mahāsihasūrasudhammarāja begins a new chapter in the history of Burmese Buddhism — the Pārūpana — Ekamsika controversy. The rise and many phases of the dispute are set forth at length by the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*. Two sects arose — the Ekamsika sect (it was so named for going about in the village with one shoulder uncovered by the upper garment, and the Pārūpana sect (this school strictly observed the wearing of the upper garment on both shoulders, during the village rounds). During the reign of Bodoah Prā the question was settled for good. A royal decree established the Pārūpana practices for the whole of the kingdom.

During the reign of Meng-dun-Meng we come to the last controversy, perhaps recorded because it points to the influence of the Burmese Saṃgha in Ceylon. An ancient Sīmā in the island (Ceylon) was the subject of dispute. The matter was brought for judgment to the Saṃgharāja at Mandalay, by deputations from both sides. The Saṃgharāja gave judgment after consulting various sacred texts. The members of both sides received presents from the king.

Thus the history of religion in Aparanta closes.

The edition of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*¹ is based on two palm-leaf Mss. in the British Museum. It is a non-canonical book and is text of Burmese authorship. It is a very interesting historical work. The author Paññaswāmi who dates his book 1223 of the Burmese Common Era 1861 A. D., was the tutor of the then reigning king of Burma and himself a pupil of the head of the Order at Mandalay. The table of contents promises a general history of Buddhism drawn from a few well-known Pali works, e. g., *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Dipavaṃsa*. Events are brought up to the time of the third Council in the

1 Read *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa* edited by Jñānatilaka Nāyaka Punnāṇse and *Sāsanavaṃsādīpaya* by Vimalasāra Unnāṇse. Read also "The author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*" by M. Bode, J. R., A. S., 1899.

time of Asoka and the sending forth of missionaries by the Thera Mahāmoggaliputta Tissa. The later history of religion consists of nine chapters, which falls into two parts. The first part consists of a few legends strung together with quotations from Buddhaghosa and Dipavaṃsa. The accounts of Ceylon and Burma seem to be more careful and complete than those of the other matters of this group. The second part covers three-fifths of the book and treats solely of the history of Buddhism in Burma proper. In part one, the section dealing with the missions strikes the key-note of the Sīsanavaṃsa. A few geographical notes explained the nine regions visited by the first missionaries. A careful study of this work shows the author's intimate acquaintance with the commentaries. The style imitates that of Buddhaghosa and his successors. There are no points of philological interest. The book gives us an interesting record of the part played by the Buddha's religion in the social and intellectual life. Paññaswāmi's history is a purely ecclesiastical piece of work. This work has been edited by Mobel Bode, Ph. D. for the P. T. S. London.

THE DATE OF HARṢA - PULAKEŚIN WAR

BY

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It is well-known that the efforts of mighty Harṣa to reduce Pulakeśin II to submission did not come to fruition and that he had to return home discomfited from the Vindhya passes. But neither the foreign admirer of Harṣa, who admits the defeat of his imperial host, nor the courtly poet of Pulakeśin, who grows eloquent over this signal achievement of his patron, throws any light on the time of this war or the causes that led to it. We of course know that the war took place sometime before 634 A. D., the date of the Aihole inscription, but how many years prior to that date it was fought, is not yet definitely ascertained. As a consequence, we find divergent views held on this subject. The late Dr. Fleet had advanced the opinion that the war between Pulakeśin and Harṣa must have taken place before 612 A. D.¹ This view has been recently accepted by Dr. R. K. Mookerji in his book on Harṣa in the *Rulers of India Series*². Vincent Smith³, and following him, Mr. C. V. Vaidya⁴ are, on the other hand, disposed to hold that the contest has to be placed in c. 620 A. D. It will be shown in this paper on the strength of new epigraphical evidence that the war between the two aspirants for imperial power almost certainly took place sometime between 630 A. D. and 634 A. D.

The arguments in favour of the view that the battle took place before 612 A. D. are by no means very strong. It is no doubt true that later records of the successors of Pulakeśin II mention that

1 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 351.

2 Pp. 31 ff.

3 *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 353.

4 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 13.

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Pulakeśin won the title of Paramēśvara as a result of the overthrow of Harṣa, the Imperial Sovereign of Northern India, and that the Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II, dated 612 A. D.¹, assign him that title. It will be, however, not safe to conclude from this circumstance that Pulakeśin had defeated Harṣa even earlier than 612 A. D. If such were the case, the glorious achievement being quite a recent one, the plates would have gone eloquent over its description. As it is, they do not even refer to the overthrow of Harṣa. The title Paramēśvara is no doubt given to Pulakeśin, but every student of ancient Indian copper-plates knows that their writers were not usually accustomed to weigh their words very carefully when they were eulogising their patrons. That the title Paramēśvara had no vital connection with the overthrow of Harṣa, as later day copper-plate-composers claim, will be further evident from the fact that Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihole *prāśasti*, does not give it to his patron in his famous composition, although he therein describes the defeat of Harṣa in picturesque language.

Nor does the testimony of Yuan Chwang prove that the two sovereigns had measured swords with each other before 612 A. D. The Chinese pilgrim no doubt remarks that after conquering the 'five Indias' within six years after his accession, Harṣa 'reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon.'² But as Walters has pointed out³, the word *ch'ui* here employed simply means 'to don the imperial robe', i. e. to reign justly and happily. That any literal interpretation of the expression, which would of course exclude the possibility of the offensive against Pulakeśin after 612 A. D., is out of question will be clear from the fact that Harṣa was actually engaged in a war with the people of Ganjam at the time of his meeting with Yuan Chwang.

Fleet seems to be under the impression that all the exploits of Pulakeśin mentioned in the Aihole inscription in verses 17 to 24 were accomplished prior to his formal coronation in 610 A. D.,

1 I. A, VI, p. 73.

2 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 343.

3 *Ibid*, p. 346.

14 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

which is being described in v. 25. If such were the case, the defect of Harṣa will have to be placed prior to 610 A. D. The verse 25, however, does not at all refer to the coronation of Pulakeśin II. After describing how Pulakeśin foiled the efforts of his uncle to deprive him of his throne, how he broke up the confederacy of Govinda and Āppayika, defeated the rulers of Vana-vāsi and Konkana, overthrow Gaṅgas, Alūpas and Mauryas and reduced Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara rulers, Ravikīrti points out that as a consequence of these exploits, Pulakeśin became the Lord Paramount of the three Mahārāṣṭras. The verse describes Pulakeśin's attainment of the imperial position in the south and has nothing to do with his accession in 610 A. D.¹

A survey of the political situation at the commencement of the careers of both the sovereigns will show that they could not have fought with each other prior to 612 A. D. Each had to spend his first few years in consolidating his position and overcoming local and hereditary foes, who were neither few nor insignificant. If we read between the lines of Yuan Chwang, we shall find that Harṣa could have thought of challenging the position of Pulakeśin only after 612 A. D. Says the Pilgrim "Proceeding *eastwards*, he (i. e. Harṣa) invaded the states that had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the five Indias". The exact meaning of the expression 'Five Indias' is unfortunately uncertain, but the expression '*proceeding eastwards*' makes it quite clear, that these six years were spent by Harṣa in fighting with his opponents exclusively in Eastern India. The pilgrim goes on to observe, "then having enlarged his territory, he increased his army, bringing his elephant corps upto 60,000, and the cavalry to 1,00,000." It must have been only after his resources were thus increased and army strengthened in 612 A. D. that Harṣa could have thought of attacking his neighbours in the west or in the south.

1 Cf. विधिवदुपचिताभिः शक्तिभिः शक्रकल्प- ।

स्तिस्त्रिभिरपि गुणैः स्वैश्च माहाकुलाद्यैः ॥

अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां ।

नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणाम् ॥

Nor was Pulakeśin powerful enough to accept the challenge of Harṣa before 612 A. D. The Hyderabad plates make it clear that he had ascended the throne in 610 A. D. Pious history, as manufactured by later chroniclers, no doubt asserts¹ that Maṅgalīśa voluntarily surrendered the crown to his nephew Pulakeśin II, when the latter came of age; 'for is it ever conceivable that a scion of Cālukya family would ever depart from the path of virtue?' Contemporary documents, however, tell a different tale, and we know that instead of handing over the kingdom to his nephew, Maṅgalīśa fought with him to the bitter end in order to secure the succession of his own son and perished in the effort.² The fratricidal war encouraged the feudatories to be rebellious, and Pulakeśin was threatened in the very heart of his kingdom by a confederacy of Govinda and Āppāyika, who advanced to fight with him on the banks of the Bhīmā. Pulakeśin could save the situation only by buying off one of his opponents in order to defeat the other.³ Then immediately to the south of his capital, he had to fight with the Gaṅgas and Alūpas. Nor had he easy time in Koṅkaṇa, where he had to reduce to subjection the Mauryas. It will be thus seen that the first few years of Pulakeśin must have been spent in reconquering the home-provinces of his hereditary kingdom. Within three years of his accession, he could, therefore, hardly have been in a position to defeat Harṣa.

The cause of the war between Harṣa and Pulakeśin seems to be the conflict of their imperial plans in Gujarat and Malva. Students of Ancient Indian History know full well how these provinces used to profess allegiance sometimes to a northern and sometimes to a southern power. Both Harṣa and Pulakeśin, therefore, thought that these provinces ought to fall within their own spheres of influence. There is nothing to show that Ravikīrti follows any chronological order in narrating the events in the Aihole inscription; the mention, however, of the acceptance of Pulakeśin's sovereignty by Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara rulers in v. 22, immediately before the description of the war with Harṣa,

1 e. g. Yevoor tablets, *I. A.*, vol. VIII, p. 13,

2 Aihole Inscription, v. 15.

3 *Ibid.*, v. 17.

may very probably show that the one was the cause of the other. It is well-known that several records of the Gurjars of Bharoach claim that Dadda II, a ruler of that line, had protected a king of Valabhi against Harṣa.¹ It would appear very probable that before attacking Valabhi, Harṣa must have compelled the ruler of Malva to recognise his suzerainty. This must have exasperated Pulakeśin, for that ruler was his own feudatory erstwhile. He seems to have planned retaliation by helping the Gurjara ruler Dadda II in affording protection to the Valabhi chief against Harṣa. Nay, it is quite probable that the credit claimed for Dadda II may have really belonged to Pulakeśin, whose feudatory he probably was. Cases are by no means few in Ancient Indian historical documents where feudatories entirely ignore their suzerains and take the full credit of the latter's achievements to themselves. Thus the defeat of Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahipāla is claimed entirely for Cālukya feudatory Nārasimha by his court poet Pampa, who completely ignores Indra III, his patron's feudal lord.² The Bharoach Gurjara kingdom was a petty principality, hardly equal to two or three modern districts: and it is very improbable, if not impossible, that Dadda II could have single-handedly afforded protection to the Valabhi ruler against the Lord Paramount of Northern India. It is almost certain that he was either supported by Pulakeśin's battalions, or that he was merely fighting in the latter's army. The latter hypothesis seems to be more probable, for the Aihole inscriptions claim in v. 22 that the Gurjara ruler was a feudatory of Pulakeśin.

It would appear that Harṣa eventually succeeded in winning over the Valabhi ruler by offering him his own daughter in marriage. Such a move was essential, for it was very useful in consolidating Harṣa's position in Central India by removing an enemy in the flank. The assumption sometimes made that Harṣa may have marched against Valabhi after the efforts to defeat Pulakeśin proved of no avail is very improbable. Northern powers are usually seen consolidating their position in the north, right up to Kathiawar before launching an attack on trans-

1 e. g. Naosari plates I. A. XIII, p. 77.

2 *Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣana*, Introduction, p. XIV.

Vindhyan regions. The Mauryas had conquered Kathiawar before attacking the Deccan. The Muslims attacked Devagiri only after they had conquered Gujarat and Kathiawar. It would therefore seem almost certain that Harṣa's conquest or winning over of the Valabhi ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakeśin.

If such were the case, the latter event must be placed sometime about 630 A. D. We have already seen how later Gurjara grants claim that Dadda II had afforded protection to the Valabhi king against Harṣa. The known dates of Dadda II range from 629 to 640 A. D. It is not very probable that his accession took place much earlier than 629 A. D. We may therefore place the Gurjara-Cālukya alliance sometime about 628 or 629 A. D. This alliance did not last long, for Dhruvabhaṭa the Valabhi king, was won over by Harṣa. Strengthened and encouraged by this defection, Harṣa must have planned his offensive against Pulakeśin sometime between 630 and 634 A. D.

634 A. D., the upper limit for the war is determined by the Aihole inscription. That the lower limit cannot go back beyond 630 A. D., as shown above by a discussion of the general political situation, is further rendered almost certain by the recently published Lohaṇera copper-plates of Pulakeśin II.¹ The wording of the date of this document is unfortunately slightly corrupt, it reads as '*dvipaṇcāśadadhike śakābdapaṇcake*'. If we take the expression literally, it would mean 'in the Śaka year 52'. But in Śaka 52, neither Pulakeśin nor the Cālukyas were in existence. It is quite obvious that the expression *śakābdapaṇcake* is a mistake for *śatābdapaṇcake*. The date of this record of Pulakeśin II is therefore 552 in Śaka Era i. e. 630 A. D., a year falling within the known reign of that ruler.

The Lohaṇera plates of Pulakeśin II issued in 630 A. D. describe his valour and exploits, but are altogether silent about the defeat of Harṣa. They describe Pulakeśin as *Vijayī sāhasaikaratih, anekacaturdantasaṁgrāmajanitaprāṇa ... tayā ... svabhujabalalabdha-vikramākhyah, ... pūrvāparāmbunāthah, ... prasabhābhimrṣṭānyarāja-*

I Khare ; *Sources of Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 1-8.

306 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

śrīh, but are quite silent about the most notable achievement of Pulakeśin. Negative evidence is no doubt generally to be accepted with caution, but the composer was out to describe the valour of the donor ; and if the most significant achievement of the latter known to us did not occur to him, the almost certain reason seems to be that it was not yet an accomplished fact. We have seen already how the known facts of the Gurjara-Maitraka history support the view that the offensive against Pulakeśin could not have been launched before c. 630 A. D. The negative evidence of the Lohanera plates supports the same conclusion. It would be thus seen that we can locate the war between Harṣa and Pulakeśin within the narrow limit of four years, 630-634 A. D.

THE AGE OF JANAKA AND OTHERS

BY

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA, M. A.

Two remarkable books were sometime ago published on Ancient Indian History by the Calcutta University. These deserve the special study and attention of all oriental scholars. The first of these is Dr. S. N. Pradhan's "Chronology of Ancient India" which deals with the political history of ancient India from the time of the Rgvedic King Divodāsa down to the extinction of the Nandas, while the second, Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury's "Political History of Ancient India" deals with the period from the birth of Parikṣit to the extinction of the imperial Guptas. Thus the period ranging from the time of Parikṣit to the end of the Nandas has been dealt with by both Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury.

It is interesting to note that the results obtained by them diverge widely. Dr. Pradhan has worked on the well-known principle laid down in the Vāyu Purāṇa (I, 200-1) and the Mahābhārata (I. 2, 382; I, 1, 267-8) that the knowledge of the Veda should be reinforced with the knowledge of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, for 'Veda is afraid that the man ignorant of the Purāṇa and Itihāsa will do violence to Him' (i. e. Veda). There is some truth in this principle, for Vedic India can never be properly understood, unless one knows the Purāṇa (= ancient history) of India. Working on this principle Dr. Pradhan has checked and corrected Purāṇic genealogies and traditions with the information and evidence derived from Vedic literature in general, as well as from genuine Purāṇic synchronisms, and found that in the Purāṇas 'sometimes one dynasty is merged or interwoven into or tacked on to another dynasty, owing to the corrupt readings that have crept in', and this has resulted in 'a preposterously long line of kings' (*Chronology of Ancient India*, Preface, p. xi). Collateral successions have sometimes been described in the Purāṇas as lineal; sometimes orders of succession reversed, synchronisms misplaced, dynasties lengthened owing to corrupt

readings (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). For this reason Dr. Pradhan has thought it necessary to accept all Purāṇic accounts with caution, to compare and check them amongst themselves and 'to correct them in the light of Vedic, Buddhistic, Jain and other external evidences' (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). For according to him evidence derived from the Veda is very strong and generally carries more authority than the Purāṇas, for 'many of them are either directly contemporary records or are traditions founded on contemporary records' (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). Dr. Roy Choudhury's point of view, though somewhat similar, leans more towards Buddhistic literature, and looks on the Purāṇas with greater suspicion. It may be noted in this connection that Pargiter's view has been to place 'little trust in the Vedic literature regarding matters containing Brahmanical pretensions' (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 10), and to ascribe to the Veda 'a Brahmanical lack of historical sense' (*A. I. H. T.*, pp. 63-75), and generally to place 'implicit trust in the Purāṇas' and 'little trust in the Vedas'. We mean to compare here a few of the results obtained by Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury.

Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks that Janakas from Siradhvaja Janaka to Kṛti Janaka, as described in the Purāṇas (i. e. the Vāyu and Viṣṇu etc.) were the later Videhas of Mithilā, and began to rule the kingdom of Videha 6 generations or 180 years after the time of Janamejaya Pāriksita. He admits that he has failed to bring any of the Janakas into synchronistic connection with the members of other royal dynasties and identify any of the Purāṇic Janakas, with the Janakas mentioned in the Buddhistic Jātakas (*Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 31). He thinks that the great Janaka of the Vedic texts was Siradhvaja Janaka, father of Sitā, of the Purāṇic list, because Āsvapati, king of the Kekayas, is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as the maternal grandfather of Bharata, and because Janaka of the Vedic texts, was contemporary with the Kekaya king named Āsvapati (*Political History of Ancient India*, 1st ed., p. 21). This is the view held by Dr. Roy Choudhury in the 1st edition of his book. In the 2nd edition of it, we find he has almost withdrawn his opinion, as we find him adding "as the name Āsvapati is also given to Bharata's maternal uncle (Rāmāyaṇa VII, 113, 4), it

was possibly not a personal name but a family designation like 'Janaka'. In that case it is impossible to say how far the identification of the Vedic Janaka with the father of Sītā is correct" (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 31). Although 'the precise determination of the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka is', according to Dr. Roy Choudhury, 'impossible' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26), yet Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks, the fact that 'the great Janaka was later than the Pāriksitas' (i. e. Janamejaya, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena) 'admits of no doubt' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 25). Although the epic tradition that Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya (*Mahābhārata*, Beng. recension, I, 53, 7; IV, 21, 2) and the Purāṇic tradition (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* IV, 21, 2) that Janamejaya's son and successor Śātānīka learnt the Vedas from Yājñavalkya, go towards proving the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Janaka, they are held by Dr. Roy Choudhury as unreliable (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26) because he thinks that they are incompatible with the evidence derived from Vedic literature (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26). The first line of Vedic evidence is, according to Dr. Roy Choudhury, derived from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (III, 3. 1), where Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tests Yājñavalkya with the question "whither have the Pāriksitas gone?", the true answer to which had already been obtained by Bhujyu from a Gandharva who had possessed the daughter of Patañcala Kāpya in the Madra country before. Yājñavalkya answered "Thither where Aśvamedha sacrificers go". Dr. Roy Choudhury concludes from this that 'the Pāriksitas (sons of Parikṣit)' i. e. Janamejaya and his brothers 'must at that time have passed away, though their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 25-6).

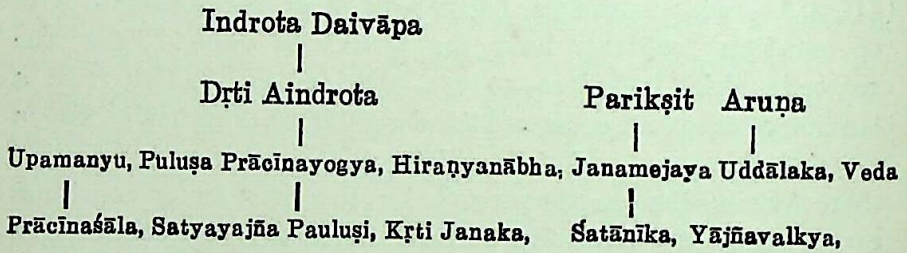
A second line of evidence adduced by Dr. Roy Choudhury in support of his contention is as follows (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26) :—

Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya (*Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa* XIII, 5, 4, 1). Indrota's pupil was his son Dṛti Aindrota (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2; *Vaiśā Bra.* 2). Dṛti's pupil was Puluṣa Prācinayogya (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2).

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Puluṣa's pupil was Satyayajña Pauluṣi (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2). Satyayajña Pauluṣi was a contemporary of Buḍila Āsvata-rāśvi and of Uddālaka Āruṇi (*Chāndogya Up.* V, 11, 1-2) two prominent figures of Janaka's court (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* V, 14, 8; III, 7, 1). Satyayajña Pauluṣi therefore was a contemporary of Janaka Vaideha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi Prācinayogya met Janaka (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI, 6, 2, 1-3). As Satyayajña flourished long after Indrota Daivāpa, his contemporary Janaka was considerably later than Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota (*P. H. A. I.* 2nd ed., p. 26).

Turning to the view of Dr. Pradhan we find that the same evidence from Vedic literature and consequently the same line of argument has been used by him to show that Janamejaya Pāri-kṣita was a contemporary of Hiranyanābha Kausalya and therefore was an older contemporary of Janaka and Yājñavalkya (*C. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 134). The small synchronistic tables furnished by him (*C. A. I.*, p. 160; p. 134), illustrate the chronological relation amongst the persons mentioned :—



Thus it will be found that the Vedic evidence used by Dr. Roy Choudhury in the hope of proving 'clearly' that 'Janaka was separated by six generations from Janamejaya's time' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 27) or by about '180 years' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-8) and thus to reject the Purāṇic and epic synchronisms considering them as 'unreliable' is exactly the very evidence which has already been employed by Dr. Pradhan to show that they furnish corroboration of the epic and Purāṇic synchronisms.

The third argument advanced by Dr. Roy Choudhury to prove that Janaka was six generations below Janamejaya is based upon the lists of teachers in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhadā-

raṇyaka Upaniṣad (*P. H. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 17 ; 2nd ed., p. 27). He says that because Tura Kāvaseya, the priest of Janamejaya, stands at the 10th step above Sāñjiviputra, and because Yājñavalkya, the friend of Janaka, stands at the 4th step above the same Sāñjiviputra, as in the list below :—

Tura Kāvaseya	Janamejaya
Yājñavacas Rājastambāyana	
Kuśri	
Śāṇḍilya	
Vātsya	
Vāmakāksāyana	
Māhitthi	Yājñavalkya, Janaka
Kautsa	Āsuri
Māṇḍavya	Āsurāyana
Māṇḍukāyani	Prāśniputra
Sāñjiviputra	Sāñjiviputra

therefore Janamejaya stands at the 6th step above Janaka.

Dr. Pradhan we find (*C. A. I.* p, 159) has used a slightly different list from the same book Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X, 6, 5, 9 ; XIV, 3, 2, 32), but arriving at the same conclusion, namely that Tura Kāvaseya stands at the 6th step above Yājñavalkya in the following series of Vedic teachers :—

Tura Kāvaseya		
Yājñavacas Rājastambāyana		
Kuśri Vājaśravasa		
Upaveśi		
Aruṇa Aupaveśi		Parikṣita
Uddālaka Āruṇi		Janamejaya
Yājñavalkya	Janaka	Śātānika

Thus although Tura Kāvaseya stands at the 6th step in the series of teachers above Yājñavalkya and Janaka, Dr. Pradhan

has placed Janamejaya only a step above Janaka (*C. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 159) in conformity with the several epic, Purāṇic and Vedic synchronisms which will be mentioned in this paper presently, and has made the justifiable hypothesis that Tura Kāvaseya lived to a great age to officiate as the priest of Janamejaya, just as Vyāsa Pārāśarya lived to a great age to attend Janamejaya's court (*C. A. I.*, p. 160) when the latter instituted his Nāgasatra (*Beng. MBh.* I, 53, 7 ; I, 60, 7). Besides in a succession of teachers, the average age-difference is generally much less than that in a lineal descendence, unless the pupils are sons of their preceptors. The preceptors were in some cases younger than their pupils, just as Śaṅkarācārya was much younger than his pupil Sureśvarācārya. The subject of contemporaneity will be best understood when it is borne in mind that a man may generally be contemporary with five successive generations. In my childhood I was a contemporary of the grand-father of a friend of mine ; I am now a contemporary of his old father and of him ; I am a contemporary of his son, who is now a youth and has just married ; If I am spared a few years more, I shall be a contemporary of my friend's grand-child. If a man lives exceptionally long, he may be a contemporary of no less than six successive generations of men, younger or older. There is no reason to be surprised at the information that Tura Kāvaseya officiated as the priest of Janamejaya, although the latter was contemporary with Uddālaka Āruni who was the fifth in the series of teachers from Tura Kāvaseya. All doubts about this will be dispelled when one remembers the case of the Turkish bi-centenarian Zaro Aga who was 9 years old in 1784 at the time of the treaty of the American War of Independence.

It is interesting to note how Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury have differed as regards the time about which the famous king Hiranyanābha Kausalya flourished.

Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks that Hiranyanābha Kausalya was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, and of Prasenajit, king of Kosala, and of Bimbisāra of Magadha (*P. H. A. I.*, 1st ed. p. 51 and p. 81 ; 2nd ed. p. 65 and p. 99). He has arrived at this result by the following steps :—

(1) 'Uddālaka' Āruṇi 'was separated by 6 generations from Janamejaya'.

(2) Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was separated by 2 generations from Uddālaka, (as in the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka).

(3) 'Therefore Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana flourished 7 or 8 generations from' (i. e. below) 'Janamejaya'.

(4) Kausalya Āśvalāyana, Kabandhin Kātyāyana, Pippalāda and Prince Hirāṇyanābha Kausalya were contemporaries as given in the Praśna Upaniṣad (VI, 1). Āśvalāyana here was an inhabitant of Kosala.

(5) The author of the Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra was contemporary with the author of the Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra, 'as they mention each other in their respective works'.

(6) Āssalāyana of Sāvatti is 'mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II, 147 et seq) as a famous Vedic scholar and a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and Kukuda or Pakudha Kaccāyana'.

'These facts' have enabled Dr. Roy Choudhury 'to identify Kausalya Āśvalāyana' of the Praśna Upaniṣad 'with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti' of 'the Majjhima Nikāya', and to conclude that he 'must have lived in the 6th century B. C.' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17), and secondly to conclude that Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana 'too must have lived in the 6th century B. C.', if Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was identical with the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Grhya Sūtra (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17), and thirdly to conclude that the king Hirāṇyanābha Kausalya was contemporary with Prasenajit, king of Kosala, and of Gautama Buddha, and of Bimbisāra of Magadha.

On analysing the steps adopted here by Dr. Roy Choudhury it will be found that the 1st step is wrong, as we have already seen that his Vedic evidences rather tend to prove the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Uddālaka Āruṇi.

Combining the 4th and 6th steps together, Dr. Roy Choudhury concludes that Kausalya Āśvalāyana of the Praśna Upaniṣad was identical with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti of the Majjhima Nikāya. Because Āśvalāyana was an inhabitant of Kosala, therefore he

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was identical with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti — this seems to be the reasoning adopted by Dr. Roy Choudhury. It is an assumption pure and simple. It is no proof.

In the 1st edition of his work (p. 10) Dr. Roy Choudhury stated " It is however possible that Guṇākya Śāṅkhāyana was not identical with the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra and referred us to *S. B. E.* XXIX, pp. 4-5. In the second edition (pp. 16-17), he states " If Guṇākya Śāṅkhāyana was the same as the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra, he too must have lived in the 6th century B. C." It appears that he entertains less doubt about Guṇākya Śāṅkhāyana having been the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra, for he accepts the contemporaneity of Guṇākya, Āśvalāyana and Gautama Buddha, and places Janaka in the 7th century B. C. (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-28). But we have got to say a few words about Guṇākya.

From the Br̥hadāranyaka Upaniṣad (VI, 3, 7 ; 5, 3) we learn that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi. Kahoḍa being the pupil of the same Uddālaka, was contemporary with Yājñavalkya. Guṇākya who was the pupil of Kahoḍa, therefore ranks only a step below Yājñavalkya. Now Yājñavalkya was the author of many Yajuses in, and the compiler of the White Yajurveda. Guṇākya who ranks only a step below Yājñavalkya therefore belonged to the very beginning of the Yajurvedic Period. Hence he could not evidently have been the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra, for the Gr̥hya Sūtras, as a class of literature, are of later date.

Another point need be noticed in this connection. The consequences of treating Guṇākya as contemporary with Āssalāyana Sāvatti and Gautama Buddha, and therefore with Prasenajit and Bimbisāra would be to bring down Kahoḍa, and Yājñavalkya — the author of the White Yajurveda to only a step above Gautama Buddha, that is to suppose that Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra, etc. might have seen Yājñavalkya in their youth. This is absurd on the very face of it, for the White Yajurveda cannot belong to the time of Gautama Buddha. Guṇākya was far earlier than Gautama Buddha.

Again, consequent on Dr. Roy Choudhury's assumption of the identity of Āssalāyana of Sāvatti with Kausalya Āśvalāyana of

the *Prāśna Upaniṣad*, Dr. Roy Choudhury has been compelled to make another wrong assumption, namely, of the identity of Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the *Prāśna Upaniṣad* with Pakudha Kaccāyana of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17). In order to prove the identity of Kabandhin Kātyāyana with Pakudha Kaccāyana, he says that the word 'Kavandhin' means the same thing as the word 'Kakuda' giving us the equation 'Kavandhin = Kakuda' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed, p. 17 foot-note) and has asked us to refer to the *Atharvaveda* IX, 4, 3. We consult the *Atharvaveda* and find that W. D. Whitney has translated the word 'Kavandha' by 'trunk'. (*Translation of Atharvaveda*, p. 529). We consult the *Vācaspatya Abhidhāna*, Monier-William's Dictionary, Sanskrit Worterbuch, R. C. Childers' Dictionary of the Pali Language etc., and nowhere do we find any way of helping Dr. Roy Choudhury to obtain the equation "Kavandha = Kakuda". We give here all the meanings of these two words :--

- "Kav(b)andha" =
- (1) A barrel, cask, trunk, belly
 - (2) A large-bellied vessel
 - (3) A comet
 - (4) Name of Rāhu
 - (5) Name of the Rākṣasa Danu, son of Śrī
 - (6) Name of certain Ketu 96 in number
 - (7) Clouds which obscure the Sun at sun-set and sun-rise.

- "Kakuda" =
- (1) Chief
 - (2) Any projecting corner
 - (3) The hump of the shoulder of the Indian bullock
 - (4) Name of a metre
 - (5) An ensign of royalty
 - (6) Name of a daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma.

Childers names 'the tree *Terminalia Arjuna*' as a synonym for Kakuda in addition to the 3rd and 5th in the above list.

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- “Kav(b)andhin” means (1) a sage mentioned in the Praśna Upaniṣad
(2) laden with water.

Thus it will be realized that we have been misled with a wrong equation. But even admitting for the sake of argument that the word ‘Kavandha’ means the same as ‘Kakuda’, we cannot accept that Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the Praśna Upaniṣad was identical with Pakudha Kaccāyana of the Majjhima Nikāya, for it would then only mean that in the Kātyāyana gotra or family one was named Kabandhin and another Pakudha. Other very strong evidences must be brought forward to prove the identity of two persons having different names of the same meaning. But the question does not arise at all, because the equation itself Kavandhin = Kakuda, cannot stand. The fact is that Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Bhāradvāja etc. were gotra or family titles in those days, just as Mukherjee, Banerjee, Pradhan and Roy Choudhury are family-titles now-a-days.

From the conversations described in the Praśna Upaniṣad (III, 1-12) between the Atharvavedic Professor Pippalāda and Kausalya Āśvalāyana, it is clear that the latter was eager to know about the nature of Life and its relation to the Self, while from the conversations between Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Gautama Buddha it is clear that this Āssalāyana belonged to a degenerate age, puffed up with the vanity of caste, always anxious to preach the purity and superiority of Brahmans. How different is the mentality of Āśvalāyana of the Praśna Upaniṣad.

Similarly, it is evident from the Majjhima Nikāya (I, p. 198 ; I, p. 250 ; II, p. 2) that Pakudha Kaccāyana was a degenerate mediocrity or even worse in intellect, while the Praśna Upaniṣad (I, 3-15) informs us that Kavandhin Kātyāyana really belonged to the true Brahmanic type of the Vedic age, anxious to know about the Most Glorious, the Most Effulgent, the One Origin of this Universe, Manifested in this Universe. It is now easy to understand why Dr. Roy Choudhury has been led to assign Hiranya-nābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra. Kausalya Āśvalāyana and Kavandhin Kātyāyana were, according to the Praśna Upaniṣad, contemporary with the

King Hiranyanābha. Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Pakudha Kaccāyana were, according to the Majjhima Nikāya, contemporary with Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra. Now if Kausalya Āśvalāyana and Kavandhin Kātyāyana are identified with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Pakudha Kaccāyana respectively, as they have been by Dr. Roy Choudhury, then the king Hiranyanābha Kausalya could not but be regarded by him as belonging to the time of Gautama Buddha.

We have already seen that Dr. Roy Choudhury's identifications represented by the equations :

Kausalya Āśvalāyana = Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Kavandhin Kātyāyana = Pakudha Kaccāyana, are wrong, so that one may infer that his assigning Hiranyanābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha and Prasenajit is erroneous. Moreover we shall have to imagine that the Kosala King Hiranyanābha and the Kosala King Prasenajit ruled simultaneously if we believe in the above identifications. Had they ruled or existed simultaneously in Kosala, the eloquent Buddhist literature would have mentioned that.

According to Dr. Pradhan, the assignment of Hiranyanābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha is absolutely untenable, for the King Para, son of Atpāra and grandson of Hiranyanābha, as he has shown (*C. A. I.*, p. 135) is mentioned not only in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI, 9, 11-13), the Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (II, 6, 11), the Pañcaviṃśā Brāhmaṇa (XXV, 16, 3), and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5, 4, 4), but also in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (V, 6, 5, 3) and the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā. No one should dare to bring the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa etc. down to times of Prasenajit, Ajātaśatru and Gautama Buddha.

Dr. Pradhan has collected various other pieces of evidence for accepting that Janamejaya Pāriksita was a contemporary of Hiranyanābha Kausalya and an older contemporary of Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā :—

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(1) The position of Yājñavalkya, and therefore of Janaka Vaideha, is absolutely fixed on the genealogical table because Śātānika, son of Janamejaya, read the three Vedas with Yājñavalkya (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

(2) The position of Yājñavalkya and therefore of his friend Janaka Vaideha, is unalterably fixed on the genealogical table, because Yājñavalkya was the nephew (=sister's son=Bhāgineya) and disciple of Vaiśampāyana who related the story of Mahābhārata at the court of Janamejaya Pāriksita (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

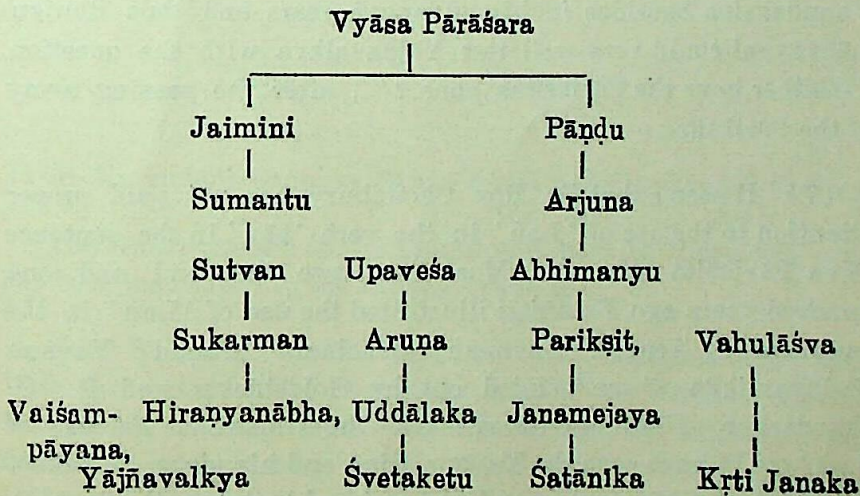
(3) This Vaiśampāyana's personal name was Caraka (*Kāśikā* on Pāṇini), so that his full name was Caraka Vaiśampāyana, so called because he was a descendant or son of Viśampa (*C. A. I.*, p. 124). As a result of a quarrel between Vaiśampāyana and his nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, the latter, the friend of Janaka, gave up learning and teaching the Black Yajurveda, and composed and compiled the White Yajurveda (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

This quarrel between the uncle and the nephew is attested not only by the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata but also by the Mahābhārata (both the Bengal and Madras recensions) (*C. A. I.* p. 124) and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (*M. Śat. Br.* III, 8, 2, 24), where it is mentioned that Yājñavalkya was cursed by Caraka Adhvaryu. This fact of the quarrel between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil and nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya fixes the position of Yājñavalkya and therefore of Janaka Vaideha, just a step below that of Janamejaya whose court-historian Vaiśampāyana was.

(4) Uddālaka Āruṇi who, according to the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad attended the court of Janaka Vaideha, and joined that famous debate, had two other class-friends, namely, Upamanyu and Baida (or Veda); and these three were the pupils of Apoda Dhaumya as is evident from the Bengal and Madras recensions of the Mahābhārata (*C. A. I.*, p. 132). Now of these three pupils, the third, i. e. Veda or Baida was approached by Janamejaya Pāriksita to become his priest (*C. A. I.*, 132). This also makes Uddālaka Āruṇi and consequently his pupil Yājñavalkya contemporary with Janamejaya.

(5) Uddālaka Āruṇi himself with his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya (*MBh.* I, 53, 7). This also makes Uddālaka Āruṇi and Janamejaya contemporaries.

(6) Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, as appears from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (VI, 5, 3), was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi (*C. A. I.*, p. 132). He was the pupil also of Hiranyanābha Kausalya, a descendant of Rāma Dāśarathi. This King Hiranyanābha Kausalya was, according to the unanimous testimony of the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇa, was the pupil of Sukarman, the great grandson of Jaimini, the disciple of Vyāsa Pārāśarya (*C. A. I.*, pp. 125-127). It is related in detail in all these works that Sumantu was the son and pupil of his father Jaimini — the pupil of Vyāsa Pārāśarya Sumanta's son and pupil was Sutvan; Sutvan's son and pupil was Sukarman; Sukarman got two very intelligent disciples, one,—the Brāhmaṇa Pauṣyañji, and the other,—the King Hiranyanābha Kausalya. Now Jaimini, having been the pupil of Vyāsa, was contemporary with Pāṇḍu; Jaimini's son Sumantu was contemporary with Pāṇḍu's son Arjuna; Sumantu's son Sutvan was contemporary with Arjuna's son Abhimanyu; Sutvan's son Sukarman was contemporary with Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit. Hence Sukarman's pupil Hiranyanābha Kausalya could not but be contemporary with Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit. The relation is best expressed in the following table :—



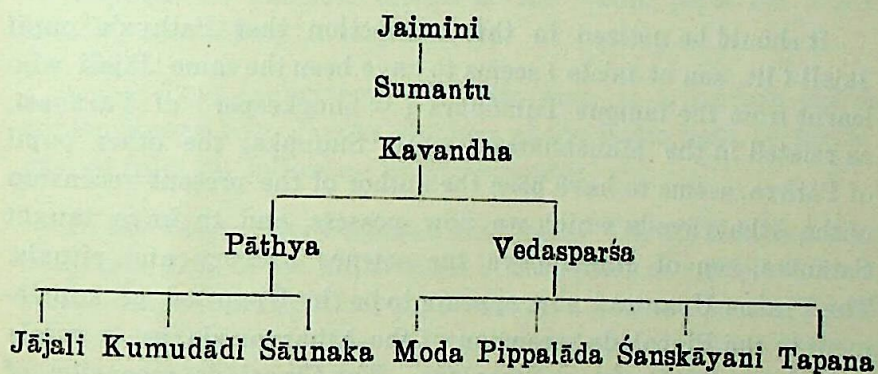
This establishes the contemporaneity between Janamejaya and Hiranyanābha Kausalya. According to all the authoritative Purāṇas, as Dr. Pradhan has shown, Yājñavalkya learnt the science of 'Yoga' from Hiranyanābha Kausalya (*C. A. I.* pp. 123-4). Dr. Pradhan has also shown that Hiranyanābha's pupil Kṛti was no other than Kṛti, the son of Vahulāśva of the Janaka dynasty (*C. A. I.* pp. 131-132). Kṛti Janaka and Yājñavalkya therefore belonged to the same time and the same step on the genealogical table, as both of them were the pupils of Hiranyanābha. Yājñavalkya thus was the friend and contemporary, not of Śiradhvaja Janaka, the father of Sitā, as Dr. Roy Choudhury has supposed, but of Kṛti Janaka, a descendant of Śiradhvaja in the 18th degree. Thus will be realized what a tremendous confusion has been made by Dr. Roy Choudhury by supposing that the Videhas in the Purāṇas from Śiradhvaja Janaka downwards, were the later Videhas of Mithilā, who began to flourish six generations after Janamejaya Pāriksita, and by assuming necessarily that the events of the Rāmāyaṇa were long posterior to those of the Mahābhārata. This absurd supposition, which goes against the entire body of Indian tradition, could not have been thought of even if there were no uncritical scholars in support of it in the days of the infancy of Oriental research in Europe.

The above table makes it absolutely clear that the Pāriksitas could be dead when Janaka Vaideha (= Kṛti Janaka) held his Vahudakṣiṇa Sacrifice in his advanced years and thus Bhujyu Lāhyāyani could very well test Yājñavalkya with the question "Whither have the Pāriksitas gone ? ", after the passing away of the Pāriksitas.

(7) It seems that Dr. Roy Choudhury has not paid proper attention to the use of 'Lañ' in the verb 'bhu' in the sentence "Kva Pāriksitā abhavan." More than two thousand and one hundred years ago, Patañjali illustrated the use of 'Lañ' in the sentences "Aruṇad Yavanah Śāketam, aruṇad Yavano Mādhyamikān, " as pointed out by Goldstücker and R. G. Bhandarkar. Patañjali, the speaker who illustrated the use of 'Lañ' could have seen the Yavana King and his siege of Śāketa and Mādhyamikās, had he so liked and had he taken the trouble

of going to Sāketa etc.. Yājñavalkya and Bhujyu similarly might have seen the death of the Pāriksitas had they been present in Hastināpura at that time. It is clear from the use of 'Lañ' that the death of Janamejaya and his brothers happened during the life-time of Yājñavalkya, Bhujyu etc. In fact the use of 'Lañ' is another evidence for the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Yājñavalkya. The real fact is that Yājñavalkya was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya as we have already found.

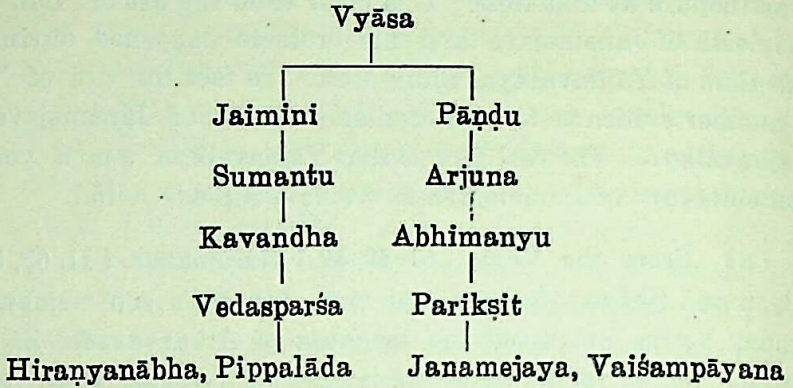
(8) From the Vāyu (61-49-52) Brahmaṇḍa (II, 65, 51-4) Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata we learn that Jaimini's son Sumantu to whom Vyāsa entrusted the teaching of Atharvaveda, had two pupils, one of whom was Kavandha; Kavandha again taught the Atharvaveda to two of his pupils, namely Pathya and Vedasparśa; Pathya's three pupils were Jājali, Kumudādi and Śaunaka, while Vedasparśa had four pupils, namely Moda, Pippalāda, Śaṅskāyani and Tapana. The relations are best expressed in the following tree which has already been published in Dr. Pradhan's table genealogies of Vedic Kings and series of Vedic teachers, facing page 176 of 'Chronology of Ancient India.'



The reader can see it at a glance that here is Pippalāda who has been mentioned in the Praśna Upaniṣad.

Now Sumantu, son of Jaimini, was contemporary with Pāṇḍu's son Arjuna, for Pāṇḍu and Jaimini, as we have already seen, were contemporaries; Kavandha, pupil of Sumantu, was therefore contemporary with Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna; Vedasparśa was contemporary with Parikṣit, and Pippalāda, pupil

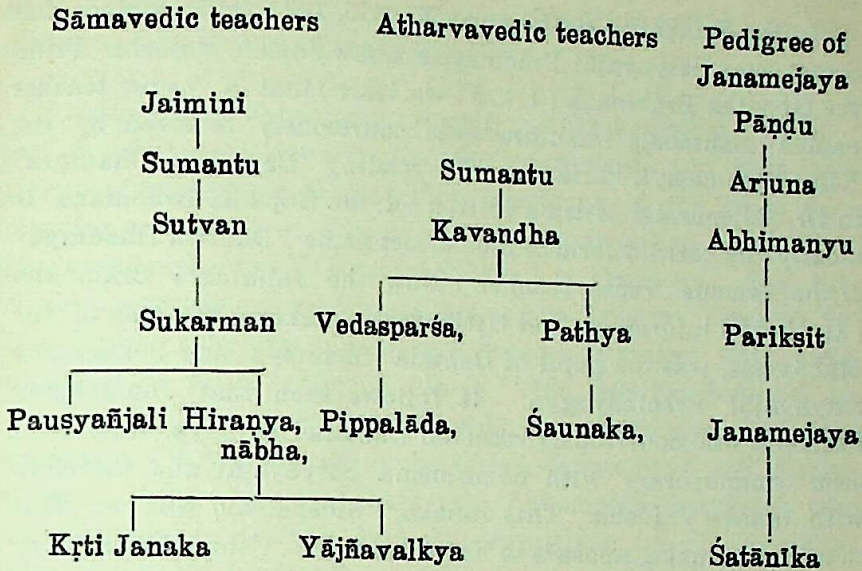
of Vedasparśa, was therefore contemporary with Janamejaya Pārikṣita, as illustrated below :—



Kausalya Aśvalāyana, Sukeśan Bhāradvāja, Kavandhin Kātyāyana, Pippalāda, the Atharvavedic professor, must therefore have been contemporary with Janamejaya, as is clear from the table above. Now from the Praśna Upaniṣad we have already learnt that Hiranyanābha and Pippalāda were contemporaries. Hence Hiranyanābha must have been contemporary with Janamejaya.

It should be noticed in this connection that Pathya's pupil Jājali (lit. son of Jajala) seems to have been the same Jājali who learnt from the famous Tulādhāra (= shopkeeper) of Vārāṇasī, as related in the Mahābhārata, while Śaunaka, the other pupil of Pathya, seems to have been the author of the present recension of the Atharvaveda which we now possess, and to have taught Śatānika, son of Janamejaya the science archery and rituals. The Praśna Upaniṣad now appears to be the Upaniṣad or supplement to the Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda, as it extols and praises the Professor Pippalāda. The Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda has also been obtained in Kāśmīra.

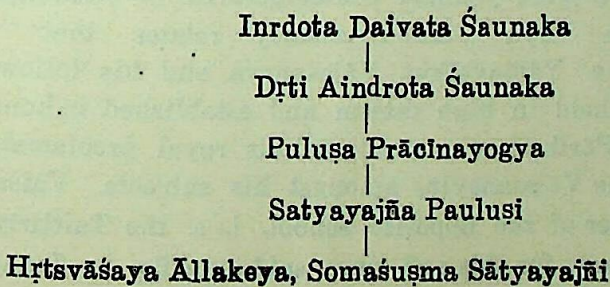
(9) The contemporaneity between Hiranyanābha and Janamejaya is also deducible from a comparison of the list of Sāmavedic teachers drawn up by Dr. Pradhan (*C. A. I.* p. 131) with the list of Atharvavedic teachers and the pedigree of Janamejaya as already shown on the table of genealogies facing page 176 of his *Chronology of Ancient India*.



Kṛti is explicitly stated to have been the pupil of Hiranya-nābha in the matter of spreading the knowledge of the Sāmaveda, and to have been a king (*C. A. I.* pp. 131-2; pp. 141-3.). Yājñavalkya also learnt Yoga from Hiraṇyanābha. Thus Kṛti Janaka was the Janaka Vaiḍeha of the Vedic texts for whom Dr. Roy Choudhury is very anxious.

(10) That Janamejaya Pārikṣita was, to a certain extent, contemporary with Janaka Vaiḍeha of the Vedic texts, is further proved from the following Vedic evidences :—

In the Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (III, 40, 2) Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakeya, king of the Mahāvṛṣṣas, is mentioned as a pupil of Somaśuśma Satyayajñi Prācīnayogya who, in his turn, was the fourth in the descending series of teachers from Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka as illustrated in the following table :



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In the Śatāpatha Brāhmaṇa (XI, 6, 2, 1-3) it is stated that Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi Prācīnayogya saw Janaka Vaideha. From the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I, 2, 5) we learn that a Vedic teacher named 'Dantābala Dhaumra' was courteously received by the King Janamejaya Pāriksita. The reading "Dantābala Dhaumra" in Dr. Rājendralal Mitra's edition of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is clearly the corrupt form of the correct name "Dantāla Dhaumya" of the famous Vedic teacher. Now the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (II, 55-56) informs us that Hṛtsvāsaya Āllakeya, the king of the Mahāvṛṣas, was the pupil of Dantāla Dhaumya and Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi Prācīnayogya. It follows then that Janamejaya Pāriksita who courteously received Dantāla Dhaumya, must have been contemporary with Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi and therefore with Janaka Vaideha. This Janaka, Vaideha who was no other than Kṛti Janaka, appears to have held his Vahudakṣiṇa sacrifice when he was quite advanced in years when Janamejaya was dead. The relation is illustrated in the following table :--

Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka		
Dr̥ti Aindrota Śaunaka		Āpoda Dhaumya
Pulusa Prācīnayogya,	Janamejaya	Dantāla Dhaumya
Satyayajña Pauluṣi	Janaka Vaideha	
Somasuśma Sātyayajñi		Hṛtsvāsaya Āllakeya

Thus from evidences exclusively Vedic, we arrive at the conclusion that Janaka Vaideha of the Vedic texts was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya.

(11) There is yet another ground for holding that Janaka and Yājñavalkya were younger contemporaries of Janamejaya Pāriksita. The Vāyu Purāṇa clearly relates that the Vājasaneyins i. e. Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya and his followers and pupils were held in high esteem and established in honour by Janamejaya Pāriksita who circulated his royal proclamation for honouring the Vājasaneyins amongst his subjects. Vaiśampāyana, the leader of the opposite school, i. e. the Taittirīyas, became really sorry for this and once said angrily to Janame-

jaya : " You, ill-advised king, your proclamation will not be respected as long as I continue to live "

In spite of this, Janamejaya worshipped the Vedic deity Prajapati on a full moon day with the offering of oblation of ghee and performed two Āśvamedha sacrifices according to the rules and formulas or mantras of Vājasaneyi (= Yājñavalkya) and thus after establishing the Vājasaneyi Veda (= Brahman), i. e. the White Yajurveda in practice, Janamejaya became dwarfed in three limbs. (Perhaps Janamejaya became attacked with gout or paralysis which crippled him). This detailed information given by the Vāyu Purāṇa is extremely interesting and absolutely creditable. It removes all doubt about Janamejaya and Yājñavalkya. It is certain that these two Āśvamedha sacrifices performed according to rules and mantras given by Yājñavalkya, were the very Āśvamedha sacrifices to which Yājñavalkya, referred, during the debate held in Janaka's court. The story of Patañcala Kāpya's daughter having been possessed by a Gandharva, has been introduced by the later Vājasaneyins, i. e. the writers of the Brhadāranyaka, to give an appearance of difficulty to the question put to Yājñavalkya by Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, at the court of Janaka.

Thus it will be found that Dr. Roy Choudhury's error about the chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka has plainly been due to his wrong assumption of the identity of Āśvalāyana of Sāvatti with Kausalya Āśvalāyana ; of Kabandhin Kātyāyana with Pakudha Kaccāyana. Consequent on these wrong assumptions, Dr. Roy Choudhury has made the more grievous assertion that Hiranyanābha Kausalya was contemporary with Gautama Buddha.

ARTHAŚĀSTRA RE-EXAMINED
OR
THE CULTURE AND DATE OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA
BY

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M. A.

“ Kautalya's *Arthaśāstra* advocates ideals and culture which are non-Indian. This may be due to the fact that the Malwa empire for a long time remained under the influence of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas”. In this strain a recent writer on the subject writes in the *Indian Antiquary*¹ and seems to propound three theories. First the *Arthaśāstra* was written somewhere between 480 and 510 A. D. Secondly it was a product of the Malwa Empire under the foreign domination of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas. Thirdly ideals and culture advocated in the *Arthaśāstra* are non-Indian.

This is then a re-examination of the whole *Arthaśāstra* problem. Though there has been a view that the date of the compilation of the Kautaliya *Arthaśāstra* may be brought down to the beginnings of the Christian era² still opinion was not divided as to the culture advocated by that treatise on ancient Indian Polity. The late V. A. Smith took the correct and sound view that the *Arthaśāstra* was an actual picture of the Mauryan Empire under its first emperor³. This finds corroboration from a more reliable quarter viz. : Aśokan inscriptions. Notwithstanding volumes of interpretation on these mute records on the rocks and pillars still the last word has not been said. A comparative study of the inscriptions and the *Arthaśāstra* texts has revealed to us the wonderful concordance between the two. The inference is irresistible that

1 See Pran Nath's article on the date of the compilation of Kautalya's *Arthaśāstra* 484-510 A. D., June, 1931, pp. 109-113, July, 1931, pp. 121-3.

2 See A. B. Keith in the *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Patna, pp. 8-22.

3 See *Early History of India*, p. 144.

Aśoka was an ardent student of the *Arthaśāstra*¹. Suffice it to say here that this coincidence is remarkable since it demonstrates beyond doubt the powerful hold which the *Arthaśāstra* had on the great Mauryan empire.

An interesting circumstance in this connection is that the ideals and culture advocated by the *Arthaśāstra* were known to the distinguished author of the sacred *Kural* whose compilation is assigned to the second century B. C. on various grounds.² If the *Arthaśāstra* be known in the Tamil land in the Second Century B. C. surely at least a century must have elapsed since the compilation to get authoritative recognition from the learned public. Further there is no trace of the ideas and ideals peculiar to the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas adumbrated. The institutions and the political theories inculcated are quite in consonance with the accepted standards of Ancient Hindu culture. Mere statement of a theory would not help us much unless substantiated by quotations from the *Arthaśāstra*. No case has been made out to prove that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* has imported alien ideas and culture into his memorable treatise.

Equally weak, unconvincing and inconclusive is the attempt to show that it was a product of the Malwa Empire. The following are some of the points raised in this connection. They may be categorically stated with summary answers.

1. Kauṭilya has selected a small territory called *Janapada* and that situated near a sea-coast approaching in area nearly to a modern *tasil*. This is quite contradictory with the other remark made in the very next page that the Kauṭilya King possessed landed property in Aparānta, Aśmaka, Avanti, Jāṅgala, and Anupa Deśas. Certainly each of these countries must have been bigger than a modern *tasil* and these countries put together must be big enough for an empire even granting that the Kauṭilyan King possessed landed property only in the above mentioned Deśas. Thus at the outset it seems that the case made out rests on no substantial basis.

1 I have discussed this question in my *Maurya Polity*, (Madras University), 1932.

2 See Author's *Studies in Tamil Literature & History*, the chapter of Tiruvalluvar.

2. Much is made of the defence by the local wild tribes. Reference here is only to the outlying portions of the empire, specially those forest-belts which always separated the Capital from the country parts. In such places a statesman like Kaṭalya would have felt that it would be the right policy to get such forsaken places guarded by wild tribes who were real masters of the situation. The mention of Vāhurika and Pulinda may refer to Gujarat, Avanti and Central India. But Śabarās, Caṇḍālas and Ātavikas were not the monopoly of the Malwa Empire alone. These and similar tribes were scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Indian continent. The same condition is depicted in the ancient Tamil works. The Maravar or the Eyinar who were foresters were pressed into service by the Tamil kings for defence purposes. In the opening chapters of *Janapadasamuddeśa* Kaṭalya simply lays down means and methods for a conquering monarch with regard to colonisation of new lands, their distribution and protection. In the beginning of the Mauryan epoch there was a tendency on the part of the first two kings to enlarge their kingdoms as far as possible. This being the ruling passion of the monarch Kaṭalya lays down a prescription how to encroach on a new territory with a view to eventually occupy the same.

3. The theory that the Kaṭiliya *Janapada* was situated near a sea coast is inconclusive. For the empire under Candragupta Maurya, and his successors Bindusara and Aśoka, was bounded by the sea at least on two sides, and there is therefore every justification for Kaṭalya to refer to seaports and sailing vessels, either commercial or piratic. There need be no elaborate department of Nāvādhyakṣa or Superintendent of boats and navy for a *Janapada* of a modern *tasil*. An interesting circumstance in this connection is that among articles of import find mention oyster shells, conch shells, pearls etc., which are found in sea-shore¹. If the kingdom is really situated on a sea-coast, then, would it not be legitimate to expect that kingdom to export such articles and import inland articles which can not be obtained near a sea-coast? But the fact that the sea-growing articles were imported is proof

1 *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. XI.

positive that the Capital was situated away from the sea and this necessitated importing of such articles of merchandise. Again if the kingdom is situated on a sea-coast then there would be no room for Kauṭilya to enunciate in such an elaborate manner the interstate or international policy by means of a *maṇḍala* theory known as 'the circle of states'. In fact if one takes it as Pran Nath does, there would be no place for a circle of states'.

In this connection a passage from the section entitled *Śītū-dhyakṣa* is quoted and the passage is as follows :

Soḍaśadronam Jāṅgalānām varṣapra
mānamadhyardhamanūpānām deśa
vāpānām ardhatrāyodaśāsmakānām,
trayovimsatiravantīnām, amitamapa-
rāntānām haimanyānām ca kulyavāpānām ca kālataḥ ।
—Arthasāstra, Bk. II, Ch. 24.

Shama Śāstri translates it thus : "The quantity of rain that falls in the country of Jāṅgala is 16 droṇas half as much more in the moist countries (anūpānām); as to the countries which are fit for agriculture (deśavāpānām) 13½ droṇas in the country of Āsmakas; 23 droṇas in Avānti and an immense quantity in western countries (aparāntānām) the borders of the Himālayas and the countries where water channels are made use of in agriculture (*Kulyavāpānām*)¹. Pran Nath interprets thus : "The annual measure (of produce to be taken as the King's due) is 16 droṇas in the country of Jāṅgala; 34 droṇas in moist (marshy or low) countries fit for agriculture; 13½ droṇas in *Janapadas* of Āsmaka; 23 droṇas in Avānti; the quantity in Aparānta is not measured; the crop grown in winter and irrigated (by well, pond, tank, lake etc.) should be ascertained according to the time"². Both these translations are faulty in the sense that while one term is interpreted as the name of a kingdom, another is interpreted in its literal sense. For example, Shama Śāstri translates *anūpā* moist country and Pran Nath *Haimanya* winter. In the interpretation of any passage the prescription is :

arthāt-prakṛaṇāt-līṅgāt-aucityāt-arthamācayāḥ ।

1 Trans. P. 139, II Ed.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1931, P. 111,

This means that the interpretation suggested must follow the *prakaraṇa*. Either all the terms occurring in the passage are names of territories or connote different classification of soil. The latter cannot be. For Āsmaka and Avanti cannot come under any classification of soil. So the other possible alternative is that every term refers to a different kingdom. Further it is ingenious to interpret *Varṣapramāṇam* as annual measure of produce. Its ordinary meaning, 'the quantity of rainfall,' will quite fit in with the context.

If Kauṭilya had meant "actual measure of produce" he should have stated the quantity of the Aparānta and Haimapya. The expression *amītam* proves that the author means only the quantity of rainfall.

The suggested translation is as follows :—

"Amongst the countries fit for agriculture the quantity of rainfall in the kingdom of Jāṅgala (possibly Kurujāṅgala) is 16 dropas, in that of Anūpa¹ 24 dropas, in that of Āsmaka (Āraṭṭa) 13½ dropas and in that of Avanti (Malwa) 23 dropas the quantity of rainfall in the Aparānta and the Himalayan regions cannot be measured; and these are cultivated by irrigation channels in certain seasons".

The idea of the last two sentences is that such regions being mountaineous tracts and rainfall dependent on monsoons, sometimes there will be very heavy showers and sometimes monsoon failing there will be no shower with the consequence that they had to resort to irrigation. A geographical study of the territories mentioned shows that the empire contemplated by the *Arthaśāstra* is not Malwa empire of the 5th Century A. D. but is much bigger than that. Western India, Himālayas, Kurujāṅgala, Bengal, Malwa and the Dekhan constitute the empire and hence practically the whole of Hindustan with a portion of the Dekhan. In other words these were the territorial limits covered by the Mauryan empire under its first ruler Candragupta. Can it still be maintained that the *Arthaśāstra* was not the work of the Minister of Candragupta Maurya? We hope not.

1 The country inhabited by the Anūpa tribe and may be looked for in the Vindhya Hills,

MISCELLANEA

SUBSTANCE OF THE LECTURE ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF AHIMSA

delivered at the

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

(25th February 1932)

BY

PROFESSOR DR. BETTY HEIMANN
of the University of Halle

Etymologically *ahimsā* connotes an absence of a desire to injure another in thought, word, or deed. In form it is negative, and is often interpreted in a specific narrow sense; but really it is wider and a very ancient conception. It can in fact be traced back to the R̥gvedic conception of the "Rta" or the eternal cosmic Law or Order which governs all the facts and happenings in Nature. Rta compels every animate and inanimate being to follow the laws of its own existence so as not to thwart or obstruct all others from following the laws of their own individual existences. It may accordingly be said to be a sort of a "social contract" interpreted from the cosmic point of view. It is worth noting in this connection that Varuṇa, the champion of the R̥gvedic Rta, is associated with Mitra, the god of friendship or social contract, from whom the Buddhistic conception of "Mettā" is lineally descended. This conception is meant to inculcate the doctrine of "Samatā" or equality of all things in the sense of the well-known Bṛhadāraṇyaka passage I. iii. 22 which equates the Prāṇa Ātman simultaneously with the gnat, the fly, the elephant, or the universe, who are all — ignoring their differing evaluation from the *human* point of view — alike the equal partners of the cosmic social order that is based upon non-violence or Ahimsā. It follows that this doctrine, while in one of its workings-out it led the Jainas to object to even the cultivation of the soil lest it might involve the destruction of insect-life, in its

another and equally logical interpretation it enjoined upon the King of the country the duty to uproot all the "Kaṇṭakas" thorns or mischief-mongers, that may harm his subjects and so disturb the social balance. This means that the "social contract" presupposes the acknowledgment of all existing orders and existing groups of beings as essential functional values in an estimation of the universe as a whole; no single component of which is permitted to follow the "Atimārga" and transgress the bounds of its own existence and purpose. This in fact is the true "Dharma" the eternal rule that teaches different "Dharmas" to tolerate each other.

Ahimsā in Ancient India was conceived as a duty and a privilege that regulated the relations not between man and man alone, but between man and the whole Nature. Thus man is enjoined to remember in his daily religious offerings the shares of all his fellow-creatures. As objects of religious veneration he chooses caves, causeways or confluences which seem to have been sanctified by Nature itself. He may not impair the holiness of Nature by his own man-built forms of religion. And even in those glorious temples (e. g. Mamalapuram and Ellora) where the art of man appears to have triumphed over Nature, his innate humility has led him to create animal-sculptures and place them as if freely walking about in the complex of the temple.

It is this doctrine of Ahimsā taken in its widest philosophical sense that has made the Ancient Indian Ethics a *cosmic* ethics and not a *personal* ethics. Man and the animate and inanimate creation in the midst of which he is placed constituted but one whole, the component parts of which had their own fixed and inalienable places and boundaries. Hence the system of the castes and their traditional code of conduct, wherein each individual is merely a representative of his order and becomes liable for ancestral or communal delinquencies. The individual has accordingly to preserve the balance of his order and be ready, by self-immolation if need be, to restore the balance if disturbed, and render *objective* satisfaction : Compare the story of Odiupus in Greek Mythology. Hence the responsibility of the king for all the undetected sins amongst his subjects as illustrated in the glorious life-history of Rāma. The king no less than the commoner was

thus regarded not as a private individual but as the "function-holder" of the community. The conduct between men and men is in short governed by laws derived from cosmic facts. Ahimsā thus became tantamount to *unviolated* social contract.

In the domain of Dharmaśāstra or Civil and religious law the doctrine of Ahimsā has made itself felt in the recognition of the sanctity of possession, the appointed time for appropriation being purposely postponed as long as possible. Similarly the head of the family was not allowed to make a will cutting the property — especially landed and house-property — into pieces. The householder's duty to maintain the holy fire and the daily Karman or to continue the "prajā-tantu" may in this way be regarded as an injunction for Ahimsā in respect of things and persons that are to come. Man in fact is not an isolated individual: every creature is a fellow-creature. Hence the exemplary cultivation of hospitality in Ancient India. Hence too the three ethical duties enjoined by Prajāpati by the voice of thunder: *Damayata, Datta, Dayata* (Bṛhad. V. ii. 1). Belief in the dogma of transmigration or re-incarnation, by projecting or continuing the relations between man and his fellow-creation beyond the limits of just one span of life, must no doubt have eased the difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the ethical doctrine of Ahimsā as a social contract, and it must also have heartened many an Indian Yogin, Sādhū, or Tapasvin to cultivate self-denial and indifference to bodily suffering. Ahimsā in fact weaned men from self-conceit, wantonness or passion (*ἰβρις*) which has played such an important role with the Greek Dramatists.

In religious and political expressions Ahimsā, sows the seed of tolerance, one effect of which is the facility with which symbols got multiplied and at times even contradictory symbols were brought together in India in the sphere of one and the same religion. Symbols are not the reality: they merely represent it. And as the Real according to the "Ahimsā" philosophy is an all-comprehending unity, a variety of symbols to represent the divine variety of nature became a foregone conclusion.

The famous theory of the Syādvāda, which teaches us to look to all possibilities in thinking, may be regarded as the logical

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aspect of the doctrine of Ahimsā. And not only the Syādvāda, but all Indian Logic endeavours to see things not subordinated but co-ordinated : not cut off from each other by dichotomic definitions, but brought together in a kind of summarizing, synthetic definitions. In politics Ahimsā has given us the idea of "Satyā-graha", which etymologically connotes "seizing the truth as it exists" — always conceding the right of all forms of existence as such to exist, including of course your own existence. This should infuse not only courage of convictions and a fearlessness of consequences but also the ever necessary readiness to compare, to measure and to discuss one's own point of view and that of the opponent, in order to realize and establish the balance between the opposing forces and ideas.

We can thus never do full justice to the high dignity of the doctrine of Ahimsā if we narrow it down to one single practical act.

A NOTE ON SIDDHIVINIŚCAYA AND ŚRṢṬIPARĪKṢĀ

BY

H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

Out of the several important and unpublished works quoted by *Siddhasena Gaṇi* in his monumental commentary¹ to *Umāsvāti Vācaka's Tattvārthādhigamaśūtra* and its *bhāṣya*, I may mention *Siddhiviniścaya* and *Śrṣṭiparīkṣā*.

As is well-known Jainism does not consider anybody as a Creator of the Universe, much less does it attribute the act of creation to *Paramātman*, the soul in its perfectly liberated condition. Since the learned commentator does not intend to dilate upon this open secret, he naturally refers the readers to standard works where their curiosity in this connection is likely to be easily gratified. He has selected for this purpose *Siddhiviniścaya*² and *Śrṣṭiparīkṣā*³, the latter signifying the examination of creation. In my humble opinion, both these works are of *Jaina* authorship and most probably of the *Śvetāmbara* School. If one is tempted to identify this *Siddhiviniścaya* with one composed by *Akalaṅkadeva* and commented upon by *Anantavīrya*, pupil of *Ravibhadra*, will it not be a very difficult problem for him to solve as to why this *Siddhasena* does not seem to have criticized or refuted any of the views of *Akalaṅka* expressed by him in his splendid work *Tattvārtharājavarṇikā*, even when this *Śvetāmbara* commentator has not spared his own brethrer, and, if rightly judged, *Siddhasena Divākara* too, the well-known logician, in his zeal to be quite faithful to the *Āgamas*?

It may be mentioned *en passant* that the exact date of *Siddhasena Gaṇi* is a desideratum. He has referred to *Dharmakīrti*⁴ and

1 This commentary together with the original text and the *bhāṣya* is published in two parts, in the "Sheth Devachand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhar Fund Series", along with my introductions in Sanskrit and English.

2-3 Ibid.; pt. I, p. 37.

4 Ibid. p. 397.

Jinabhadra Gaṇi kṣamāśramana, in his commentary. This practically settles his earlier limit. Pandit Sukhlal identifies him with *Gandhahastin* mentioned by *Śilāṅka Sūri* in his commentary to *Ācārāṅga*. This fact, if admitted, helps us in fixing the other limit.

Since not a single line is quoted in the commentary from *Siddhiviniścaya*, it remains to be verified, if there is any scholarly discussion as regards the theory of Creation in *Siddhiviniścaya* of *Akulāṅka*, whose date is still a subject open to discussion amongst various scholars.

Srṣṭiparīkṣā so far as I know, has not been mentioned in any of the catalogues of Mss. published. So will any scholar be inclined to furrow this virgin soil by attempting to find out, if there is any Ms. available, and if not, to see whether this is quoted in any work of not later than the 9th century?

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XI

DATE OF *RĀGAMĀLĀ* OF *PUNḌARĪKA-VITṬHALA*
(ŚAKA 1498 = A. D. 1576) and identification of his patron
MĀDHAVASIMHARĀJA with MĀDHAVASIMHA,
patron of DALAPATIRĀYA

The *Rāgamālā* is a dissertation on the different rāgas, their forms, attributes and notes composed by Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala, a Kārṇāṭaka (Kārṇāṭaka-jāṭiya). The only two Mss. of the work now extant and available are the following :—

(1) Bikaner No. 1100. ¹

(2) No. 1026 of 1884-87 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

The description of the Bikaner Ms. as given in the Catalogue does not refer to the date of composition of the work which is given only in the B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 1026 of 1884-87 and is contained in the following verse :—

“ शाके वस्वंकवेदाब्ज कपरिगणिते धातुसंवत्सरेस्मिन्
8 9 4 1
आषाढे कृष्णपक्षे शशधरसुदिने पंचमी रेवतीमे
नागांव (नागाम्बा²) धर्मसुनुर्द्विजवरतिलको विट्ठलोस्तीह विद्वान्
तेनेयं रागमाला रसिकजनगलेच्छुषणार्थं कृता हि ”

The chronogram ‘वस्वंकवेदाब्ज’ comes to Śaka 1498 i. e. A. D. 1576. The age of the Ms. as recorded in the copy is Samvat 1671 i. e.

1. Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner, 1880- p. 515.

2. This is the reading of Bikaner Ms.

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A. D. 1615. This means that the present copy was prepared 39 years after the date of composition of the work.

Aufrecht has the following information regarding the works of Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala in his Catalogue¹ :—

पुण्डरीकविट्ठल from Karnāṭaka, son of माधवसिंहराज lived under Akbar—नर्तननिर्णय Bik. 513, रागमञ्जरी Bik. 516, शीघ्रबोधिनी-नाममाला L. 1578, षड्रागचन्द्रोदय² Bik. 529.

The parentage of Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala as given in the verse from the रागमाला quoted above appears to be different from that mentioned by Aufrecht. The रागमाला verse tells us that he was the son of 'Nāgāmbā and Dharma' (नागांबाधर्मसुतः) while Aufrecht says presumably on the authority of the catalogue description of the Mss. of the works नर्तननिर्णय and others that he was the son of माधवसिंहराज and lived under Akbar (1556-1605).

Aufrecht's remarks about the parentage of *Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala* appear, however, to be incorrect. The Bikaner Durbar has furnished me with a copy of a Ms. of Rāgamañjarī mentioned by Aufrecht as "Bik. 516". The following verses in the beginning and end of the work show clearly the relation of *Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala* with *Mādhavasimharāja* :—

Folios 1 & 2 " श्रीमत्कल्लपवंशदीपकमहाराजाधिराजेश्वर- ।

स्तेजःपुंजमहाप्रतापनिकरो भानुः क्षितौ राजते ॥

तस्यासीद्भगवंतदासतनयौ वीराधिवीरेश्वरः ।

क्षोणीमंडलमंडनो विजयते भूमंडलाखंडलः ॥

तस्य द्वौ तनयौ ह्यश्रुतविनयौ शूरौ महाधार्मिकौ ।

जातौ पंक्तिरथात्मजौत्वक्वरक्षोणीपतेः स्वौ भुजौ ॥

सिंघो माधवमानपूर्वपदकौ संग्रामदक्षावुभौ ।

तेगत्यागसहस्रहस्तकलितौ श्रीसर्वभूमीश्वरौ ॥

अकबररूपधर्मी शक्रतश्चातिधर्मी ।

धराणिगर्जनमध्ये जंगमो मध्यमेरुः ॥

सकलनृपतिताराश्वंद्रसुराविभौ द्वौ ।

जगति जयनशीलौ माधवा मानसिंघौ ॥

1. Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p. 339a.

2. Mr. Fox-Strangways in his *Music of Hindostan*, p. 105, adds रागमाला and संगीतवृत्तरत्नाकर to this list of works ascribed to Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala and remarks that he belonged to the 2nd half of the 16th century.

तत्र माधवसिंघोयं राजा परमवैष्णवः

अगणितगणकचिकित्सकवेदांतन्यायशब्दशास्त्रज्ञाः ।
दृश्यंते बहवः संगीतिर्नात्र दृश्यतेऽप्येकः । इत्युक्ते
माधवसिंघे विठ्ठलेन द्विजन्मना । नत्वा गणेश्वरं देवं
रच्यते रागमञ्जरी ॥ ” etc.

Last Folio—

“ देसकजननीनिजसुतविठ्ठलकृतरागमञ्जरीकियं ।
सुंदररतिविचिशवाग्देवीश्रवणमंडना भवतु ॥ २ ॥
संगीतार्णवमंदिरः प्रतिदिनं साहित्यपद्माकर-
प्रोद्भूतप्रबलप्रबोधजनको भासां निधिः सांप्रतं ॥
विद्यावादिनोदिनामतितरामग्रेसरः केसरी ।
सोयं माधवसिंघराजतिलको जीयाच्चिरं श्रुतले ॥ ३ ॥ ”

It is clear from the foregoing extracts that Mādhavasimharāja was the patron of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala. The two brothers Mādhavasimharāja and Mānasimha were great favourites of Emperor Akbar. They were sons of ‘Bhagavantadāsa’ of the ‘Kachapa’ family. Mādhavasimharāja was a Vaiṣṇava and was apparently fond of Music. Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala was inspired to write all his works on Music by the direct encouragement of Prince Mādhavasimha.

The present Mādhavasimharāja appears to have been the patron of another writer called दलपतिराय who wrote पत्रप्रशस्ति or यावन परिपाटी-अनुक्रम. There are two Mss. of this work in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute :—(1) No. 409 of 1882-83 and No. 517 of 1891-95. Dalapatirāya makes the following remarks about himself in this work :—

“ अथ प्रथमं यवनराज्याधिकारनियोगभृता, यथाशक्त्युपचरितनानाशास्त्र
विशारदविबुधध्वंसेन पित्रा ग्राहितगीर्वाणयावनशास्त्राम्यासस्तदनु च हिंदुम्लेच्छ-
महीपालपरिचर्यापारतंत्र्येऽपि विद्याव्यसनव्यग्रचेता बहुषु जनपदेषु विविध
विद्वत्सपर्यापारिचयसंपादितसुरनागव्रजयवनभाषाकाव्यरसालंकाराद्यभिनिवेशः
कथमपि पूर्वपूण्यप्राग्भारसंदर्शितफलोदयो निखिलराजन्यराजिनीराजि-
तांघिराजीवश्रीमन्माधवेन्द्राणां परिचारकपदमासवाद् अस्मि दलपतिरायः ”

This passage is found in both the Mss. Ms. No. 517 is incomplete, while No. 409 has the following colophon :—

“इति यावनपरि(पा)ठ्यानुकृत्या राजसीतिनिरूपणोनाम सप्तमोधिकारः ॥ इति श्रीमदखिलमहीमंडलाखंडल श्रीसवाईमाधवसिंह देवाज्ञा विलिखि”

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar' remarks on the basis of the last line of the above colophon that Mādhavasimha, the Sārvabhauma, appears to have been Savai Madhavarao or Madhavarao II of Peshawa dynasty of Poona.

I am inclined to take a different view of the above colophon. In the first instance the Ms. No. 409 has been acquired from Gujarat.² Secondly the “सवाई माधवसिंह” has a Gujarati tinge about it and presumably refers to a Prince in Rajputana. Thirdly the word ‘विलिखि’ is generally used by copyists in the sense that the “copy was made” or the “work was copied”. I am, therefore, inclined to take the last line as one added to by the scribe and the ‘सवाई माधवसिंह’ as some other Rajput Prince different from the माधवसिंह सार्वभौम, the patron of Dalapatirāya. It is possible that the present copy of the पत्रप्रशस्ति might have been made by a scribe under the instructions of a Rajput Prince called ‘सवाई माधवसिंह’. During the time of the Peshawa Madhavarao II, the Mogul rule was not so prominent as in the days of Akbar. Dalapatirāya in his remarks about himself and his father (vide extract quoted above) refers to circumstances such as ‘यवनराज्याधिकारनियोग’, ‘गीर्वाणयावनशास्त्राभ्यास’, ‘हिंदुम्लेच्छमहीपालपरिचर्यापारतंत्र्य’ all of which fit in more with the times of Emperor Akbar than those of Madhavarao II of the Peshawa dynasty. I am, therefore, of opinion that the माधवसिंह सार्वभौम or माधवेन्द्र, the patron of दलपतिराय is identical with the माधवसिंह the patron of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala. The epithet ‘सार्वभौम’ need not mislead us because it is laudatory. It is similar to the epithet “श्रीसर्वभूमीश्वरौ” applied to the two brothers माधवसिंह and मानसिंह the tributary princes in the extract from Rāgamañjarī quoted above.

1. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss. for 1882-83, p. 41.

2. Ibid, p. 2 — “The Gujarat Section comprises Nos. 1-486”

XII

DATE OF SUMATIVIJAYA'S COMMENTARY ON THE
RAGHUVAMŚA — LATTER HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Mr. S. P. Pandit in his edition of the *Raghuvamśa* makes the following remarks about the commentary of *Sumativijaya* on the *Raghuvamśa*¹ :—

"We have now to notice the last Jain commentary that we have secured. The author's name is Pandita Sumativijaya of Vikramapura (Bikaner?) and that of his work *Sugamārtha-prabodhikā* which he composed sometime between A. D. 1635 and 1643."

The date given by Mr. Pandit in these remarks is based on the chronogram in the colophon of his Ms. viz. "निर्विघ्नहरसशशिवत्सरे". About सश and शशि there is no difficulty of interpretation as their values viz. 6 and 1 are clear. There is difficulty as regards the value of the expression "निर्विघ्नहर". Mr. Pandit observes in this connection : "whatever the figure of unit may be that is meant to be indicated by the letters preceding ग्रह it is certain that ग्रहरसशशि mean one thousand six hundred and ninety, obviously of the Sāmvat as that is the era used in Rajputana where the commentary was composed and whence it has been obtained."

Another scholar to deal with this date is Mr. Nandargikar² who describes a Ms. of the work viz. No. 46 of 1873-74 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Institute. His remarks about the date are as under :—

"Date 1609 of the Sāmvat year corresponding with A. D. 1552. This Ms. of *Sugamānvayā* is bought for the Bombay Govt. by Dr. Bühler at Bikaner in Rajputana." Mr. Nandargikar, like Mr. Pandit, also bases his date A. D. 1552 on the chronogram "निर्विघ्नहरसशशि".

1. *Raghuvamśa*, edited by S. P. Pandit, 1872, Preface pp 11-12

2. *Raghuvamśa*, 1897, Critical Notice, pp. 24-25,

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This divergence of interpretation of the chronogram by two different scholars results in the difference of more than 100 years (1613 and 1552) in fixing the date of composition as recorded in the work itself.

Instead of multiplying these interpretations it would prove a sort of corrective if we try to infer the probable date of the work on the basis of internal evidence. A cursory perusal of this commentary (Ms. No. 46 of 1873-74 referred to above) gives us the following list of authorities mentioned by Sumativijaya:—
अमरः, हेमचन्द्रः, काव्यप्रकाशः (fol. 240); विश्वः or विश्वप्रकाशः (4, 56 etc.);
वैजयन्ती (fol. 5, 12 etc.); धराणि (fol. 7); अनेकार्थः (fol. 9, 32 etc.);
अनेकार्थतिलक (fol. 14, 16, 19, 22, 31, 32 etc.); अभिधानचिंतामणिः (fol. 14, 16, 18 etc.); भारतशास्त्रं (fol. 23); शाश्वतः (fol. 33, 70); आगमः (fol. 36); किरातार्जुनीयकाव्यं (fol. 49); केशवः (fol. 82, 140, 152);
सज्जनः (fol. 97); बाह्यपुराण (fol. 114); लिंगाद्युशासन (fol. 139); भोज-
व्याकरणं (fol. 142); हलायुधः (fol. 142, 175, 217); कृष्णभट्टाः (fol. 192);
दाक्षिणावर्तः (fol. 192); विष्णुपुराणं (fol. 219); यादवः (fol. 51, 78, 79, 198).

In the above list the reference to the अनेकार्थतिलक proves that the commentary was written after A. D. 1374¹ which is the date of this lexicon. More important than this reference is the reference to भोजव्याकरण on folio 142 which appears as under:—

“दृढाचासौ भक्तिश्च दृढभक्तिः । पुंवत्कर्मधारयेत्यनेन पुंवद्भावः वा वादृढं भजन यस्य स दृढभक्तिः । अत्र केचिदाहुः कर्मसाधनेन भक्तिशब्दे पुंवत्त्वनिषेधोयं भक्तौ तु कर्मसाधनायां इति भोजव्याकरणदर्शनात्²”

Now as regards Bhojavyākaraṇa Dr. Belvalkar³ observes that it was “written for the benefit of a King Bhoja, son of Bharamalla.” Mr. Harishankar Shastri in his edition⁴ of this work

1. Zacharie; *Die Indischen Wörterbücher*, p. 35.

2. *Bhojavyākaraṇa* (N. S. Press—1919) Pothi edition—folios 25-26—see verses 88, 89, 90, 2nd line of verse 90—“वा ग्रहणात्परेष्वेषु पुंवद्भावो भवेन्नहि”.

3. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (1915), pp. 115-116.

4. Edition of *Bhojavyākaraṇa* (in Pothi form), 1919, (Published by Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay), Introduction p. 2.

states — “महोपाध्यायपदधारकेण विनयसागरेण मुनिना श्रीभारमल्लधूपतिप्रीतये तत्कुमारनामस्मरणार्थमेतद्भोजन्याकरणं पद्यबंधरचनया व्यरचि । तेन भारमल्लधूपतिश्चाति-प्रसन्नतरोबभूव ”.

I wonder on what evidence Mr. Harishankar Shastri has based the above remarks for they are different from the following statement of the work itself as recorded on folios 29, 67 and 76 of the printed edition under reference :—

“श्रीभारमल्लतनयो भुवि भोजराजो
राज्यं प्रशस्तिं रिपुवर्जितमिन्द्रवद्यः
तस्याज्ञया विनयसागरपाठकेन
संगुंफितात्र रुचिराह्ण तृतीयवृत्तिः ”

It appears, therefore, that the work was written, as stated thrice in the work itself, under the orders of the King Bhoja, the son of Bhāramalla. Bhāramalla of the verse is none other than Bhāramalla I, Rao of Kacch who reigned from 1585-1631 A. D.¹ As the work was written under the orders of Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla and during his reign it must have been written some years after 1631 A. D., say about A. D. 1640 or so. As Sumativijaya belongs to Vikramapura i.e. Bikaner as stated in the colophon of his commentary and as he quotes भोजन्याकरण as authority he must have had a copy of the work before him. We shall, therefore, be not far wrong if we suppose that Sumativijaya wrote his commentary between 1640 and 1675 A. D. or in the latter half of the 17th century. This conclusion harmonizes with the dates of some of the Mss. of the commentaries of Sumativijaya in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute which are as under :—

Ms.	Number	Dated Samvat	A. D.	Remarks
रघुवंशटीका ...	No. 450 of 1887-91	1838	1782	
Do ...	No. 373 of 1892-95	1817	1761	
मेघदूतटीका ...	No. 315 of A 1882-83	1804	1748	

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, part II, p. 41.

XIII

A MANUSCRIPT OF A COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA CALLED PRAKĀŚIKĀ AND ITS PROBABLE DATE — MIDDLE OF THE 15TH CENTURY

There is a Ms. of a commentary on the Raghuvamśa called Raghukāvyaaprakāśikā in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. This is No. 471 of 1895-1902 and consists of 69 folios. The commentary is only for seven cantos of the text. The name of the author is not mentioned in any of the colophons of the seven cantos which appear on folios 19, 25, 35, 44, 54, 66 and 72. Among works and authors referred to in the commentary the following may be noted :— कामंदकः (fol. 5); वैजयंती (fol. 5, 48, 65); मनुः (fol. 6, 14, 18); यादवः (fol. 8); रुद्रः (fol. 8); विश्वः (fol. 9, 11, 15, 19, 52); हेमाचार्यः (fol. 11); अमरः (fol. 13, 19, 37, 64); हलायुधः (fol. 15); हैमकोषः (fol. 16, 29, 31, 39, 40); पराशरः (fol. 17); अभिधान-चिंतामणि (fol. 26, 27); आगमः (fol. 28, 37); अनेकार्थतिलक (fol. 29); अनेकार्थः (fol. 30, 49); शाश्वतः (fol. 32, 64); किरातार्जुनीय (fol. 46).

As the list of the Mss. of the collection 1895-1902 was published by the B. O. R. Institute in 1925 this Ms. of the commentary Prakāśikā could not be recorded in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum.

From the list of references given above it will be clear that the commentary is not very old. The quotation from अनेकार्थतिलक on folio 29 gives us one terminus to the probable date of the commentary. This quotation appears as under :—

“ रथांगं चक्रवाकयोरित्यनेकार्थतिलके ”

Presumably this is a quotation from the work of Mahīpa called अनेकार्थतिलक, which is a chapter of the larger work शब्दरत्नाकर. It deals with homonyms and bears the date 1374 A. D.¹ As the present commentary refers to a lexicon of 1374 A. D. it must have been composed many years after this date. Secondly, in the list of references given above the commentary mentions works which are all of them of earlier date. This would justify our conclusion that the present commentary Prakāśikā was written in the middle of the 15th century, say between 1425 and 1475 A. D.

1. Zacharie ; *Die Indischen Wörterbücher*, 1897, p. 36,

XIV

A MANUSCRIPT OF MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY DATED SAMVAT 1837 (1781 A. D.) AND IDENTIFICATION OF GAJASIMHA IN WHOSE REIGN IT WAS WRITTEN

There is a Ms. (No. 332 of 1884-86) of Mallinātha's commentary on the Raghuvamśa dated Samvat 1837 (नग, अग्नि, वसु, सू) which corresponds to A. D. 1781. The scribe states that the Ms. was copied in the above year in the reign of *Gajasimha* of *Vikramapattana*. The name of scribe is व्यासतंदलाल of नाहट or नाहट family.

It appears that the *Gajasimha* mentioned in the colophon of this Ms. is identical with *Gajasimha* of Bikaner Raj' who ruled from A. D. 1746 to 1787. The date of the Ms. viz. A. D. 1781 harmonizes with the above period of *Gajasimha*'s reign and *Vikramapattana* of the Ms. is identical with *Bikaner*.

. *The Chronology of India* by Duff, p. 277.

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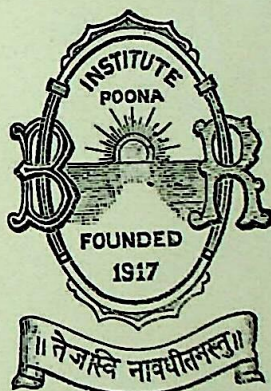
**Annals of the
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[PARTS I - II

GĀTHĀLAKṢAṆA OF NANDITĀDHYA

[A TREATISE ON PRAKRIT METRES]

BY

PROF. H. D. VELANKAR, M. A.

INTRODUCTION

[Summary— (1) Introductory - a correction, (2) Mss. on which the edition is based. (3) Analysis of the Contents of the work, Vv. 1-39. (4) Analysis of the Contents, Vv. 40-62. (5) Analysis of the Contents, Vv. 63-75. (6) Analysis of the Contents, Vv. 76-96. (7) Vv. 76-96 did not form part of the original text. (8) Vv. 15 and 30 are similarly doubtful. (9) So are also Vv. 26-29 and (10) Vv. 39, 52 and 55. (11) The author. (12) Four points regarding the date of the author. (13) Detailed examination of the last point — Sanskrit and Prakrit, the languages of the learned and the masses respectively. (14) The Prakrits and the Jainas. — How they maintained the distinction between the learned and the masses. — The tendency of the masses and the cultivation of *their* language. (15) How the elevation of 'the language of the masses' to 'a literary language' takes place. (16) The rule illustrated by Prakrits and Marathi. (17) The origin and similar elevation of the Apabhraṃśa language. — The probable date of the latter. — (18) Apabhraṃśa is rather a stage through which every Prakrit has passed — but all Prakrits in this stage may not have become literary languages. (19) Thus the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa may not have become a literary language. (20) The conclusion regarding the date of Nanditādhya, the author.]

1 After editing Virahāṅka's Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya, I directed my attention to another work on Prakrit Metres described by me

in my Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 37. My description of the work, however, is a little misleading. The facts regarding the Ms. are as follows :— The name of the work is Gāthālakṣaṇa; that of the author is Nanditādhyā. The commentary is not by the author himself but by some body else. Further our Ms. contains only the Avacūri but not the text. Ignorance and oversight are jointly responsible for the wrong description which I then gave and for which I now regret.

2 I was greatly disappointed when I discovered that our Ms. did not contain the text. But I referred to my Jinaratna-kośa (An alphabetical list of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. of Jainism to be published shortly) and found that there were two Mss. at Ahmedabad. I wrote to Mr. K. P. Mody, B. A., LL. B., who with his usual kindness promised to help me in the matter and secured these Mss. for me in a few days. One of these (A) contains Ratnacandra's commentary and ends exactly like Peterson's Ms. described by him at Report III, p. 224. This commentary is very brief. It does not give a Sanskrit rendering of the Prakrit illustrations but only explains a few words in them now and then. It is, however, very valuable in that it alludes to a so far unknown work (i. e. Svayambhū Chandas) on Prakrit metres in two places, (v. 21 and v. 30) the existence of which is further confirmed by the commentator of Kavidarpaṇa, also a work on the same subject, which I soon intend to publish. It also tells us that v. 57 of the text is from Rohiṇīcarita, v. 59 and 60 from Puṣpa-dantacarita and v. 61 from Gāthāsahasra Śatapathālamkāra. All these works are mere names to us. A reference to my Jinaratna-kośa is in no way helpful. A few Mss. of the Rohiṇīcarita are known to exist but others are not known at all. The last looks like an anthology of a thousand Gāthās. The second Ahmedabad Ms. (B) contains a few useful footnotes which at any rate do not seem to be based on Ratnacandra. The Avacūri in the Society's Ms. (C) also is not materially different from that of Ratnacandra. Its text seems to contain two additional stanzas and many important variant readings. My edition is based upon these three Mss.

3 Gāthālakṣaṇa is a treatise, as its name signifies, on the Gāthā metre which is the oldest Prakrit metre. It is very

Gāthālakṣaṇa of Nanditāḍhya

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commonly employed in the Jain and the Buddhist Āgamas and shows various stages of its development. It is probably this fact i. e. that it is a sort of sacred metre of the Jainas, that has actuated Nanditāḍhya to write his treatise on the Gāthā, but more of this later on. The Gāthālakṣaṇa in its present form consists of 96 stanzas written mostly in the Gāthā metre. Of these, about 49 stanzas are given as illustrations while the remaining contain the definitions &c. of the different varieties of a Gāthā and other metres. In the introductory stanzas (1-2) the author tells us that he proposes to define the Gāthā and discuss the nature of short and long letters, which are employed in the Prakrit poems. In stanzas 3 to 5, short and long letters are explained while the next 11 stanzas (6-16) discuss the composition of a Gāthā. In this discussion, very peculiar terms are used. They differ considerably from those employed by Virahāṅka and Piṅgala. Thus Śara is a Caturmātra according to our author while it is a Pañcamātra according to Piṅgala and Virahāṅka. 'Kamala' is a long letter; Nabhas is IIII and Ghana or Megha is ISI, which is usually known as Narendra or Stana. Stanzas 17-20 give the three main varieties of a Gāthā viz. Pathyā, Vipulā and Capalā and the three sub-divisions of the last variety. When a word ends with the 12th Mātrā and does not extend beyond it in both the halves of a Gāthā, it is Pathyā, and when it does not so end but extends beyond it, it is Vipulā. In a Capalā, the second and the fourth Gaṇas in one or both the halves are Gurumadhya (i. e. ISI) and are both preceded and followed by long letters. It is called Mukhacapalā when they are so only in the first half, Jaghanacapalā when only in the latter and Sarvacapalā when in both. Stanzas 21-25 contain the examples of these varieties, while 26-30 give the illustrations of Gīti, Udgīti, Upagīti, Saṁkirṇā and Gāthā in general. In v, 31 Nanditāḍhya declares that in the Prakrit language which he employs both for the definitions and the illustrations, such forms as 'Jiha', 'Kiha', 'Tiha' (i. e. according to the commentator Ratnacandra, Apabhraṁśa forms) will not occur. But the similes that he chooses in this connection are very strange. He compares his composition with a prostitute and a lustful person. Just as in the former there is no true love or in the latter no truth in speech so there are no Apabhraṁśa forms in his composition. We intend to discuss the

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significance of this remark later on. In vv. 32-37, the other four divisions of a Gāthā based upon a different principle are given with their illustrations. They are (1) Viprā with both halves containing long letters (2) Kṣatriyā with the first half containing all long and the second half containing all short letters (3) Vaiśyā which is just the reverse of the Kṣatriyā and (4) Śūdrā with both halves containing all short letters. The illustrations in vv. 35-36 look like quotations; but their source is unknown. In v. 38, all the ten varieties of a Gāthā discussed so far i. e. (1) Pathyā (2) Vipulā (3-5) the three kinds of Capalā, (6-9) the four varieties just mentioned and (10) the mixed are recounted. It is very difficult to understand what exactly the author means by a Miśrā Gāthā. The possible mixture, so far as I can see is either of (1) and (2) with (3-5) or of (6-9) with any one of (1-5). But the example given in v. 39 does not contain any such mixture. It is a Pathyā all right; but the characteristics of any other variety are not noticeable in it. It is not Capalā nor is it any one of the last four. I am unable to understand how it is Miśrā. It is not probably an example given by the author himself as I will show later (Para 10), yet even when we grant that a reader inserted it, we are unable to see how and why he should have regarded it as an example of Miśrā.

4 The author next proceeds to discuss the other 26 varieties of Gāthā based upon a different principle. He enumerates them in vv. 40-41 and explains the same in vv. 42-44. These verses are clearly the composition of our author and he is probably the originator of this 26-fold division. This is why he does not introduce these divisions as given by 'some' Ācāryas, as for instance is done by Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana (N. S. P. 1912), p. 27 b, line 15 ff. and the commentator of Kavidarpaṇa (Ms.). The first of these 26 divisions is Kamalā; it contains three short letters which must be compulsorily employed (cf. v. 10). In the next 25, one long letter is successively replaced by two short ones until we get 55 short letters in the 26th variety. In the following 11 stanzas (45-55) Nanditādhya gives some of the six Pratyayas in respect of the Gāthā. In vv. 45-46, he explains briefly the 'Laghu-guru-kriyā' i. e. the process of finding out the number of short or long letters in a Gāthā. In v. 47, he gives

the total number of Mātrās obtaining in a Gāthā. Here he gives the weight (!) of a Gāthā as equal to 57 Palas if one Mātrā is supposed to be one Karṣa in weight. Vv. 48-51 explain the Saṅkhyā i. e. the total number of possible permutations of a Gāthā. It is called the Prastāra (i. e. the Prastāra-Saṅkhyā the total number of the Prastāras i. e. Permutations). V. 52 gives the Prastārasaṅkhyā of other metres. The verse is doubtful as shown below (Para 10). V. 53 teaches how to find the total number of letters from the known number of short letters contained in it; while vv. 54-55 give the method of finding out the serial number of a Gāthā among its varieties from the same data i. e. the known number of short letters. The serial number is technically called Nakṣatra in v. 55. This shows perhaps that the 26 varieties of the Gāthā were at one time named after the 26 Nakṣatras. Our author, however, has different names (cf. vv. 40-41). This topic of the Gāthā is then closed with a discussion and illustration (vv. 56-62) of letters which become short or long by position. Here as said above, the author quotes from older works according to Ratnacandra.

5 Having thus explained the composition of the different varieties of a Gāthā proper and incidentally the letters which are short and long either naturally or by position, the author now turns his attention to those metres which are derived from the Gāthā by the addition or removal of a few Mātrās. These are six in number including the Gāthā, and are regarded as the varieties of Gāthā by the author. This view of the author seems well to accord with the names of these varieties. These names with the exception of the last, are all but slight variants of the name Gāthā. The first is Gātha with two lines of 27 Mātrās each; the second is the Gāthā proper; the third is Vigāthā which is just the reverse of a Gāthā and has 27 Mātrās in the first line and 30 in the second. The fourth is Udgāthā with two lines of 30 Mātrās each. The fifth is Gāthini which has 30 Mātrās in the first and 32 in the second. The sixth and the last is the Skandhaka and has 32 Mātrās in each line. These appear to be the older names of these metres and are also employed by Piṅgala; cf. I. 48, 49, 60, 61, 62 and 63. Piṅgala, however, gives one more variety called Śimhīnī, the two lines of which respectively contain 32 and 30

Mātrās and is just the reverse of Gāthini. The other and probably newer names of Gātha, Vigāthā and Udgātha are respectively Upagīti, Udgīti and Giti. These are used by Hemacandra and others. Hemacandra treats both Gāthini and Simhini as a mixture of Giti and Skandhaka, cf. p. 29a, l. 9. He employs the names Gātha, Vigāthā and Udgātha for those varieties of a Gāthā, the first lines of which respectively contain 38, 54 and 46 Mātrās while the second contain 27 Mātrās only. To proceed, Nanditādhyā gives the definitions of these six varieties in vv. 63-65 and their illustrations in vv. 66-71. Mss. A and B do not contain the illustration of Vigāthā, but C seems to have it though I am unable to reconstruct it from the Avacūri; cf. the notes. Two instances of Udgātha are given. The second is interesting. Ordinarily as in v. 68, the first and third Pādas of an Udgātha or Giti contain 12 mātrās each while the second and the fourth have 18 each (also cf. v. 16). But in the second example of Udgātha given in v. 69, each of the four Pādas contains 15 Mātrās as is clear from the Yati and the rhyme (see notes). V. 72 corresponds to v. 53 and teaches how to find out the total number of letters in a given permutation of the Skandhaka metre which has 28 permutations in all. The author of course casually suggests that the least number of letters in Skandhaka is 34 as it is 30 in a Gāthā. V. 73 explains how there must exist at least four short letters in the Skandhaka metre. These four compulsory short letters are the first and the last of the sixth Gaṇa in both halves. This Gaṇa must either be IIII or ISI. No other Caturmātra is allowed in this place; cf. V. J. S. IV. 9 and Hemacandra p. 28 b, l. 14 ff. Vv. 74 and 75 contain two illustrations of the Skandhaka containing 6 and 4 short letters respectively. The purpose of the first is not clear; that of the second is to show where the four short letters must occur since this is not given in v. 73.

6 Here really the work ought to end, since all about Gāthā and its varieties has been said, and this alone was promised by the author. But all the three Mss. agree in giving what follows. In this portion the definitions of a few other metres mostly employed in the Apabhraṃśa poems are given along with their illustrations. In this manner Paddhati is defined and illustrated in vv. 76-77, Candrānana or Madanāvātāra in vv. 78-79; Dvi-

Gāthālakṣaṇa of Nanditāḍhya

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padī in vv. 80-81, Vastuka and Sārdhacchandās in vv. 82-83, Dūhā, its varieties and derivatives in vv. 84-94 and Śloka in the last two verses of the text.

7 The treatment of these metres appears to be foreign to the intentions of Nanditāḍhya who merely promises in the beginning of his work, to define and discuss Gāthā alone. Indeed, the treatment of Gāthā would be incomplete if all its varieties and particularly the metres derived from it are not thoroughly discussed, but by no stretch of imagination can the treatment of Gāthā include the discussion of metres that have hardly any connection with it. This is, however, not the only ground which leads to the conclusion that vv. 76 to 96 did not form part of the original text of Nanditāḍhya's Gāthālakṣaṇa. There are others also. In v. 31 Nanditāḍhya expresses his contempt for the Apabhraṃśa language in very strong terms. We therefore cannot expect him to define, much less to illustrate, the metres usually employed in the Apabhraṃśa language. But we actually find that vv. 76-77 and 83-94 are composed entirely in the Apabhraṃśa language. It is clear that they cannot be fathered upon Nanditāḍhya. There is also a third reason which shows the same thing. Nanditāḍhya does not address his work to any particular person. There is not a single reference to a particular addressee either at the beginning or in the sequel. He merely says 'Now I will describe or speak out &c.'; cf. vv. 1, 2, 20, 32 and 63. Moreover, Nanditāḍhya was probably a monk and hence address to a wife is particularly impossible. But this is what we find in vv. 78, 79, 84 and 86. Of these stanzas, v. 79 is clearly a quotation from Virahāṅka's Vṛttajātisamuccaya (I. 17). It is addressed to his wife. It seems to have been given in our work to explain some technical terms in v. 78. But it is entirely opposed to Nanditāḍhya's nomenclature (cf. Śara is Caturmātra in v. 8 but Pañcamātra here, being the name of a weapon; also see above Para 3). Only v. 80 seems to bear some relation to v. 8 and v. 48 (see notes) through the term Kamala (= long letter). It is thus inevitable to conclude that originally the work ended with v. 75.

8 Nor can it be said with certainty that the first 75 stanzas are all genuine. Many of these look rather suspicious and may

have been added by some reader. Thus v. 15 does not appear to be quite necessary. As a rule, the illustration follows the definition and therefore v. 15 ought to have followed v. 16 where the definition of a Gāthā is completed. It should also be noted that v. 30 is another illustration of a Gāthā. Two are obviously unnecessary but even one is questionable, since all instances of the different varieties of a Gāthā given in vv. 21-25 are also the instances of a Gāthā in general.

9 The examples of Gīti, Udgīti and Saṁkīrṇā given in vv. 26-29 are obviously a reader's addition, of course, of a rather early date since all the three Mss. uniformly give these stanzas in this place. They are not the varieties of a Gāthā in the proper sense, but varieties derived from Gāthā and slightly differing from it. They are called Viśeṣagāthās by some. Our author gives these varieties with their definitions and illustrations only after finishing the 10 or 26 varieties of a Gāthā proper, but he employs different and perhaps older names; see above Para 5 and vv. 63 ff. Saṁkīrṇā of v. 29 is the Gāthīnī of v. 70. Some impatient reader must have added these here thinking that the varieties ought to be illustrated here as is done by Hemacandra for instance; see p. 27 b. He obviously forgot that the author had not defined them yet and the illustrations for that reason would be quite uncalled for. This difficulty is felt by Ratnacandra who says that the definitions of these varieties should be known from 'Svayambhū Chandas'.

10 An example of Miśrā which is mentioned as one of the ten varieties in v. 38 is surely expected and v. 39 proposes to give it but as said above (Para 3) it is not really an example of Miśrā, for which see for example Hemacandra, p. 27 b, l. 4 ff. It was probably added by a reader who thought that an example of Miśrā was necessary though not given by the author and who understood by it a Gāthā in general. V. 52 appears to be a clear interpolation since the names Gīti, Udgīti and Upagīti were unknown to Nanditādhyā as said above. V. 55 is not found in B, nor is it very necessary since it is almost the repetition of v. 54.

11 The author of the Gāthālakṣaṇa is Nanditādhyā. He is mentioned twice i. e. in v. 31 and v. 63. The Prakrit form of the

name is Nandiyaddha and the corresponding Sanskrit form is Nanditāḍhya according to Ratnacandra or Nanditārdha according to the Avacūri in C. He both composed the definitions and gave the illustrations of the different varieties of the Gāthā. This is clear from vv. 20 and 32. Some of the illustrations seem to have been composed by Nanditāḍhya himself (see for example 21-25 where the conscious effort to introduce the name of the particular variety by Mudrālakṣaṇa is clear) though the others may have been quoted by him from older writers. Thus in the opinion of Ratnacandra, he quotes from Rohiṇīcarita (v. 57), Puṣpadantacarita (vv. 59 and 60) and Śatapathālakṣaṇa. Neither the authors nor the dates of any of these three works are known.

12 The date of our author cannot be fixed with any certainty. Yet the following facts may be offered for consideration. (1) The name Nanditāḍhya :— This appears to be one of the ancient names of the Jain Yatis which are very rarely employed in later days. We cannot assign any reasons for this fact but names like Samantabhadra, Sthūlabhadra, Bhadrabāhu, Akalaṅka and Umāsvāti are hardly assumed by the later Yatis. Nanditāḍhya looks like one of such names, (2) The metre chosen by him for discussion is one of the most ancient metres and the metre which is extensively used in the Jain Āgamas. The fact that he restricts himself to it indicates that he was a Jain Yati (also see vv. 1, 21-25, 36-37, 57, 62, 67-68, 70-71) anxious to explain the sacred metre used for his sacred Āgamas and no other. He seems to avoid studiously the discussion of the Prakrit metres of a purely popular origin. This would perhaps show that these metres had not yet secured recognition among the Jain Monk-Pandits, and this is possible only in the early centuries of the Christian Era. (3) Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana (p. 27 b, l. 15 ff.) seems to have quoted vv. 40-42 from our book. He does not mention either our work or its author but merely says that these divisions are given by 'some' writers. But as there is no ground to suppose that those stanzas were also borrowed from some other source by our author it may be safely assumed that they were composed by him and were quoted from our work by Hemacandra. V. 56 again is quoted by Ratnaśekhara in his Chandaḥkośa (v. 3). It is true, of

2. [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

course, that the verse is not given as a quotation by him. It forms part of his text and Ratnaśekhara probably wants us to believe that it was composed by him ; but it can be conclusively proved that Ratnaśekhara unscrupulously reproduces entire stanzas or parts of them from older works such as Piṅgala and others. It is not improbable, therefore, that the said stanza was reproduced by him from our work. Candrakīrti, a lineal descendant of Ratnaśekhara and the commentator of his *Chandaḥkośa* also quotes v. 9 and v. 12 in his commentary on the 53rd stanza. Even he does not mention the name of either the work or the author, but there appears to be no ground for a reasonable doubt regarding the source of these stanzas. They are quite in their place in our work and have not in the least, the appearance of a borrowed quotation. Ratnaśekhara belonged to the 15th and Candrakīrti to the 17th century of the Samvat Era. Hemacandra belonged to the 12th century of the same era and if our assumption is correct, Nanditādhyā must have flourished much earlier. (4) Lastly, the reference to the purity of his Prakrit in v. 31 by Nanditādhyā is very significant. After giving examples of the first five varieties of the Gāthā, he declares in the next verse i. e. v. 31 that such forms as Jiha, Kiha and Tiha shall not occur in his Prakrit language. The occasion for this declaration is, I think, obvious. In vv. 21-25 he has composed his own instances to illustrate the Pathyā and other varieties. He wants to say that, in these and also in other illustrations that are to follow he shall not use such Apabhraṣṭa forms as Jiha &c. Ratnacandra is right in interpreting these forms as an Upalakṣaṇa of the Apabhraṁśa language in general. That these are the Apabhraṁśa forms is clear from Hemacandra, Grammar, VIII. 4. 401. Now this contemptuous allusion to the Apabhraṁśa language is a clear indication of an early date for our author as will be shown below.

13 From time immemorial, the Sanskrit language is regarded as the language of the learned in India. Literature written in this language alone could lay any claim to the attention of the Pandits. The Prakrits were regarded as the languages of the masses only. Hence when a philosophical or a scientific work was conceived, it had to be written in the Sanskrit language, as otherwise there was no hope of its being discussed or read by the

Pandits who alone could pronounce an opinion on a literary or scientific production. It is for this reason that we do not find any compositions of a serious nature written in Prakrit language by the Hindus. Even the Grammars of the Prakrit languages were written in Sanskrit.

14 The case was slightly different with the Jain Pandits. The Sanskrit, no doubt, was regarded as the language of the learned even by them. While combating the indigenous non-Jain philosophical systems, which were all written in Sanskrit, the Jain Pandits had necessarily to resort to the Sanskrit language. As a further step of this, they had to write in Sanskrit, independent treatises expounding their philosophical doctrines or commentaries on the original Prakrit Sūtras, so as to make them accessible to their Sanskrit-knowing opponents, who had as it were, formed an 'inner circle' of the learned, to which only the Sanskritists could hope to get an admission. It is on account of this fact, that we find a very large proportion of Jain literature written in Sanskrit. For the same reason, we also hear of the attempts of earlier Jain writers like Siddhasena Divākara to rewrite the whole Jain Āgama Literature into Sanskrit. Bhadrēśvara records a tradition in his Kathāvali, according to which Siddhasena Divākara was once ashamed at the public scandal that the Jain Siddhānta was merely in Prakrit and offered to translate the same into Sanskrit, but was severely reprimanded by the Saṅgha for this impious thought (cf. Apabhraṃśakāvyaṭrayī, Gaek. O. Series Vol. 37, Intro. p. 74). But after all, Prakrit was the sacred language of the Jainas and had to be respected by them along with Sanskrit. The tendency to differentiate between 'the language of the learned' and 'the language of the masses' however, is unmistakably noticeable even in the Jain Pandits. As a rule, Jain Pandits were Yatis and in many cases had adopted the robes of a Śramaṇa at a very tender age. From that early age they were taught Sanskrit and Prakrit and as a result of this deep devotion to study became steeped in the knowledge of Jain and non-Jain philosophical doctrines. It appears that this distinction between the Śramaṇas who were solely devoted to learning and the Śrāvakas who pursued with equal devotion 'the art of earning' was scrupulously maintained from the beginning

in the Jain community. The Śrāvakas were as a rule persuaded to cultivate the knowledge of secular subjects and were not allowed nor encouraged to study and explain even their own Āgamas. The Yatis had in this manner, secured a higher intellectual plane for themselves where they were highly respected and from which they could look down with contempt upon the Śrāvakas who were virtually doomed to intellectual inferiority since they had no access to the most respectable and rich languages i. e. the Sanskrit and the Prakrit. This was not resented by the Śrāvakas apparently for two reasons :— Firstly because the Jains as a community belong to the trading classes, and secondly because, those among them whose tendency lay in the opposite direction and were devoted to learning could follow their inclinations without any obstructions by embracing the order of monks. The difficulty indeed was for those Śrāvakas who could not renounce their earthly connections and yet were deeply devoted to learning. Such persons usually directed their literary energies towards the study and cultivation of the lower languages which were the languages of the masses. They wrote their poems in the popular language and for the ordinary people. Such literary productions naturally dealt with popular subjects which were either love or religious stories. These productions when they contained high literary qualities become popular not only among the masses for whom they were originally meant, but also among the learned who, inspite of their prejudices against the language, were not slow to recognise high poetical merit where-so-ever it existed.

15 It is indeed in this manner, that 'a language of the masses' assumes the status of a literary language. In its earlier stages the language is generally despised by the learned, who in every country and every period of history are always anxious to keep up their superiority by carrying on their activities in a language which is beyond the reach of the ordinary masses. But as persons, who cannot become technically 'learned' owing to circumstances, yet have the special aptitude for writing poetry — either devotional or lyric — come forward to enrich their language by means of their literary activities, it gains in importance and force itself upon the attention and admiration

of the learned. Such literature naturally possesses high literary merits since it is usually the product of natural poetic genius and not of laboured erudition, and has little difficulty in establishing the claim of its language to a place among 'the languages of the learned'. When this recognition is thus secured, the learned do not think it derogatory to handle the language and gradually begin to write in it.

16 That such a fate was shared by the Prakrits is clear as shown above, from the story of Siddhasena Divākara. The name 'Bālabhāṣā' deridingly given to the Prakrit points in the same direction. Bāla is an ignorant man (cf. Manu. II. 153) and Bālabhāṣā is the language of the uneducated. In the same manner, the vernaculars are known to have passed through this ordeal. For a long time, Marathi was considered to be unfit for being employed in high literary works. Jñāneśvara, who wrote his Jñāneśvarī (commentary on Bhagvadgītā) of high literary value in Marathi, and was thus a pioneer of Marathi literature, shows his consciousness of such contemptuous treatment meted out to that language by the learned men of his times. It was after the composition of this work, that the Pandits could admit that the Marathi language was capable of expressing the thoughts of the learned. Before the Jñāneśvarī, the Mahānubhāvas no doubt produced a considerable literature in Marathi, but it obviously did not help to elevate the language as it was written in a secret script and was meant only for the followers of the Mahānubhāva Sect. But even Jñāneśvara could not elevate Marathi to the status of a literary language. For a considerable time after him, only religious and devotional poetry was written in it and this was meant for ordinary masses alone. It was only when educated persons like Ekanātha, Mukteśvara and Vāmana Pandit began to write more varied kinds of literature in Marathi that it fully and definitely became a literary language.

17 Naturally the Apabhraṁśa language could not be an exception to this general rule. On the other hand, it seems to have suffered most in this direction. The name Apabhraṁśa or Apabhraṣṭa (cf. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V, new series, p. 88) is highly significant. It bears no connection with any country as most

14 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

of the Prakrits and Vernaculars do; but is merely a name which glaringly indicates the obvious contempt which was felt among the learned for it. Daṇḍin calls it the speech of such tribes of lower culture as the Ābhīras. It appears that while yet the Prakrits were spoken languages, the Ābhīras and similar nomadic tribes that were long regarded as Mlecchas distorted the same as they could not well pronounce the Prakrit words, adding at the same time some words of purely local origin to the Prakrit vocabulary. This distorted form of the language current among the Ābhīras and other lower tribes in course of time became a separate language altogether, and obtained a significant name at the hands of the speakers of Prakrit and Sanskrit languages. As the Ābhīras were 'a hated tribe, free-booters and Mlecchas' &c. (cf. Gune, Intro. to Bhavīṣyaṭṭakāhā, p. 59), the form of the Prakrit language which they spoke was contemptuously called 'the degraded' or 'the degenerated'. Even today the distorted form of English spoken by (?) the fruitwalla of Byculla receives the nickname 'Byculla English' and the Marathi that is spoken to their servants ('Rāmas') by their Gujarati and Parsee employers is popularly known as the 'Rāmā Marathi'. This 'degraded form' of the Prakrit or even of Sanskrit (cf. Kāvyaḍarśa, I. 36) included many different dialects which in course of time were raised to the status of a literary language. At this time the name lost its former significance and came merely to signify a particular kind of Prakrit. It is indeed difficult to say when this transformation actually took place; but already in the latter half of the sixth century A. D., Guhasena of Valabhī is described as 'clever in composing works in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa languages' (cf. I. A. X, p. 284). Works written in the language available today, however, are from the 8th or 9th century A. D. and afterwards. In the 12th century of the Christian Era, Hemacandra had already assigned a part of his grammar to it, treating it at great length and with due respect. In his Chandonuśāsana again, he defines a very large number of Apabhraṃśa metres. In this connection, however, it is worth noting that Hemacandra does not quote from existing Apabhraṃśa literature as might be expected, but composes his own illustrations of the different metres. There may have been various reasons for this. The first and the most probable one is that he thought it dero-

gatory for a man of his ability to compose poetry, merely to quote from older writers. Besides, according to his peculiar method adopted throughout his Chandonuśāsana, it was necessary that the illustration of every metre should contain its name by what is known as 'Mudrālaṅkāra'. This meant that the illustrations of the Apabhraṁśa metres had to be composed by him like those of the Sanskrit and Prakrit ones. But it is also possible to think that Hemacandra had no access to a sufficiently large number of works written in Apabhraṁśa either because there did not exist many or — which is a more probable hypothesis — because they did not enjoy a sufficiently wide circulation among the learned Pandits of Jainism on account of their prejudice against the Apabhraṁśa language. It is evident any how, that this prejudice among the Jain Pandits who were Yatis as a rule, seems to have gradually disappeared after the time of Hemacandra who as it were gave an official recognition to the language so far as the Śvetāmbaras were concerned. It is after Hemacandra alone that we find Jain Yatis writing freely in this language.

18 My conclusions in this respect appear to be generally borne out by the fact that before Hemacandra, Śrāvakas alone are found to write in the Apabhraṁśa language, particularly the Jain Apabhraṁśa which is a direct descendant of Ardhamāgadhī or Śaurasenī. We certainly have to assume that nearly every form of Prakrit has passed through what we may call the Apabhraṁśa stage before it finally became transformed into a vernacular. But it is questionable whether in its Apabhraṁśa stage it ever became a literary language through the process described above (Paras 14-15). It is quite possible that some Prakrits in their Apabhraṁśa stage never attained to the status of a literary language. As said above (Para 15), it is only through persons who have a literary bent of mind but who are virtually prevented from writing in the 'language of the learned' or through persons who have an extreme devotion to their mother-tongue, that the 'language of the masses' becomes a literary language. If, however, owing to peculiar circumstances, no such necessity exists for men to write in it, it is perfectly obvious that the language will not live and will be entirely lost to posterity for want of any literature written in it.

19 At present, literary records written in the Apabhramśa language by the Jainas alone are found. Those written in the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhramśa are not yet discovered and I venture to assert that they may never be discovered since I believe they do not exist, at least on a large scale. The Vernacular descended from the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhramśa is Marathi. It is generally spoken by the Hindus (non-Jains); the inference is that the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhramśa too was usually spoken by the Hindus. And since the literary-minded Hindus were not as much prevented from using the literary languages as their brothers the Jain Śrāvakas were (see above Para 14), there was not a sufficiently strong motive for them to employ their Mother-tongue i. e. the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhramśa as a medium for expressing their literary thoughts.

20 From the above discussion it will be clear that the Apabhramśa like other Prakrits and Vernaculars was regarded as unfit to be employed by the learned for a long time in the early centuries of the Christian Era. It is at this time that our Nāḍīādhyā must have flourished.

॥ अथ नन्दिताढ्यकृतं गाथालक्षणम् ॥

[Verses marked with asterisks are doubtful, see Introduction Sections 7-10]

नमिऊण चलणनुअलं नेमिजिणिंदस्स भावओ पयओ ।

गाहालक्खणमेयं वुच्छामि गुरुवप्पेणं ॥ १ ॥

[नत्वा चरणयुगुलं नेमिजिनेन्द्रस्य भावतः प्रयतः ।

गाथालक्षणमेतद्वक्ष्यामि गुरुपदेशेन ॥ १ ॥]

गुरुलहुअक्खराणं छेइत्थं माइयं च वुच्छामि ।

पुव्वायरियकयाणं पाइयकट्ठोवओगीणं ॥ २ ॥

[गुरुलघ्वक्षराणां छेदार्थं मातृकां च वक्ष्यामि ।

पूर्वाचार्यकृतानां प्राकृतकाव्योपयोगिनाम् ॥ २ ॥]

आईऊएओअं एए गुरुअक्खरा मुणेयट्ठा ।

अइउत्ति य लहुयाइं संजोयपरो य जो वत्तो ॥ ३ ॥

[आईऊएओअं एतानि गुर्वक्षराणि ज्ञातव्यानि ।

अइउ इति च लघूनि संयोगपरश्च यो वर्णः ॥ ३ ॥]

एओक्कारपराइं अंकारपरं च पाइए नत्थि ।
वसयारुमज्झयाणि य कचवग्गतवग्गनिहणाइं ॥ ४ ॥

[एओक्कारपरे अंकारपरं च प्राकृते नास्ति ।
वसकारमध्यगते च कचवर्गतवर्गनिधनानि ॥ ४ ॥]

दीहं साणुस्सारं संजोयपरं च अंतिमेहं च ।
एयाइं जाण गुरुअक्खराइं सेसाइं लहुयाइं ॥ ५ ॥

[दीर्घं सानुस्वारं संयोगपरं चान्तिमं च ।
एतानि जानीहि गुर्वक्षराणि शेषाणि लघूनि ॥ ५ ॥]

सव्वाए गाहाए सत्तावन्ना हवंति मत्ताओ ।
अगद्धंमि य तीसा सत्तावीसा य पच्चद्धे ॥ ६ ॥

[सर्वस्या गाथायाः सप्तपञ्चाशद्भवन्ति मात्राः ।
अग्रार्धे च त्रिंशत् सप्तविंशतिश्च पश्चार्धे ॥ ६ ॥]

सव्वाए गाहाए सोलस अंसा अवस्स कायव्वा ।
तेरस चउरोमत्ता दोय दुमत्तेगमत्तो य ॥ ७ ॥

[सर्वस्या गाथायाः षोडशांशा अवश्यं कर्तव्याः ।
त्रयोदश चतुर्मात्रा द्वौ च द्विमात्रावेकमात्रश्च ॥ ७ ॥]

सत्त सरा कमलंता नहधणछट्ठा वि-मेहया विसमे ।
तह बीयद्धे गाहाछट्ठसो एगमत्तो य ॥ ८ ॥

[सप्त शराः कमलान्ता नभोधनषष्ठाः विमेघा विषमे ।
तथा द्वितीयार्धे गाथाषष्ठांश एकमात्रश्च ॥ ८ ॥]

जा पढमतइयपंचमसत्तमअंसेसु होइ गुरुमज्झा ।
गुव्विणिया विणु पइणा गाहा दोसं पयासेइ ॥ ९ ॥

[या प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमसप्तमांशेषु भवति गुरुमध्या ।
गुर्विणी विना पत्या गाथा दोषं प्रकाशयति ॥ ९ ॥]

जीसे न एगवीसा न य चउवीसा न एगवन्ना सा ।
मत्ता भवेइ लहुई सा जाण विणस्सए गाहा ॥ १० ॥

[यस्या नैकविंशतितमी न च चतुर्विंशतितमी नैकपञ्चाशत्तमी सा ।
मात्रा भवति लघ्वी सा जानीहि विनश्यति गाथा ॥ १० ॥]

जह वाणी तह पाणी वियरइ छुंदंमि गुरुयलहुएहिं ।
जत्थ विलंबए वाणी पाणीवि विलंबए तत्थ ॥ ११ ॥

3 [Annals, B. O. R. L.]

[यथा वाणी तथा पाणिर्विचरति छन्दसि गुरुलघुभिः ।
यत्र विलम्बते वाणी पाणिरपि विलम्बते तत्र ॥११॥]

पढमइय(?)तइयपंचमसत्तमअंसा चउव्विहा हुंति ।
दोगुरुनिहणाइगुरु सव्वलहु चैव अविरुद्धा ॥१२॥

[प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमसप्तमांशाश्चतुर्विधा भवन्ति ।
द्विगुरुनिधनादिगुरवः सर्वलघुश्चैवाविरुद्धाः ॥१२॥]

एए चेव वियप्पा बीयचउत्थेसु मज्झगुरुसहिया ।
छुहोत्थ नवरि अंसो गुरुमज्झो सव्वलहुओ वा ॥ १३ ॥

[एते चैव विकल्पा द्वितीयचतुर्थयोर्मध्यगुरुसहिताः ।
षष्ठोत्र केवलमंशो गुरुमध्यः सर्वलघुर्वा ॥ १३ ॥]

गाहासुं च समाइं खंधयकव्वेसु तह य विसमाइं ।
नत्थि लहुअक्खराइं छुदंमि ठविज्जमाणाइं ॥ १४ ॥

[गाथासु च समानि स्कन्धककाव्येषु तथा च विषमानि ।
न सन्ति लघ्वक्षराणि छन्दसि स्थाप्यमानानि ॥ १४ ॥]

* गाहाउदाहरणं जहा—

वीरवर सभमराणं कमलदलाणं च तुम्ह नयणाणं ।
मुणिवइ मुणियविसेसा अच्छीसु तुहं रमइ लच्छी ॥ १५ ॥

[वीरवर सभ्रमराणां कमलदलानां च युष्माकं नयनानाम् ।
मुनिपते ज्ञातविशेषा अक्षणोर्युष्माकं रमते लक्ष्मीः ॥ १५ ॥]

पढमो बारहमत्तो बीओ अट्टारसासु मत्तासु ।
जह पढमो तह तइओ पन्नरसविभूसिया गाहा ॥ १६ ॥

[प्रथमो द्वादशमात्रो द्वितीयोष्टादशसु मात्रासु ।
यथा प्रथमस्तथा तृतीयः ; पञ्चदशविभूषिता गाथा ॥ १६ ॥]

गाहत्ति ताव सिद्धं होइ विरामेण सा पुणो दुविहा ।
पच्छा विउला अंसयवसेण चवलावि सा तिंविहा ॥ १७ ॥

[गाथेति तावत्सिद्धं भवति विरामेण सा पुनर्द्विविधा ।
पथ्या विपुला अंशकवशेन चपलापि सा त्रिविधा ॥ १७ ॥]

जीसे बारसमत्तो पढमो तइओ य दो समा पाया ।
सा पच्छा; विउला उण उणाहियपायसंजुत्ता ॥ १८ ॥

[यस्या द्वादशमात्रः प्रथमस्तृतीयश्च द्वौ समौ पादौ ।
सा पथ्या विपुला पुनरूनाधिकपादसंयुक्ता ॥ १८ ॥]

गुरुमज्झा मज्झगया गुरुर्याणं दुण्ह दुण्ह जत्थं सा ।
बीयचउत्थ य जुत्ता दोसुवि अद्धेसु सा चवला ॥ १९ ॥

[गुरुमध्यौ मध्यगतौ गुर्वोर्द्वयोर्द्वयोर्ध्वं सा ।
द्वितीयश्चतुर्थश्च युक्तौ द्वयोरप्यर्धयोः सा चपला ॥ १९ ॥]

जीसे दो पुरिमद्धे मुहचवला नाम सा भवे गाहा ।
जहणचवला य निहणे वुच्छामि निदरसणाइं से ॥ २० ॥

[यस्या द्वौ पूर्वार्धे मुखचपला नाम सा भवेद्गाथा ।
जघनचपला च निधने वक्ष्यामि निदर्शनान्यस्याः ॥ २० ॥]

पच्छोदाहरणं जहा —

निउणं जिणवयणसुइं जे विय जाणांति जे विय करिति ।
सा तेसिं पुरिसाणं निययं पच्छा हवइ पच्छा ॥ २१ ॥
[निपुणं जिनवचनश्रुतिं ये चैव जानन्ति ये चैव कुर्वन्ति ।
सा तेषां पुरुषाणां नियतं पश्चाद्भवति पथ्या ॥ २१ ॥]

विउलोदाहरणं जहा —

जरमरणरोगकलिकलुसाविविहसंसारसागराहि नरं ।
तारिज्ज नवरि जिणसत्थवाहवयणं तरी विउला ॥ २२ ॥
[जरामरणरोगकलिकलुषविविधसंसारसागरान्नरम् ।
तारयेत्केवलं जिनसार्थवाहवचनं तरी विपुला ॥ २२ ॥]

सव्वचवलोदाहरणं जहा —

तेसिं न दुल्लहाइं सुहाइं जे वीरसासनपवन्ना ।
दंता तवेण जुत्ता सुए य धित्तव्वए चवला ॥ २३ ॥
[तेषां न दुर्लभानि सुखानि ये वीरशासनप्रपन्नाः ।
दान्तास्तपसा युक्ताः श्रुते च ग्रहीतव्ये चपलाः ॥ २३ ॥]

मुहचवला जहा —

भइं दमीसराणं जिइंदिया जे जिणदंवयणन्नु ।
वयणाइं कुहम्मीणं हणांति नयहेउमुहचवला ॥ २४ ॥
[भद्रं दमीश्वराणां जितेन्द्रिया ये जिनेन्द्रवचनज्ञाः ।
वचनानि कुधर्माणां घ्नन्ति नयहेतुमुखचपलाः ॥ २४ ॥]

जहणचवला यथा—

जिणवयणमुवगयाणं न हरइ हिययाइं महलिया कावि ।
 णिच्चंपि जा सुरुवा हविज्ज जा जहणचवलावि ॥२५॥
 [जिनवचनमुपगतानां न हरति हृदयानि महिला कापि ।
 नित्यमपि या सुरुपा भवेद्या जघनचपलापि ॥२५॥]

*गीई जहा—

हा हियय किं विसूरसि रूवं दहूण परकलत्ताण ।
 पावेण नवरि लिप्पसि पावं पाविहिसि तं न पाविहसि ॥२६॥
 [हा हृदय किं विद्यसे रूपं दृष्ट्वा परकलत्राणाम् ।
 पापेन केवलं लिप्यसे पापं प्राप्स्यसि तां न प्राप्स्यसि ॥२६॥]

*उगोई जहा—

थणदोहलिया बाला भरइव लावन्नसलिलोहं ।
 रमणालवालनिगयरोमावलिवल्लरिं च सिंचेइ ॥२७॥
 [स्तनद्विघटा बाला बिधर्तीव लावण्यसलिलौघम् ।
 रमणालवालनिर्गतरोमावलिवल्लरिं च सिञ्चाति ॥२७॥]

*उवगोई जहा—

जाओ हरइ कलत्तं वहुंतो भोयणं हरइ ।
 अत्थं हरइ समत्थो पुत्तसमो वेरिओ नत्थि ॥२८॥
 [जातो हरति कलत्रं वर्धमानो भोजनं हरति ।
 अर्थं हरति समर्थः पुत्रसमो वैरी नास्ति ॥२८॥]

*संकीणोदाहरणं जहा—

अप्पिज्जउ जणयसुया अणुणिज्जउ राहओ पयत्तेण ।
 आयद्धियचावकरा जाव न पाविति दुज्जया रामसरा ॥२९॥
 [अपर्यतां जनकसुता अनुनीयतां राघवः प्रयत्नेन ।
 आकृष्टचापकरात् यावन्न प्राप्नुवन्ति दुर्जया रामशराः ॥२९॥]

*गाथोदाहरणं जहा—

पुत्वं कहासु सुव्वइ लक्खं किर देइ विक्कमाइच्चो ।
 पणयकुवियाइ सुन्दरि सवायलक्खं तए दिन्नं ॥३०॥
 [पूर्वं कथासु श्रूयते लक्षं किल ददाति विक्रमादित्यः ।
 प्रणयकुपितया सुन्दरि सपादलक्षं त्वया दत्तम् ॥३०॥]

जह वेसाण न नेहो जह सच्चं नत्थि कामुयजणस्स ।

तह नंदियह्मणिण जह किह तिह पाइए नत्थि ॥३१॥

[यथा वेस्यानां न स्नेहो यथा सत्यं नास्ति कामुकजनस्य ।

तथा नन्दिताढ्यमणिते जिह किह तिह प्राकृते नास्ति ॥३१॥]

विप्पी खत्तिणि वइसी सुद्धीसहिया य हुंति चत्तारि ।

छंदं निदरिसणं विय वुच्छामि अओपरं तासिं ॥३२॥

[विप्रा क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रासहिता च भवन्ति चत्वारि ।

छन्दो निदर्शनमपि च वक्ष्याम्यतः परं तासाम् ॥३२॥]

सव्वगुरुएहि विप्पी आइमगुरुएहिं खत्तिणी होई ।

अंतिमगुरुहिं वइसी सुद्धी सव्वेसु लहुएसु ॥३३॥

[सर्वगुरुकैर्विप्रा आदिगुरुभिः क्षत्रिया भवति ।

अन्तिमगुरुकैर्वैश्या शूद्रा सर्वेषु लघुकेषु ॥३३॥]

विप्पी जहा--

पंचावन्ना वन्ना गाहाणं नेय हुंति उट्ठेणं ।

तीसाए हिट्ठेणं सक्को सक्कोवि नो काउं ॥ ३४ ॥

[पञ्चपञ्चाशद्वर्णा गाथानां नैव भवन्ति ऊर्ध्वम् ।

त्रिंशतोऽधस्तात् शक्तः शक्नोपि न कर्तुम् ॥ ३४ ॥]

खत्तिणी जहा—

कुंभारी लोहारी वाणीए चेव होइ बंधारी ।

जह किल कलववहरियय नहु हसिरय अवरकलगहणे ॥ ३५ ॥

[कुम्भकारी लोहकारी वाण्यैव भवति बन्धकारिणी ।

यथा किल कलाव्यवहारिक न खलु हसनशीलापरकलाग्रहणे ॥ ३५ ॥]

वइसी जहा—

वरकरिवर-वरहयवर-वररहवर-विलयनिवह-सुहसुहयं ।

भोत्तुं राया रज्जं पच्छा दिक्खं गहिस्सामो ॥ ३६ ॥

[वरकरिवर-वरहयवर-वररथवर-विलयानिवह-सुखसुखदम् ।

भुक्त्वा राज्ञो राज्यं पश्चाद्दीक्षां ग्रहीष्यामः ॥ ३६ ॥]

सुद्धी जहा—

विमलजसकिरणधवलियमहियल सुरनिवहनमियकमजुअल ।

ति यणसिरिवरकुलहर मणहरगुणनिलय जिण जयहि ॥ ३७ ॥

[विमलयशःकिरणधवलितमहीतल सुरनिवहनमितक्रमयुगल ।
त्रिभुवनश्रीवरकुलगृह मनोहरगुणनिलय जिन जय ॥ ३७ ॥]

मुहजहनसयलचवला पच्छा विउला य विप्पिखत्तिणिया ।
वइसी सुद्धी मिस्सा दस गाहा हुंति छंदंमि ॥ ३८ ॥

[मुखजहनसकलचपला पथ्या विपुला च विप्री क्षत्रिया ।
वैश्या शूद्रा मिश्रा दश गाथा भवन्ति छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥]

* मिस्सोदाहरणं जहा—

ठाणच्चुयाण सुंदरि मंडलरहियाण विहवचत्ताण ।
थणयाण सुपुरिसाण य को हत्थं देइ पडियाण ॥ ३९ ॥

[स्थानच्युतानां सुन्दरि मण्डलरहितानां त्यक्तविभवानाम् ।
स्तनकानां सुपुरुषाणां च को हस्तं ददाति पतितानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥]

अथवा छवीसं भेया गाहाणं जहा—

कमला ललिया लीला जुण्हा रंभा य मागही लच्छी ।
विज्जू माला हंसी ससिलेहा जण्हवी सुद्धा ॥ ४० ॥

[कमला ललिता लीला ज्योत्स्ना रम्भा च मागधी लक्ष्मीः ।
वियुत् माला हंसी शशिलेखा जाह्नवी शुद्धा ॥ ४० ॥]

काली कुमरी मेहा सिद्धी रिद्धी य कुमुइणी धरणी ।
जक्खिणि वीणा बंभी गंधवी मंजरी गौरी ॥ ४१ ॥

[काली कुमारी मेधा सिद्धिर्ऋद्धिश्च कुमुदिनी धरणी ।
यक्षिणी वीणा ब्राह्मी गन्धर्वी मञ्जरी गौरी ॥ ४१ ॥]

कमला तिहिलहुणहिं ललिया पंचेहिं एवमाईओ ।
बिहिबिहिं बहूंतैहिं कमेण सेसाउ जायंति ॥ ४२ ॥

[कमला त्रिलघुकैर्ललिता पञ्चभिरेवमादयः ।
द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यां वर्धमानाभ्यां क्रमेण शेषा जायन्ते ॥ ४२ ॥]

इक्कक्खरवुद्धी छंदा छवीसयं मुणेयव्वा ।

गाहाणं तीसाए पणवन्ना वट्ठिया जाव ॥ ४३ ॥

[एकैकाक्षरवृद्ध्या छन्दांसि षड्विंशतिर्जातव्यानि ।
गाथानां त्रिशतेः पञ्चपञ्चाशद्यावद्वर्धितानि ॥ ४३ ॥]

तीसा जा पणवन्ना वट्ठेंगक्खरोहिं जा गाहा ।

झिज्जइ गुरुयं इक्कं दो दो वट्ठंति लहुआइ ॥ ४४ ॥

[त्रिंशतेःपञ्चपञ्चाशत् यावत् वर्धमानैकाक्षरेण या गाथाः ।
छिद्यते गुरुकमेकं (तत्र) द्वे द्वे वर्धते लघुके ॥ ४४ ॥]

तीसाए जं अहियं दुगुणं काऊण तिण्णि दिज्जासु ।
जित्तिममेत्तो पिंडो तित्तिममिप्ताइं लहुयाइं ॥ ४५ ॥

[त्रिंशतेर्यदाधिकं तद्विगुणं कृत्वा त्रीणि देहि ।
यावन्मात्रः पिण्डस्तावन्मात्राणि लघूनि ॥ ४५ ॥]

मत्तापमाणमज्झा हरिजु सव्वक्खराइं गाहाणं ।
अवसेसं जं चिट्ठइ तित्तिममिप्ताइं गुरुयाइं ॥ ४६ ॥

[मात्राप्रमाणमध्यात् हत्वा सर्वाक्षराणि गाथानाम् ।
अवशेषो यस्तिष्ठति तावन्मात्रा गुरवः ॥ ४६ ॥]

मत्ता भन्नइ करिसो करसचउक्कं पलं वियाणाहि ।
चउदसपलाइं गाहा तोलिज्जंतो संकरिसाइं ॥ ४७ ॥

[मात्रा भण्यते कर्षः कर्षचतुष्क पलं विजानीहि ।
चतुर्दशपलानि गाथा तोल्यमाना सकर्षाणि ॥ ४७ ॥]

उमओअंतगुरूहिं रहिया छठंसण वीयद्धे ।
सेसा तेरस अंसा विसमसमा तेसु अहिगारो ॥ ४८ ॥

[उभयतोन्तगुरुभ्यां रहिताः षष्ठांशेन (च) द्वितीयाद्धे ।
शेषास्त्रयोदशांशा विषमसमास्तेष्वधिकारः ॥ ४८ ॥]

पढमाई चउमेया; बीओ तुरिओ अ हुंति पंचविहा ।
छठंसो दुविगप्पो गणणविही इत्थ कायव्वो ॥ ४९ ॥

[प्रथमादयश्चतुर्भेदाः ; द्वितीयश्चतुर्थश्च भवतः पञ्चविधौ ।
षष्ठांशो द्विविकल्पो गणनविधिरित्थं कर्तव्यः ॥ ४९ ॥]

जो जस्स होइ उवरिं सो गुण्णो हिट्ठिमो गुणायारो ।
हिट्ठिमउवरिमगणणा नेयव्वा जाव तेरसमे ॥ ५० ॥

[यो यस्य भवत्युपरि स गुण्योऽधस्तनो गुणाकारः ।
अधस्तनोपरितनगणना नेतव्या यावत्त्रयोदशम् ॥ ५० ॥]

पत्थारवित्थराणं गाहाणं हुंति अठ्ठकोडीओ ।
एकूणवीसलक्खा वीससहस्साइं सव्वगं ॥ ५१ ॥

[प्रस्तारविस्तृतानां गाथानां भवन्त्यष्टकोट्यः ।
एकोनविंशतिर्लक्षा विंशतिसहस्राणि सर्वाग्रम् ॥ ५१ ॥]

*पत्थारमाणमेयं गाहोगीर्ण खंधएट्टगुणं ।

दुगुणं गीर्ण उवगीर्ण अद्धयं होई ॥ ५२ ॥

[प्रत्थारमानमेतद्गाथोद्गीतीनां स्कन्धकेष्टगुणम् ।

द्विगुणं गीतावुपगीतावर्द्धकं भवति ॥ ५२ ॥]

लहुअक्खरोहिं रूवूणएहिं अद्धीकयंमि जं सेसं ।

रूवूणं तीसजुअं अक्खररासी मुण्येव्वा ॥ ५३ ॥

[लघ्वक्षरै रूपोनिताैरर्द्धीकृतैर्यच्छेषम् ।

रूपोनं त्रिंशयुतं (तत्) अक्षरराशिर्ज्ञातव्यः ॥ ५३ ॥]

एकं हाऊण लहुं तत्तो अद्धं हरित्तु सेसेण ।

अद्धेण समं भणियं नक्खत्तं सव्वगाहाणं ॥ ५४ ॥

[एकं हित्वा लघुं ततोऽर्धं हत्वा शेषेण ।

अर्धेन समं भणितं नक्षत्रं सर्वगाथानाम् ॥ ५४ ॥]

*लहुअक्खरोहिं रूवूणएहिं अद्धीकयंमि जं सेसं ।

लब्भइ गाहाण घरं तह नामं किं वियप्पेण ॥ ५५ ॥

[लघ्वक्षरै रूपोनिताैरर्द्धीकृते यः शेषः ।

लभ्यते गाथानां गृहं तथा नाम किं विकल्पेन ॥ ५५ ॥]

छंदवसा दीहपरा कत्थावि लहुया हवन्ति पयअंते ।

एओइहिं बिंदूविय रहवंजणजुत्तपुव्वो य ॥ ५६ ॥

[छन्दोवशाद्दीर्घपरा कुत्रापि लघवो भवन्ति पदान्ते ।

एओ इहिबिन्दुरिव रहव्यञ्जनयुक्तपूर्वश्च ॥ ५६ ॥]

एयारो जहा—

सायारंपिव परमेसरेण नाणं जुगाइदेवेण ।

बंभीए पयडियं नियकरेण बंभी लिवी जयइ ॥ ५७ ॥

[साकारमिव परमेश्वरेण ज्ञानं युगादिदेवेन ।

ब्राह्म्या प्रकटितं निजकरेण ब्राह्मी लिपिर्जयति ॥ ५७ ॥]

ओयारो जहा—

बालाओ हुंति कोऊहलेण एमेव चवलचित्ताओ ।

दरल्हसियथणीओ पुण धरंति मयरुद्धयरहस्सं ॥ ५८ ॥

[बाला भवन्ति कौतूहलेन एवमेव चपलचित्ताः ।

ईषल्हसितस्तन्यः पुनर्धारयन्ति मकरध्वजरहस्यम् ॥ ५८ ॥]

इयारो बिन्दुजुओ जहा—

जाइं लसंति गुणेहिं दोसासंगं च जाइं न सहंति ।
ताइं तामरसाइं व जयति सुयणाण चरियाइं ॥ ५९ ॥

[यानि लसन्ति गुणैर्दोषासङ्गं च यानि न सहन्ते ।
तानि तामरसानीव जयन्ति सुजनानां चरितानि ॥ ५९ ॥]

हियारो बिन्दुजुओ जहा—

उत्तमतिलयाहिं असोगसरलपुन्नागविहियसोहाहिं ।
जं रेहइ बाहिं वाडियाहिं अंतो कुलवडूहिं ॥ ६० ॥

[उत्तमतिलकाभिरशोकसरलपुन्नागविहितशोभाभिः ।
यद्राजते बहिर्वाटिकाभिरन्तः कुलवधूभिः ॥ ६० ॥]

रद्वंजणसंजोए जहा—

साहि वड्डियावि गेहंमि पइखणं लालियावि दुद्धेण ।
सप्पव्व दुहंति खणेण दुज्जणा अहह अकयन्नू ॥ ६१ ॥

[स्वयं वर्धिता अपि गृहे प्रतिक्षणं लालिता अपि दुग्धेन ।
सर्पा इव द्रुह्यन्ति क्षणेन दुर्जना अहह अकृतज्ञाः ॥ ६१ ॥]

हव्वंजणसंजोए जहा—

मेरुसिहरंमि न्हाणं वत्तीसिंदेहि कणयकलसेहिं ।
किज्जंतं वीरजिणस्स तुम्ह दुरियाइं पम्हसउ ॥ ६२ ॥

[मेरुशिखरे स्नानं द्वात्रिंशदिन्द्रैः कनककलशैः ।
क्रियमाणं वीरजिनस्य युष्माकं दुरितानि प्रमार्ष्टु ॥ ६२ ॥]

गाहो गाहविगाहो उग्गाहो गाहिणी य खंधो य ।
छव्विहगाहाभेओ निदिट्ठो नंदियट्ठेण ॥ ६३ ॥

[गाथो गाथाविगाथे उद्गाथो गाथिनी च स्कन्धश्च ।
षड्विधगाथाभेदो निर्दिष्टो नन्दिताढ्येन ॥ ६३ ॥]

गाहो चउवन्नाए सत्तावन्ना य भन्नए गाहा ।
विवरीया य विगाहा उग्गाहो सट्ठिमत्तो य ॥ ६४ ॥

[गाथश्चतुःपञ्चाशता सप्तपञ्चाशच्च भण्यते गाथा ।
विपरीता च विगाथा उद्गाथः षष्टिमात्रश्च ॥ ६४ ॥]

गाहिणि बासट्ठीए चउसट्ठीए य खंधओ भणिओ ।
एए छव्व विगप्पा गाहाछंदे विणिदिट्ठा ॥ ६५ ॥

[गाथिनी द्विषष्ट्या चतुःषष्ट्या च स्कन्धको भणितः ।
एते षडेव विकल्पा गाथाछन्दसि विनिर्दिष्टाः ॥ ६५ ॥]

4 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

गाहो जहा—

वड्ढंति गमणदियहा जं भणियं तं खमिज्जासु ।
अम्हंचिय नत्थि गुणा दोषाच्चिय संभरिज्जासु ॥ ६६ ॥
[वर्तन्ते गमनदिवसा यद्गणितं तत्क्षमस्व ।
अस्माकमेव न सन्ति गुणा दोषानेव संस्मर ॥ ६६ ॥]

गाहोदाहरणं जहा—

जिणधम्मो मोक्खफलो सासयसुक्खो जिणेहिं पन्नत्तो ।
नरसुरसुहाइं अणुसंगयाइं इह किसि पलालं व ॥ ६७ ॥
[जिनधर्मो मोक्षफलः शाश्वतसौख्यो जिनैः प्रज्ञतः ।
नरसुरसुखानि अनुसंगतानि इह कृषौ पलालमिव ॥ ६७ ॥]

उगाहो जहा—

थोसामि सव्वजगजीवबंधवं अट्ठकम्मनिम्महणं ।
सुरअसुरनागमहियं संतिजिणं सयललोयसंतिकरं ॥ ६८ ॥
[स्तोष्ये सर्वजगज्जीवबान्धवमष्टकर्मनिर्मथनम् ।
सुरासुरनागमहितं शान्तिजिनं सकललोकशान्तिकरम् ॥ ६८ ॥]

अन्नं च—

जइ वाससयं गोवालिया कुसुमाणिय बंधइ मालिया ।
ता किं सहावधियगंधिया कुसुमेहिं होइ सुगंधिया ॥ ६९ ॥
[यदि वर्षशतं गोपालिका कुसुमानां च बध्नाति मालिकाम् ।
तर्हि स्वभावघृतगन्धिता कुसुमैर्भवति सुगन्धिता ॥ ६९ ॥]

गाहिणी जहा—

निवडियधारा निवहो जरुस निरुद्धो फणिंदभउडेहिं ।
तं सुरमुइंदमुहलियणागिणिगिज्जंतमंगलं पासजिणं ॥ ७० ॥
[निपतितधारानिवहो यस्य निरुद्धः फणीन्द्रमुकुटैः ।
तं सुरमृदङ्गमुखरितनागिनीगीयमानमङ्गलं पार्श्वजिनम् ॥ ७० ॥]

खंधओ जहा—

नमह भुयंदंभासुरवियडफडाडोयखलियविसहरसलिलं ।
पहयमुइंदासुहलियणागिणिगिज्जंतमंगलं पासजिणं ॥ ७१ ॥
[नमत भुजगेन्द्रभासुरविकटफटाटोपस्खलितविषधरसलिलम् ।
प्रहतमृदङ्गमुखरितनागिनीगीयमानमङ्गलं पार्श्वजिनम् ॥ ७१ ॥]

खंधअक्खरपमाणं जहा—

लहुअक्खरं दुरहियं अद्धं च कलायवज्जियं सेसं ।

चोत्तीसक्खरजुत्तं जायइ खंधक्खरपमाणं ॥ ७२ ॥

[लघ्वक्षरं द्विरहितमद्धं चैककलावर्जितं शेषम् ।

चतुस्त्रिंशदक्षरयुक्तं जायते स्कन्धाक्षरप्रमाणम् ॥ ७२ ॥]

धुय लहुअक्खर चउरो खंधे सव्वत्थं हुंति कायव्वा ।

इहरासमंजसत्तं छंदविरोहो फलमणिद्वं ॥ ७३ ॥

[ध्रुवाणि लघ्वक्षराणि चत्वारि स्कन्धके सर्वत्र भवन्ति कर्तव्यानि ।

इतरथासमंजसत्वं छन्दोविरोधः फलमनिष्टम् ॥ ७३ ॥]

उदाहरणं—

विंबोढीए तीए थोरा गोरा समुन्नया वक्खोआ ।

तारुण्ये संपुण्णे किं किं दुःखं न दिति कामीण ददं ॥ ७४ ॥

[विम्बोष्ठ्यास्तस्याः स्थविरौ गौरौ समुन्नतौ वक्षोजौ ।

तारुण्ये संपूर्णे किं किं दुःखं न ददति कामिनां ददम् ॥ ७४ ॥]

अहवा—

लेहाए संनद्धो जीमूओ सव्वओ मंसीसारिच्छो ।

गज्जंतो गंभीरं मत्तो हत्थिव्व एस सो पच्चक्खो ॥ ७५ ॥

[लेखया संनद्धो जीमूतः सर्वतो मणीसदृशः ।

गर्जनाम्भीरं मत्तो हस्तीव एष स प्रत्यक्षः ॥ ७५ ॥]

*पद्धडियलक्खणं जहा—

सोलसमत्तउ जहिं पउ दीसइ । अक्खरमत्तु न किंपि गवीसइ ।

पायउ पायउ जमकविसुद्धउ । पद्धडिय तहिं छंद पसिद्धउ ॥ ७६ ॥

[षोडशमात्रो यत्र पादो दृश्यते । अक्षरमात्रा न किमपि गवेष्यते ।

पादः पादो यमकविशुद्धः । पद्धडिका तत्र छन्दः प्रसिद्धम् ॥ ७६ ॥]

*तुय पुन्निमचंदसमाणवयणि । गोरंगि चांगि सारंगनयणि ।

थणमंडलउप्परि पियह हत्थु । तं कलसि दिन्नु पंकउ पसत्थु ॥ ७७ ॥

[तव पूर्णिमाचन्द्रसमानवदने । गौराङ्गि सुन्दरि सारङ्गनयने ।

स्तनमण्डलोपरि प्रियस्य हस्तः । तत्कलशे दत्तं पङ्कजं प्रशस्तम् ॥ ७७ ॥]

चंदाणणछंदो । गंथंतरे मयणावयारदुइयनामं । लक्खणं जहा —

*निसुणि चंदमुहि चंदाणणो रूवओ

सधणु करंवालु विरणइ तह बीअओ ।

तद्वयटाणेषु विज्जुज्जलो मुग्गरो
ललियगयगमणि निहणंगओ तोमरो ॥ ७८ ॥

[निशामय चन्द्रमुखि चन्द्राननो रूपकः
सधनुः करवालं विरचय तथा द्वितीयम् ।
तृतीयस्थानेषु विद्युज्ज्वलो मुद्गरो
ललितगजगमने निधनं गतस्तोमरः ॥ ७८ ॥]

*गयरहतुरंगपाइक्कजोहनामोहिं जाण चउमत्ता ।
बहुविविहपहरणां पंचगमत्तं पिहुलसोणि ॥ ७९ ॥
[गजरथतुरङ्गपदातियोधनामभिर्जानीहि चतुर्मात्रान् ।
बहुविविधप्रहरणानां पञ्चकमात्रं पृथुलश्रोणि ॥ ७९ ॥]

दुवईलक्खणं जहा -

*पढमगणे कलछक्कं चउक्कला पंच हुंति कमलंता ।
गुरुमज्झसव्वलहुआ दुवईए बीयछट्ठंसा ॥ ८० ॥
[प्रथमगणे कलाषट्कं चतुष्कलाः पञ्च भवन्ति कमलान्ताः ।
गुरुमध्यसर्वलघवो द्विपद्या द्वितीयषष्ठांशाः ॥ ८० ॥]

उदाहरणं जहा -

*उब्भडभिउडिभंगतटवियडवियप्पकरालभालयं
निहुरदंतदट्टउट्टट्टियसोणियपंकिलालयं ।
दिढवट्टियसरोसहुंकारपुरःसरकेसकट्टणं
कुणउ नारिंद तुज्झ बहु संगमसंगरमिट्टिवट्टणं ॥ ८१ ॥
[उद्भटभृकुटिभङ्गतटविकटविकल्पकरालभालं
निहुरदन्तदष्टौष्ठस्थितशोणितपङ्किलालम् ।
द्वदवर्धितसरोषहुंकारपुरःसरकेशकर्षणं
करोतु नरेन्द्र तव बहु संगमसंगरं ऋद्धिवर्धनम् ॥ ८१ ॥]

*वत्थुओ जहा--

दो वेया सिहिजुयलं जुयाइं दुन्निउ दुगं च वत्थुयओ ।
[द्वौ वेदौ शिखियुगलं युगानि द्वे द्विके च वस्तुकम् ।]

दिवट्टुछंदलक्खणं जहा--

पनरसतेरसपनरसतेरसजुत्तो दिवट्टुछंदो ॥ ८२ ॥
[पञ्चदशत्रयोदशपञ्चदशत्रयोदशयुक्तं सार्धछन्दः ॥ ८२ ॥]

*वत्थुओदाहरणं जहा—

कुम्भिकुम्भविभ्रममह कवण थणकलसह उप्पम
 इंदीवरदलसमह कवण नयणह सारिच्छम ।
 पारिजायलयनिभह भुअह काहि कवणह चांगिम
 सीअदेवि रूवस्स तुज्झ कसु वन्निण अग्गिम ॥
 इइ भणइ राउ दसरहतणउ । वणिवणि विलवंतउ करुणु ॥
 अहवा न तुज्ज जं जीवियउ । जं जि तं जि विम्हियकरण ॥८३॥
 [कुम्भिकुम्भविभ्रमयोः का स्तनकलशयोरुपमा
 इन्दीवरदलसमयोः किं नयनयोः सदृशम् ।
 पारिजातलतानिभयोर्भुजयोः कुत्र (वक्ष्ये) कस्य सम्यक्त्वं
 सीतादेवि रूपस्य तव कस्य वर्णनामग्रे ॥
 इति भणति राजा दशरथतनयो । वनेवने विलपन्करुणम् ।
 अथवा नाश्चर्यं यत् जीवति । यदेव तदेव विस्मयकरणम् ॥८३॥]

*दूहालक्खणं जहा—

चउदहमत्ता दुन्निपय । पढमइ तइयइ हुंति ।
 बारहमत्ता दोचलण । दूहालक्खण कंति ॥ ८४ ॥
 [चतुर्दशमात्रा द्वयोः पादयोः प्रथमे तृतीये भवन्ति ।
 द्वादशमात्रा द्वयोश्चरणयोर्दूहालक्षणं कान्ते ॥ ८४ ॥]

*उदाहरणं यथा—

लद्धउ मित्तु भमंतएण । रयणायरु चंदेण ॥
 जो झिज्जइ झिज्जंतएण । वढ्ढइ वढ्ढंतेण ॥ ८५ ॥
 [लब्धं मित्रं भ्रमता । रत्नाकरश्चन्द्रेण ॥
 यो ह्रीयते ह्रीयमानेन । वर्धते वर्धमानेन ॥ ८५ ॥]

*उवदूहालक्खणं जहा—

तेरहमत्ता दुन्निपय । पढमइ तइयइ हुंति ॥
 बारहमत्ता अन्नदुइ । उवदूहउ इहु कंति ॥ ८६ ॥
 [त्रयोदशमात्रा द्वयोः पादयोः । प्रथमे तृतीये भवन्ति ।
 द्वादशमात्रा अन्यद्विकयोः । उपदूहक इह कान्ते ॥ ८६ ॥]

*उदाहरणं—

नंदउ वीरजिणेसरह । धरखुत्ती नहपंति ।
 दंसंती इव संगमह । नरय निरंतर गुत्ति ॥ ८७ ॥

[नन्दतु वीरजिनेश्वरस्य । धरानिमग्ना पदपङ्क्तिः ॥
दर्शयन्ती इव संगमस्य । नरको निरन्तरं स्थानम् ॥ ८७ ॥]
* बारहमत्ता विसमपय । समपय चउदह मत्त ॥
इहु अवदूहउ पण्डियहु । अन्न म करिस कुवत्त ॥ ८८ ॥
[द्वादशमात्रा विषमपदयोः । समपदयोश्चतुर्दशमात्राः ॥
इति अवदूहकः पण्डिताः । अन्यां मा कुरुत कुवार्ताम् ॥ ८८ ॥]

*उदाहरणं जहा—

एक सलूणा सावलि । तुय थण जे संमुह;पथिय ।
जेहि न वंकइ वयणइ । लगंतेहि नहेहि कय ॥ ८९ ॥
[श्रृणु सलावण्ययोः श्यामले । तव स्तनयोर्ये सन्मुखाः पथिकाः ।
(तै) र्यथा (तथा) न वक्राणि वदनानि । लग्नैर्नखैः कृतानि ॥ ८९ ॥]

अथोपदूहकनामान्याह—

*भमरुभामरु समरु संचालु । मयरंदउ मकडउ ॥
नलु मरालु मयगलु पयोहरु ॥ ९० ॥
× × × ×
ए नामाईं दोहाहं मयरु । मच्छु कच्छवउ गोहरु ॥ ९१ ॥
*होइ हु छव्वीसक्खरउ । दोहउ बिहुलहुएहिं ॥
अक्खरि अक्खरि वे चडहि । भमराइयनामेहिं ॥ ९२ ॥
[भवति खलुः षड्विंशत्यक्षरो । दोहको द्वाभ्यां लघुभ्याम् ।
अक्षरे अक्षरे द्वौ वर्धते । भ्रमरादिकनामभिः ॥ ९२ ॥]

*आद्योदाहरणं—

बे गोरा बे सामला । बे रत्ता निप्पंक ।
बे नीला हेमप्पदा । सेसा मायामुक्क ॥ ९३ ॥
[द्वौ गौरौ द्वौ श्यामलौ । द्वौ रक्तौ निष्पङ्क्तौ ।
द्वौ नीलौ, हेमप्रभौ । शेषा मायामुक्ताः ॥ ९३ ॥]

*अन्त्योदाहरणं जहा—

वियसियजलरुहदलनयण । हिमकरकरसरिसतणु ॥
सरसइससहरसमवयण । पणमहु जिण ज(जि?)णियतणु ॥ ९४ ॥
[विकसितजलरुहदलनयनं । हिमकरकरसदृशतनुम् ।
सरसिज-शशधरसमवदनं । प्रणमत जिनं जिततनुम् ॥ ९४ ॥]

*सिलोयलक्षणं जहा—

पंचमं लघुयं सत्त्वं सत्तमं दुचउत्थए ॥

छट्टं पुण गुरुं सत्त्वं सिलोयं विति पंडिया ॥ ९५ ॥

[पञ्चमं लघुकं सर्वं सत्तमं द्विचतुर्थयोः ।

षष्ठं पुनर्गुरुकं सर्वं श्लोकं ब्रुवन्ति पण्डिताः ॥ ९५ ॥]

*उदाहरणं जहा—

पोसेउ पंचमो चक्की सोलसो मे जिणो जसं ।

चकं च धम्मचक्रं च जस्साइच्चोव्व सेवइ ॥ ९६ ॥

[पुष्पातु पञ्चमश्चक्री षोडशो मे जिनो यशः ।

चक्रं च धर्मचक्रं यस्यादित्य इव सेवेते ॥ ९६ ॥

॥ इति नन्दियद्वसूत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥

NOTES

[N. B. :— VJS. = Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya, JBBRAS. New Series, Vol. V. Hemacandra = Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana, printed at N. S. Press, Bombay, 1912, by Devakarana Mulaji. Piṅgala = Prakrit Piṅgala, Kāvya-mālā edition.]

V. 3 :— संयोगेन परः प्रकृष्टः क्षमया परः क्षमापर इतिवत् । सोपि लघुर्ज्ञेयः ।
-- Com. in A. संयोगपरः here means 'a conjunct consonant' and not 'a letter which precedes conjunction.' In v. 5, the word is used in this latter meaning. Perhaps we should supply सोपि गुरुः in the last line.

V. 4 :— The letters ऐ, औ (एओकारपराइ), अः, शः, ष (वसयारमज्झयाइ) and ङ, ञ, न are not employed in Prakrit.

V. 8 :— शराश्रुतुर्मात्रारूपा अंशाः । कमलान्ता उर्वन्ताः । नभोधनपष्ठाः चतुर्लघु-
मध्यगुरुपष्ठाः । विमेषकाः विगतमध्यगुरुवः विषमस्थाने । — A.

Vv. 9-10 :— A गुरुमध्य चतुर्मात्र (ISI) should not be used in uneven gaṇas of a Gāthā. 21st and 24th Mātrā must be short i. e. must consist of a short letter. Since the sixth Gaṇa is either IIII or ISI. See above V. 8, so also the 51st Mātrā must be short as the sixth gaṇa of the second half is made up of a single short letter.

v. 11 :— पाणिशब्दोऽश्वाच्येव न हस्तवाची — A.

v. 12 :— This explains v. 9.

v. 14 :— The number of short letters in a Gāthā is always odd and not even ; that in a Skandhaka is always even and never odd ; cf. VJS. III. 3-5, 10.

v. 16 :— B reads दसंपंचविभूसिया for पञ्चरस०.

v. 19 :— चपला i. e. सर्वचपला.

v. 21 :— पूर्वपथ्यापरपथ्याभेदः स्वयम्भूच्छन्दसो ज्ञेयः -- A.

Vv. 21-25 :— It should be noted that the illustrations contain the name of the particular variety by Mudrālamkāra. In v. 24, B reads वयणेन for वयणन्तु.

Vv. 26-30 :— See Intro., Para 9 ; in v. 26, A reads जं कज्जं तं न पाविहिसि. This reading is not metrically correct. In v. 27, C seems to read सरइव for भरइव. On v. 29, it remarks :— ' मन्दोदरी रावणं प्रति कथयति ' ; this would show that the source of the quotation was known to the author of the Avacūri. On the same verse, A says :— एतल्लक्षणं स्वयम्भूच्छन्दसो ज्ञेयम् । B reads 'चावसरा for चावकरा in second line.

v. 30 :— सवायलक्खं = सपादलाक्षं = सालक्तकं पदं.

v. 31 :— ननु गाथाच्छन्दः शास्त्रमिदम् । गाथा च शुद्धप्राकृतएव भवति । ततश्च जिह किह तिहेत्यादयोऽपभ्रंशाः स्युर्नवा इत्याशङ्कानं परिहरन्नाह -- A.

v. 35 :— The meaning of the verse is not quite clear. I give the two interpretations of the two Avacūris :— ' शब्द-मात्रेणैव आसां विजातित्वं न त्वपरकलाग्रहणे । एता अपि सुजातय इव शोभन्ते । तस्मादुत्तमजातिरिति स्मयो न न्याय्यः कलाकोशलमेव प्रमाणम् । कलाव्यवहारिक हसनशील इत्यामन्त्रणद्वयं कस्याप्यात्मबहुमानिनः । -- A.

'कुम्भारिका लोहारिका तत्समानवाण्या भाषया जल्पन् सन् पुमान् पापसंबन्धकारी भवति । यथा किल व्यवहियते सत्यर्थे तथैव अपरकलारहिता लोकैरुपहस्यते -- C. In v. 36, C reads निलयनिवह for विलयनिवह.

Vv. 45-46 :— These verses give the method of finding out the number of short and long letters in any one of the above-mentioned varieties. Count the letters of the

Gāthā; take out 30 from the number and multiply the remainder by 2 and add 3 to it. The total number thus obtained is the number of *short* letters in the Gāthā. To find out the number of *long* letters in a Gāthā, count the number of Mātrās and deduct from it the total number of letters in the Gāthā; the remainder represents the total number of *long* letters.

V. 48 :— उभञ्जोऽन्त 'Except the long letters at the end of each half and the sixth Amśa in the second half'. For this line, there is another reading noticed by the Avacūri in A. It is 'उभञ्जोऽन्तमकमलयरहिया छट्स वीयञ्जम्'। उभयस्मिन्नर्धद्वयेऽप्यन्तिमकमलाभ्यां षट्शोऽन्तं च । प्राकृतत्वाद्दालोपः । क द्वितीयार्धे &c. द्वितीयपाठस्तु न्याय्य इति गाथार्थः । on V. 49, the Ava. in C. quotes :— चउपंचचारिपंच य चउदोचत्तारि इक्कचउपंच । चउपंचचारिइक्काचउइक्का हन्ति गाथाणं । See above Vv. 7-13.

Vv. 50-51 :— These stanzas give the total number of the kinds of Gāthās. It is 81920000 and is obtained by multiplying the figures representing the possible varieties of each of the 13 Amśas.

V. 52 :— The total number given above is naturally that of Gāthā and Udgīti. In a Skandhaka it is eight times as much. In Gīti it is twice as much and in Upagīti it is only half as much. The Verse is not found in Ms. B; see Intro. Para 10.

V. 53 :— This gives a method to find out the number of letters in a Gāthā. Deduct 1 from the number of short letters in a given Gāthā and divide the remainder by 2. Again deduct 1 and add 30; the number that is obtained is that of the letters. रूप = 1.

Vv. 54-55 :— It appears that the names of the Nakṣatras are given to these different varieties of the Gāthā. That which contains the smallest number of short letters is Aśvinī and so on. Thus the Nakṣatra-name of a Gāthā is found out by deducting 1 from the number of short letters and dividing the remainder by 2. The number obtained is the number of the Nakṣatra

5 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

whose name the Gāthā has. Cf. अयं भावार्थः । त्रिंशदक्षराणां गाथायां नियमेन त्रयोऽलघवस्तेषामेकोपसार्यते शेषौ द्वौ तयोरप्यर्धमेकस्तेन लब्धमाद्यमश्विनीनक्षत्रमेवं सर्वास्तु गाथास्तु । — A. V. 55 is not found in B. It merely says that by the same method (i. e. given in V. 53) we find the serial number and the name (viz. कमला, ललिता &c.) of a Gāthā.

Cf. घं = गृहं प्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयादिसंख्यास्थानं नाम च कमलाललिया इत्याद — A. किं वियप्येण — 'why doubt'?

V. 56 :— This is really an exception to V. 5. It says that for the sake of metre, the following six letters, which are ordinarily long must be regarded as short when they stand at the end of a word (पयअंते) and are preceded by a long letter (दीर्घपराः). The six are ए, ओ, इं, हिं (इविन्दु and हिविन्दु) रव्यंजनयुक्तवर्णपूर्व and ह्व्यंजनयुक्तवर्णपूर्व i.e. letters preceding the conjunct consonants formed by र and ह.

V. 57 :— Here the ए in वंभीए is to be pronounced as short. The Verse according to Avacūri in A is from रोहिणीचरित.

V. 58 :— Here ओ in बालाओ is short. For दरल्हसियथाणिओ पुण, A reads दरउल्हसियथाणिओपुण, where ओ in थाणओ is short.

V. 59 :— For सहति A reads हसन्ति. Here इं in जाइं (2) and ताम-रसाइं is short. The Verse, acc. to A is from पुष्पदन्तचरित.

V. 60 :— Here हिं in तिलयाहिं and in बाडियाहिं is short. Even this Verse is from पुष्पदन्तचरित acc. to A.

V. 61 :— Here व् though it precedes the conjunct consonant द्रु, is short. The verse is from शतपथालंकार गाथासहस्र, acc. to A.

V. 62 :— Here मि though it precedes ह is short. For पल्हसउ O reads पल्हुडउ, as is clear from 'प्रस्फोटयतु दूरीकरोतु.' B reads पल्हुसइ.

V. 66 second half :— 'There are no virtues in us; you may remember even our faults.'

V. 67 :— A reads हुक्ख for मोक्ख and B reads अह for इह. After the example of गाहा we expect that of बिगाहा before

उग्गाह. Neither A nor B contains it. C seems to contain it; the Avacūri runs as follows :— “विगाथा यथा— पण० । जिणाय चरण पुनः पुनः प्रणमत । किं० चलणे । प्रणत-सुरेश्वरशीर्षे सुकुटकोटिमिश्रीकृते । किं० जिनानां संसारसमुद्रं पोत-प्राप्तानाम् । ”—

Vv. 68-69 :— V. 68 is an example of उद्गाथ or गीति. V. 69 also is an example of the same metre. In the second case, however, it appears to consist of four equal lines of 15 Mātrās each, instead of the usual 12+18; 12+18. The author, however, thinks that a Gāthā,— hence a Gīti — consists of two halves only (cf. v. 6), and not of four Pādas as is done by some (but also cf. v. 16, 18). Any metre, therefore, having two halves with 30 Mātrās in each must be regarded as गीति irrespective of the यति. In the present example the यति occurs after the 15th Mātrā. Four metres of this type have been noticed by Hemacandra on p. 43b, line 11 ff. They are (1) हरिणीकुल with the यति after the 12th and 20th Mātrās; (2) गीतिसम with the यति after the 10th and 18th Mātrās; (3) अमररुत with the यति as in गीतिसम but the line made of 5 पणमात्रs; and (4) हरिणीपद, the line of which is made up of 1 पणमात्र and the remaining चतुर्मात्रs. It should, nevertheless, be noted that our example must be regarded as a metre with four lines as is clear from the rhyme and the Yati and in this respect may be compared with the पञ्चिनी-द्विपदी of विरहाङ्क. Cf. VJS. III. 10. कुसुमाणिय— कुसुमा आणिय ? कुसुमा णिय ? or कुसुमाण य? C remarks :— ‘तस्या मनो घृतगन्धेन युज्यते न कुसुमेषु ।’

V. 70 :— Supply नमत. A notices another reading, i. e. ‘धारा पडंतिनवहा’ Cf. इत्यत्र निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं नपततीति प्राप्तप्राकृतत्वाद्विलोमः पदन्यासः । न्याय्यस्तु पाठो ‘निबडियधारानविहोति । स चार्थात्मकमठं मेघवृष्टिरिति । मुहं — drum.

V. 71 :— C. reads णमह for नमह.

V. 72 :— The Verse gives the method to find out the total number of letters in a Skandhaka metre. Deduct 2 from the number of short letters and the remainder

should be halved; again 1 should be deducted from the sum which is thus obtained and 34 added to it. The resulting figure is the required number of letters. Our author does not give the different varieties of स्कन्धक. Cf. E. g. VJS. IV. 9-12; Piṅgala I. 63-65; Hemacandra, p. 28 b, line 14 ff. C. has a Verse after v. 72; the commentary on this is as follows:-- 'स्कन्धककाव्ये' लघ्वक्षरप्रमाणमाह — चउ० । यावन्यक्षराणि सर्वाणि भवन्ति स्कन्धे तेषां मध्याच्चतुस्त्रिंशदक्षराणि दूरीक्रियन्ते । यानि शेषाणि तिष्ठन्ति तानि द्वियुणीक्रियन्ते । चत्वारि मध्ये क्षिप्यन्ते । एवं कृते सति लघुकाक्षरनिर्देशो भवति ।^{११}

v. 73 :-- In any स्कन्धक variety, the least number of short letters that is possible is 4; since in each half we have a नरेन्द्र group; cf. note on VJS. IV. 9-12.

Vv. 74-75 :-- Two examples of स्कन्धक. The first contains 6 short letters, while the second has only 4. In v. 73 B and C read थेरा for थोरा, and in v. 74 हेलाए for लेहाए.

v. 76 ff :-- See introduction. This and the following stanzas do not seem to belong to the original text. B reads v. 75 after v. 76.

v. 76 :-- पद्दात Metre; cf. Hemacandra, p. 26 b, line 6 ff. and 43 a, line 9 ff. The metre consists of four rhymed lines with 16 Mātrās in each.

v. 78 :-- The author defines the चन्द्रानन metre which is also called by the name मदनावतार in other works. Here Ratnacandra quotes the following :-- 'मयणावयार उंदो पचकल गणेहिं चउहिं नायव्वेत्ति' । I am unable to trace the source of the quotation. For the metre, cf. Hemacandra, p. 33 b, line 2 ff. &c.

v. 79 :-- This is quoted from VJS. I. 17; the address to a wife (पिह्लसोणि) is appropriate in the original. Acc. to VJS. गज, रथ, तुरङ्ग or पदात are all names of a चतुर्मात्र in general irrespective of letters of which it is made up. Ratnacandra, however, comments thus :-- अत्रैतत्पञ्च- (चतुर्)मात्रकसज्ञां दशयन्नाह गयरह० । तद्यथा सर्वयुरुर्गजः । आदि-युरु रथः । अन्तगुरुस्तुरङ्गः । मध्ययुरुः पदातिः । सवयुरुयाधः । &c.

- V. 80 :— This gives the definition of a द्विपदी. Cf. Hemacandra p. 32 a, line 15 ff. The metre has four lines. In each we get 6 + five 4s + S. Of these seven Aṁśas, the 2nd and the 6th are either of the *गुरुमध्य* (ISI) or of the *सर्वलघु* (IIII) type.
- V. 81 :— In the first line, C reads कडप्प for वियप्प; कडप्प means कटाक्ष.
- V. 82 :— वस्तुक is also called वस्तुवदनक, cf. Hema. p. 37 a, line 1 ff. The special restrictions regarding the metre given in Hemacandra are not mentioned by our author. Acc. to him 24 Mātrās alone are necessary in a line. वेद = 4; शिखि = 3; यग = 4; द्विक = 2. The second half of the stanza defines the दिवद or सार्धच्छन्दः which is made up of a वस्तुक and a कुंकुम or a कर्पूर उल्लालक. Cf. K. D. II. 33 and Hemacandra, p. 34 a, line 4 ff. and 7 ff.
- V. 83 :— वृज्ज (B reads वृज्जु and C वृज्ज) = श्रव्य (?) . I do not know the word. The stanza looks like a quotation.
- V. 84 ff. :— The author gives the definitions of दोहा V. 84; उपदाहक V. 86 and अवदोहक V. 88ff.
- V. 87 :— C. comments on this verse thus :— 'वीरजिनेन्द्रस्य कायो-त्सगास्थतस्य धरायां पृथ्व्यां निर्लीना नखपङ्क्तिर्नन्दतु । उत्प्रेक्ष्यते । संगमकाभिधानस्याभव्यस्य नरके निरन्तरं गुप्तिं नरक निश्चलवासं दर्शयन्तीव । अभव्यत्वात् ।' संगमक is a proper name. But in what context does the stanza occur ?
- V. 89 :— A has a variety of readings for this stanza. सामालि for साबालि; तूय for तुय; संस्रहपथिय for सस्रहयथिय of C and B; जेह for जेहि of B; and नहेहि for न तेहि.
- V. 90-92 :— V. 91 is incomplete. The names are slightly different from those of Piṅgala I. 67.
- V. 93 :— 'Out of the 24 तायकरs, the complexion of two is white; that of the other two is dark-blue; that of the third pair is red; that of the fourth is blue and that of the remaining 16 is golden.'

v. 94 :— A reads जणियतणु for जणियनाणु of B and C. A's reading is surely the correct one since in the example no long letter is expected. But what is जणियनणु? It should be जणियतणु = जित-वशीकृत-तदुः।

v. 95 :— The author gives the definition of श्लोक last of all.

SAMKARA'S AUTHORSHIP OF THE GĪTĀ-BHĀṢYA

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA, B. A. (HONS.)

Tradition has it that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the well-known exponent of the Advaita Vedānta and author of an illuminating commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, is also the author of a commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā*. It has, however, fathered on him a plethora of works such as he could never have been guilty of; and modern critical scholarship has been cautious to scepticism in admitting the genuineness of the works attributed to the Ācārya. The enormity of the offence committed against Śaṅkara by his pious followers can easily be judged from the fact that no less than four hundred works have been ascribed to Śaṅkara of which upwards of seventy five per cent are obviously unworthy of the great master. When, therefore, modern critical scholarship set its face against the large mass of 'Śaṅkara-apocrypha' and dismissed hosts of them as spurious, traditional scholars were visibly alarmed. No doubt, traditional scholars were quite right in opining that criticism must proceed with caution—that conclusions should not be drawn all too hastily. For, the craze for speculation and the inward self-satisfaction arising out of adumbrating a new and startling theory in the field, had critical scholars too much by the throat to permit them take a level-headed view of things. Except for glaring instances, it is still impossible to pass any judgment off-hand whether or not some of the major works attributed to Śaṅkara are really his. Competent scholars like Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya and Dr. Belvalkar have repudiated Śaṅkara's authorship of works such as the commentaries on the *Nṛsiṃha Tāpanī*, *Māṇḍūkya* and *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads*, the *Vivekacūḍamāṇi*, *Upadeśa Sāhasrī*, and the *Stotras*. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī seems to have taken for granted Śaṅkara's authorship of the *Daśaśloki*. Something like the weighty support of orthodoxy seems to have been given in sign of their genuineness to the works of Śaṅkara published in

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twenty volumes under the aegis of the Svāmiji of the Śringeri Mutt, at the Vāṇī Vilas Press, Srirangam. But, modern scholars of a Wentworthian type would seem to think that not much of a success in the matter of fixing the genuine works of Śaṅkara could come out of orthodox quarters.

However that may be, opinion seems still to lurk in certain quarters that Śaṅkara never wrote the commentary on the *Gītā* attributed to him. It is given for a reason that the language and style of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* are not such as could have creditably emanated from the illustrious author of the *Śārīraka Bhāṣya*. Though, so far, no serious divergences in the philosophical theories and doctrinal details between the two commentaries have been brought to light, a difference in a methodology is discernible. It is this. Śaṅkara, for reasons best known to himself, has not cared to give a benedictory stanza at the beginning of his *Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya*. The *Gītā-Bhāṣya*, however, begins in the usual manner with a benedictory stanza ; hence the incompatibility in the same author being responsible for two such works.

As against this it must be pointed out that the omission of the benedictory verse by itself is neither a virtue nor a vice and constitutes no valid argument. Śaṅkara himself, to judge from the astonishing development of his style, as disclosed in his *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* in comparison with the *Gītā Bhāṣya* and other works, appears to have gradually discarded the wooden formalities of 'commentary-making' not only in the matter of the observance of the benediction but also in the elevation of style. The *Gītā Bhāṣya* is not the only work of Śaṅkara where we have the benedictory verse nor the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* the only one where we have it not!

A few extracts at random from the *Gītā Bhāṣya* would clearly demonstrate the amusing simplicity of its style which may be advantageously contrasted with the 'grand manner' of the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* :--

देवक्या वसुदेवादंशेन कृष्णः किल संबभूव ॥

स भगवान् वैष्णवीं स्वां मायां प्रकृतिं वशीकृत्य, अजोऽव्ययो भूतानामीश्वरः स्वमायाया जात इव लोकानुग्रहं कुर्वन् लक्ष्यते ॥

अतस्तदर्थविवरणे यत्नः क्रियते मया¹ ॥

अहं विवेकतोऽर्थनिर्धारणार्थं संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि ॥

न शोच्या अशोच्याः ॥ अन्यशोचः अनुशोचितवानासि । देहादन्यः देहान्तरं तस्य प्राप्तिः
देहान्तरप्राप्तिः ॥

न मुह्यति न मोहमापद्यते ॥

रागः अस्यास्तीति रागी ॥

धर्म्यं धर्मादनपेतं धर्म्यं ॥

अथमायुर्जीवितं यस्य सोऽघातः ॥

चिकीर्षुः कर्तुमिच्छुः ॥

तान्विद्धि जानीहि नष्टान्नाशं गतान् अचेतसः आविवेकिनः ॥

बुद्धिनाशः बुद्धेर्नाशः ॥ सौहृदं सहितुं, प्रसहितुम् ॥

साधुरेव स मन्तव्यो ज्ञातव्यः ॥ अंशुमान् रश्मिमान् ॥ मन्यसे चिन्तयासि ॥ दर्शयामास
दर्शितवान् ॥ पार्थय पृथास्तुताय ।

अनेकवक्त्रनयनं -- अनेकानि वक्त्राणि नयनानि च यस्मिन्नेव तदनेकवक्त्रनयनम् ॥

अनेकाद्भुतदर्शनं -- अनेकानि अद्भुतानि विस्मापकानि दर्शनानि यस्मिन् तत् अनेका-
द्भुतदर्शनं रूपं तथा अनेकदिव्याभरणमनेकानि दिव्यान्याभरणानि यस्मिन् तदनेकदिव्याभरणं
तथा दिव्यानेकोद्यतायुधं दिव्यान्यनेकानि अस्यादीन्युद्यतान्यायुधानि यस्मिन् तत् दिव्यानेको-
द्यतायुधं दर्शयामासेति पूर्वेण संबन्धः ।

किं च, दिव्यमाल्याम्बरधरं दिव्यानि माल्यानि !!!

हृष्टानि रोमाणि यस्य अयं हृष्टरोमाः ॥

किरीटिनं । किरीटं नाम शिरोरूपविशेषः । तदस्यास्तीति किरीटी तं किरीटिनं ।
तथा गदिनं गदास्य विद्यत इति गदी तं गदिनं तथा चक्रिणं चक्रमस्यास्तीति चक्री तं
चक्रिणं च ॥

अशुचीनि व्रतानि येषां तेऽशुचिव्रताः ॥

मोक्षकाङ्क्षिभिः मोक्षार्थिभिर्हस्तुभिः ॥

देहभृद्देहं बिभर्ताति देहभृत् ॥

मां नमस्कुरु ममैव नमस्कारं कुरु ॥

1. Cf. Sāṃkara's use of the first person plural in the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* :

वयमस्यां शारीरकमीमांसायां प्रदर्शयिष्यामः ॥

6 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

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The elaborate *vigraha vākyas* of the simplest of compounds as गदिन्, चक्रिन् etc., and the explanation of such terms as सोढुम् by सहितुम् and प्रसहितुम्, of दर्शयामास by दर्शितवान् etc., answer very nearly to Bhoja's caustic comment on commentators: स्पष्टार्थेष्वपि विस्तृतिं विदधति व्यर्थैः समासादिकैः¹ ॥

The *Gītā Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara must therefore be put down as his *primitiae* whilst the *Śārīraka Bhāṣya* has been rightly regarded as his *magnum opus*. It is interesting to note that Śaṅkara clearly anticipates in his *Gītā Bhāṣya* some of the views to be expressed and elaborated in the *Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya* later on. A close parallelism in matter and method is clearly discernible in various cases. A decided improvement both in the manner of expression of the same idea as well as in the perfection of the argument distinguishes the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* in all cases.

- (1) तस्माद्गीताशास्त्रे केवलादेव तत्त्वज्ञानान्मोक्षप्राप्तिर्न कर्मसमुच्चितादिति निश्चितोऽर्थः । यथा चायमर्थः तथा प्रकरणशो विभज्य, तत्र तत्र दर्शयिष्यामः ॥

Gītā Bhāṣya

एवमयमनादिरनन्तः नैसर्गिकोऽध्यासः सर्वलोकप्रत्यक्षः अस्यानर्थहेतोः प्रहाणाय सर्वे वेदान्ता आरभ्यन्ते । यथा चायमर्थः सर्वेषां वेदान्तानां, तथा वयमस्यां शारीरकमीमांसायां प्रदर्शयिष्यामः ॥ *Sūtra Bhāṣya*

- (2) न ह्यात्मा नाम कस्यचिदप्रसिद्धो भवति ॥ *G. B.*

सर्वो ह्यात्मास्तित्वं प्रत्येति, न नाहमस्माति ॥ *S. B.*

- (3) योयं लौकिको वैदिकश्च व्यवहारः स उत्पन्नविवेकज्ञानस्य अविद्याकार्यत्वात्, अविद्यानिवृत्तौ निवर्तते ॥

तमेतमविद्याख्यमध्यासं पुरस्कृत्य सर्वे प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारा लौकिका वैदिकाश्च प्रवृत्ताः सर्वाणि च शास्त्राणि विधिनिषेधमोक्षपराणि ॥

- (4) यथा प्रतिमादौ विष्णवादिबुद्धिः ॥

अन्यत्वेपि तादात्म्यदर्शनं शास्त्रात्कर्तव्यं प्रतिमादिष्विव विष्णवादिदर्शनम् ॥

- (5) तस्मात्सम्यग्दर्शनं सर्वकर्मणां निर्बीजत्वे कारणं इत्याभिप्रायः । सामर्थ्यात्, येन कर्मणा शरीरमारब्धं तत् प्रवृत्तफलत्वात् उपभोगेनैव क्षीयते “तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्येऽथ संपत्स्ये” इति श्रुतेः ।

1. अस्थानेऽनुपयोगिभिश्च बहुभिर्जलैर्भ्रमं तन्वते ।

भ्रान्तुणामिति वस्तुविप्लवकृतः सर्वेपि टीकाकृतः ॥

Bhojadeva's Rājamārtanḍa Vṛtti on Yoga Sūtras,
Ānandāsrama Series, 47.

अप्रवृत्तफले एवं पूर्वे जन्मान्तरसंचिते अस्मिन्नपि जन्मनि प्राग् ज्ञानोत्पत्तेः
संचिते सुकृतदुष्कृते ज्ञानाधिगमात् क्षीयते । न त्वारब्धकार्ये सामिश्रकृते
यस्यामेतद्ब्रह्मज्ञानायतनं जन्म निर्मितं । कुत एतत् 'तस्य तावदेव चिरं
यावन्न विमोक्षयेऽथ संपत्स्ये' इति शरीरपातावधिकरणाक्षेपप्राप्तेः ॥

- (6) नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभावं सर्वभूतात्मानं निर्युणं ॥

अस्ति तावद्ब्रह्म नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभावं सर्वज्ञं सर्वशक्तिसमान्वितम् ॥

- (7) तत्रैवं सति, कर्तृत्वभोक्तृत्वलक्षणः संसारो ज्ञेयस्थः ज्ञातरि' अविद्याध्यापारो-
पितः इति नानेन ज्ञातुः किञ्चिदुच्यते ॥ यथा बालैः अध्यारोपितेन आका-
शस्य तलमलिनत्वादिना ॥

अप्रत्यक्षेपि ह्याकाशे बालास्तलमलिनतामध्यस्यन्ति ॥

- (8) अत्राह । साविद्या कस्येति । यस्य दृश्यते तस्यैव । कस्य दृश्यते । अत्रोच्यते ।
अविद्या कस्य दृश्यत इति प्रश्नो निरर्थकः... ..
अप्रत्यक्षेणाविद्यावता अविद्यासंबन्धे ज्ञाते किं तव स्यात्? अविद्याया अनर्थ-
हेतुत्वात् परिहर्तव्या स्यात् । यस्याविद्या स तां परिहरिष्यति । ननु ममैवा-
विद्या । जानासि तर्हि अविद्यां तद्वन्तं चात्मानम्
हन्त तर्हि आत्मनि क्रियाकारकफलात्मतायाः स्वतः अभावे अविद्यायां चा-
ध्यारोपितत्वे कर्माण्यविद्वत्कर्तव्यान्येव न विदुषामिति प्राप्तं । सत्यमेवं प्राप्तं ।
एतदेव हि न हि देहभृताशक्यमित्यत्र दर्शयिष्यामः ॥

कस्य पुनरयमप्रबोध इति चेत्? यस्त्वं पृच्छसि तस्य त इति वदामः । नन्व-
हमीश्वर एवोक्तः श्रुत्या । यथेवं प्रतिबुद्धोसि नास्ति कस्यचिदप्रबोधः ॥

- (9) इत्याकाङ्क्षायाम् ॥

इत्याकाङ्क्षायाम् ॥

- (10) मुनीनां मननशीलानां अहं व्यासः ॥

मननान्मुनिरिति च व्युत्पत्तिसंभवात् । मुनीनामप्यहं व्यास इति च प्रयोग-
दर्शनात् ॥

- (11) क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोः विषयविषयिणोः भिन्नस्वभावयोः इतरेतरतद्दर्माध्यास-
लक्षणः संयोगः क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञस्वरूपविवेकाभावनिवन्धनः रज्जुशुक्तिकादी-
नां तद्विवेकज्ञानाभावादध्यारोपितसर्परजतादिसंयोगदत् । सोऽयमध्यास-
स्वरूपः क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञसंयोगो मिथ्याज्ञानलक्षणः ॥

युष्मदस्मत्प्रत्ययगोचरयोर्विषयविषयिणोस्तमः प्रकाशवद्विरुद्धस्वभावयोरित-
रेतरभावानुपपत्तौ सिद्धायां तथा च लोकेऽनुभवः शुक्ति-
काहिरजतवदवभासत इति ॥ केचित्तु यत्र यदध्यासः तद्विवेकाग्रनिबन्ध-
नो भ्रम इति । एवमयं अध्यासो मिथ्याप्रत्ययरूपः ॥

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(12) क्षेत्रज्ञं यथोक्तलक्षणं चापि मां परमेश्वरं असंसारिणं विद्धि ॥

कः पुनरयं शारीरो नाम परमात्मनोऽन्यः, यः प्रातिषिध्यते अनुपपत्तस्तु न शारीर इत्यादिना ? श्रुतिस्तु नान्योऽतोऽस्ति द्रष्टा इत्येवंजातीयका परमात्मनोऽन्यं आत्मानं वारयति । तथा सृष्टिरपि, क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत ॥

(13) तत्रैवं सति, क्षेत्रज्ञस्य ईश्वरस्यैव सतः अविद्याकृतोपाधिभेदतः संसारित्वमिव भवति । क्षेत्रज्ञेश्वरयोर्भेदानभ्युपगमात् गीताशास्त्रे ॥

अत्रोच्यते सत्यमेवैतत् पर एवात्मा देहेन्द्रियमनोबुद्ध पाधिभिः परिच्छिद्यमानो बालैः शारीर इत्युपचर्यते ॥

(14) ननु, सर्वक्षेत्रेष्वेक एवेश्वरो नान्यस्तद्व्यतिरिक्तो भोक्ता ॥ तत ईश्वरस्य संसारित्वं प्राप्तं । ईश्वरव्यतिरेकेण वा संसारिणोऽन्यस्याभावात् संसाराभावप्रसङ्गः । तच्चोभयमनिष्टम् । बन्धमोक्षतद्धेतुशास्त्रानर्थक्यप्रसङ्गात् प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणविरोधाच्च ॥

नन्वेवं संसारित्वाभावे शास्त्रानर्थक्यादिदोषः स्यादिति चेन्न । न च शास्त्रानर्थक्यं यदुक्तमीश्वरस्य क्षेत्रज्ञैकत्वे संसारित्वं प्राप्नोति । क्षेत्रज्ञानां चेश्वरैक्यत्वे संसारिणोऽभावात् संसाराभावप्रसङ्ग इति ॥

(15) ईश्वरस्य च संसार्यात्मत्वे ईश्वराभावप्रसङ्गः । ततः शास्त्रानर्थक्यं । संसारिणोपीश्वरात्मत्वे अधिकार्यभावाच्छास्त्रानर्थक्यमेव । प्रत्यक्षादिविरोधश्च यदप्युक्तं, अधिकार्यभावः प्रत्यक्षविरोधश्चेति । तदप्यसत् । यदुक्तं ईश्वरस्य क्षेत्रज्ञत्वे संसारित्वं प्राप्नोति क्षेत्रज्ञानां चेश्वरैक्यत्वे संसारिणोऽभावात् संसाराभावप्रसङ्ग इति । एतौ दोषौ प्रत्युक्तौ । विद्याविद्ययोर्वैलक्षण्याभ्युपगमात् । कथं ? अविद्यापरिकल्पितदोषेण तद्विषयं वस्तु पारमार्थिकं न दृश्यतीति ।

यत्तूक्तं न विरुद्धगुणयोरन्योन्यात्मत्वसंभव इति । नायं दोषः । विरुद्धगुणताया मिथ्यात्वोपपत्तेः ॥

Śaṅkara again gives the same interpretation to the term पुराण occurring in the *Gītā* and in the *Kāthopaniṣad*.

The two commentaries have thus many things in common. The commentary on the *Gītā* dimly foreshadows many an idea or phrase which is later on immortalised in the *Sūtra Bhāṣya*. That it is not a borrowal or a copy of the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* is evident from its lack of refinement and its inferiority in quality. It cannot

thus be regarded as the work of a later Śaṅkara who imitated the style of his master for the simple reason that such conscious imitation would necessarily have given us a far better specimen than we have. For, in fairness to any imitator with a minimum degree of efficiency for the task he has essayed, it must be admitted that the copy will not limp behind the original to any miserable extent.

II

Indian literary tradition is unanimous in ascribing to Śaṅkara the commentary on the *Gītā*. Śaṅkara's commentators and followers are not alone in their opinions of his authorship of the commentary on the *Gītā* attributed to him.

The critics of Śaṅkara, especially Rāmānuja and Madhva, have credited Śaṅkara with the authorship of his *Gītā-Bhāṣya*. The evidence of such powerful opponents of Śaṅkara as these is more deserving of attention than all the assurances of his followers put together-- the majority of whom are again later than both Rāmānuja and Madhva.

That Rāmānuja and Madhva actually wrote their commentaries on the *Gītā* as a counterblast to the work of their predecessor is quite obvious even as it is in the case of their respective *Sūtra-Bhāṣyas*. It is not without significance therefore that the commentaries on the *Gītā* in the case of everyone of them were the earlier works. It is claimed in regard to Madhva that the *Gītā Bhāṣya* was his earliest work.¹ A cogent and successful Bhāṣya on the *Gītā* seems to have been, in those days, regarded as the primary qualification for one aspiring to write a Bhāṣya on the *Vedānta Sūtras* or found a new system. Rāmānuja's first literary debut must certainly have been the *Gītā Bhāṣya* wherein he undertook a searching criticism of the Monistic tenets adumbrated by Śaṅkara in his *Gītā Bhāṣya*. Nor could the case have been different with Śaṅkara. He too, must have signalled the beginning

1. Cf. गीताभाष्यं चक्राचार्येण प्रथमं तुष्टदं हरः ।

(*Granthamālikā Stotra*)

and also,

प्रतियुक्त्यं पुरतोवरगीताभाष्यमर्पयदुपायनमस्मै ।

(*Madhva Vijaya*)

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of his philosophico-literary career by first undertaking a critical refutation of the dogmas of his predecessors and their interpretations of the *Gītā*. The existence of commentaries on the *Gītā* prior to Śaṅkara need not be startling news to any one. Śaṅkara himself at the outset of his *Gītā Bhāṣya* refers to several earlier commentators on the *Gītā*.

तदिदं गीताशास्त्रं दुर्विज्ञेयार्थं । तदर्थविष्करणाय अनेकैः विवृतपदपदार्थवाक्य-
वाक्यार्थन्यायमपि, अत्यन्तविरुद्धानेकार्थत्वेन लौकिकैर्यह्यमाणमुपलभ्याहं विवेक्तोऽर्थ-
निर्धारणार्थं संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि ॥

And, in the course of his commentary on certain verses of the *Gītā*, states and vehemently repudiates their erroneous interpretation at the hands of his predecessors. Instances are :—

(a) अत्र केचिदाहुः सर्वकर्मसंन्यासपूर्वकादात्मज्ञाननिष्ठामात्रादेव केवलात्कैवल्ये
न प्राप्यत एव किं तर्हि ? अग्निहोत्रादिश्रौतस्मार्तकर्मसहिताज्ज्ञानात्कैवल्यप्राप्तिरिति
सर्वासु गीतासु निश्चितोऽर्थ इति । ज्ञापकं चाहुरस्यार्थस्य * * * * तदसत्¹ ॥

(b) अत्र केचित्पण्डितमन्या वदन्ति जन्मादिभावविक्रियारहितः अविक्रियः
अकर्ता एकोहमात्मेति न कस्यचित् ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते, यस्मिन्सति सर्वकर्मसंन्यास उपदिश्यते
इति तन्न² ॥

(c) केचित्तु, अर्जुनस्य प्रश्नार्थमन्यथा कल्पयित्वा तत्प्रतिकूलं भगवतः प्रतिवचनं
वर्णयन्ति, यथा चात्मना संबन्धग्रन्थे गीतार्थो निरूपितः तत्प्रतिकूलं चेह पुनः प्रश्नप्रति-
वचनयोरर्थं निरूपयन्ति । कथं ? * * * * तत्रैतत्स्यात्³ ॥

(d) अयं श्लोकोऽन्यथा व्याख्यातः कैश्चित् । कथं ? * * * * नैतद्युक्तं
न्याख्यानम्⁴ ॥

(e) अत्र केचिदनादि मत्परमिति पदं छिन्दन्ति बहुव्रीहिणा सह उक्तेऽर्थे मनुष्य
आनर्थक्यमनिष्टं स्यादिति । अर्थविशेषं च दर्शयन्ति * * * * सत्यमेवं
न पुनरुक्तं स्यादर्थश्चेत्संभवति । नत्वर्थः संभवति⁵ ॥

(f) अन्ये तु वर्णयन्ति, नित्यानां कर्मणां फलाभावात् 'सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च' इति
नोपपद्यते । अतः एतान्यपीति यानि काम्यानि कर्माणि नित्येभ्योऽन्यानि एतान्यपि कर्त-
व्यानि । किमुत यज्ञदानतपांसीति । तदप्यसत्⁶ ॥

Jayatīrtha's gloss on Madhva's *Gītā Bhāṣya* has very great value for purposes of critical and historical research; and modern

1. Śaṅkara on *Gītā* II, 11,
2. Ibid., II, 21.
3. Ibid., III, 1.
4. Ibid., IV, 18.
5. Ibid., XIII, 12.
6. Ibid., XVIII, 6.

scholarship is alone the worse for it if it has not fully explored the inexhaustible resources of this excellent commentary of the Dvaita school.

It would appear from Jayatīrtha's gloss on Madhva's commentary that Bhāskara, the author of an extant commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* also wrote one on the *Gītā*.¹ A well-known contemporary of Śaṅkara, Bhāskara severely criticises Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *Sūtras*. It appears, on Jayatīrtha's showing, that Bhāskara refuted Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *Gītā* in a separate commentary of his own. Jayatīrtha throws considerable light on the interrelation between the two. The occurrence of actual statements attributed to Śaṅkara (extracted by Jayatīrtha) by Bhāskara in the extant commentary of the former fully establishes the identity of our present text with the one which Bhāskara had in view. To cite but a few instances, it appears that Bhāskara objected to Śaṅkara's introducing his commentary on the *Gītā* with an account of the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa and its objects. Bhāskara, again, is reported to have rejected Śaṅkara's opinion under III, 1, that Sin will not ensue from mere non-performance of action — essentially an *abhāva* — as well as his citation of the *Śruti*: 'कथमसतः सज्जायेत' in support. Bhāskara, on the other hand, is reported to have held that the *Śruti* cited by Śaṅkara has reference only to substances and not to *guṇas* which could certainly be produced from *abhāvas*. That Bhāskara credited Śaṅkara with the authorship of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* is clear from these two instances.

Abhinavagupta, the veteran Ālankārika and protagonist of the Śaiva Siddhānta, for some reason or other, felt himself justified in writing a commentary on the *Gītā* — an essentially Vaiṣṇavite treatise. Abhinavagupta too, had his own differences with Śaṅkara. Though very sparing in his criticisms of earlier writers, he was occasionally obliged to repudiate the erroneous interpretations of his predecessors. Two prominent instances at least deserve mention in this connection.

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1. Vide my paper on 'Bhāskara a Forgotten Commentator on the *Gītā*' — contributed to the Haraprasad Sastri Commemoration Volume.

Abhinavagupta does not accept Śaṅkara's explanation of the term मात्रास्पर्शाः in II, 14. Śaṅkara here renders मात्रा by 'senses' whilst Abhinavagupta renders it by 'objects' in which he is followed by Madhva.

Secondly, Abhinavagupta objects to the interpretation of all his predecessors including Śaṅkara, of the verse आब्रह्मभुवनाल्लोकाः पुनरावर्तिनोऽर्जुन (VIII, 16); according to which all the worlds including that of Brahma are regarded as transitory sojourns of the aspirant. Abhinavagupta, therefore, protests against the inclusion of 'ब्रह्मभुवन' in the list and adds : ब्रह्मलोकप्राप्तानामपि पुनरावृत्तिरस्तीति सर्वैर्व्याख्यातं । एतदभ्युपगमे च, तदुपरितनलोकगतिर्मुक्तिरित्यभिहितं स्यात्तच्च न हृदय-गमम् ॥ which again is endorsed by Madhva.

III

We will now bring together the important references to Śaṅkara's interpretations which are usually discarded after examination in the commentaries of Rāmānuja and Madhva and in the glosses thereto of Vedānta Deśika and Jayatīrtha. Neither Rāmānuja nor Madhva refers to Śaṅkara by name; but nevertheless they repudiate his interpretations of particular verses in significant terms and their commentators always help to clarify such references and identify them in Śaṅkara's extant commentary. Both Vedānta Deśika and Jayatīrtha, on the other hand, mention Śaṅkara by name only occasionally but normally refer to him by such terms as अपरे, केचित्, काश्चित्, अन्य etc., usually adopted by commentators. An emphatic protest must here be lodged against the distorted spelling — संकर — for the rightful शंकर found in the orthodox manuscripts and printed editions of Jayatīrtha's commentary which clearly owes its origin to sheer theological odium. It is time that the exclusions concerned realise the disreputable folly of such procedure. But to return to our point, commentators of the type of Jayatīrtha and Deśika can implicitly be trusted when they refer the implicit criticisms of their masters to definite statements in the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara and others.

As references to Śaṅkara in these commentaries are extremely numerous, mention will be made in the following pages of only the most important of them. Precedence will be given to the references under particular verses in Rāmānuja's Bhāṣya

and the commentary of Deśika on chronological grounds. The references to Śaṅkara, in the commentary of Madhva and of Jayatīrtha will be dealt with after. Page references are to the Ānanda Press Edition of the *Gītā* with the commentaries of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva with the glosses.

शंकरादिपक्षे शास्त्रोपदेशारम्भाद्यनुपपत्तेर्वक्ष्यमाणायाः स्वपक्षे प्रसङ्गाभावाय, *
* * * * प्राक्तनोदन्तं गीतोपदेशेन संगमयति¹ ॥

शंकरः कृष्णावतारपुरस्कारेण गीतायाः संगतिमाह । तदतिक्रमेण व्यासावतार-
पुरस्कारे को हेतुरिति चेत्² ॥

Rāmānuja makes a direct hit against Śaṅkara that the Lord's reference to plurality of Selves gives the lie to the latter's doctrine of identity: एवं भगवतः सर्वेश्वरात् आत्मनां परस्परं च भेदः पारमार्थिक इति भगवतैवोक्तमिति प्रतीयते³ ॥ on which Deśika comments : देहभेदाभिप्रायेण बहुवचनं नात्मभेदाभिप्रायेणेति शंकरोक्तं दूषयति⁴ ॥

Similarly, Śaṅkara's explanation of the plurality of Selves referred to by the Lord in जनाधिपाः etc., as pertaining merely to the bodies : देहभावाद्बुद्ध्या बहुवचनं नात्मभेदाभिप्रायेण is negatived by Jayatīrtha : अत्र भगवताः जीवानां परस्परमीश्वराच्च भेदे प्रतिपादितेऽपि बहुवचनं शरीरा-
पेक्षया न त्वात्मापेक्षयेति वदतो भविष्यत्युत्तरं ॥

Reference has already been made to Madhva's dismissal of Śaṅkara's explanation of the terms 'मात्रास्पर्श' and 'आब्रह्मसुवनात्.'

Madhva sees no point of eulogy in the term प्रज्ञावाद (II, 11); and he therefore discards Śaṅkara's interpretation of it, attributing a note of euphemism to the Lord's remark.

Under II, 26, Jayatīrtha has : अस्त्वेवमात्मनो नित्यत्वमिति वदता 'आत्मनोऽनित्यत्वमभ्युपगम्येदमुच्यते' इति मायावादिनो व्याख्यानं निरस्तं भवति । ध्रुवं जन्म मृतस्य चेत्युत्तरवाक्यविरोधात् ॥

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1. *Tātparya Candrikā* of Vedānta Deśika, p. 2, Ānanda Press, Madras, 1910.
 2. *Prameyadīpikā* of Jayatīrtha, p. 18.
 3. *Rāmānuja Bhāṣya*, p. 51.
 4. *Tātparya Candrikā*, p. 52.

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Under II, 29, Vedānta Deśika remarks with reference to an alternative explanation¹ offered by Śaṅkara:—

एतेन, कर्तृदृष्टान्ततया शंकरोक्तं योजनान्तरमपि दूषितम् ॥

Referring to Śaṅkara's remark:— तस्मात्प्रागज्ञाननिष्ठाधिकारप्राप्तेः कर्मण्यधिकृतेन कूपतटाकाद्यर्थस्थानीयमपि कर्म कर्तव्यम् (II, 46), Jayatīrtha says : ज्ञानिनः कर्माभावमुक्त्वा, इदानीमज्ञानिनः कर्मोच्यत इत्यन्यथाव्याख्याननिरासत्याह ॥ and wonders at the temerity of Śaṅkara's assertion: सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा, ईश्वरो मे तुष्यत्विति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा (II, 48).

Says Jayatīrtha under II, 54: यथाह शंकरः लब्धसमाधिप्रज्ञस्य लक्षण-बुभुत्सया अर्जुन उवाचेति तदसदिति भावेनाह उक्तमिति and has the following with reference to Śaṅkara's 'आत्मन्येव प्रत्यगात्मस्वरूप एव आत्मना स्वेनैव' (II, 55) —आत्मानमात्मनेति पदद्वयेन जीव एवात्रोच्यत इति कश्चित् । तदसदिति भावेनाह ॥

Jayatīrtha dismisses Śaṅkara's note on the term मत्पर (II, 61), as fanciful : मत्पर इत्यद्वैतज्ञानमित्यन्यैर्व्याख्यातं तन्नाक्षराभुसारि ॥

Śaṅkara's introductory remarks on III, 5 : कस्मात्पुनः कारणात्कर्म-संन्यासमात्रादेव केवलात् ज्ञानरहितात् सिद्धिं नैष्कर्म्यलक्षणां पुरुषो नाधिगच्छतीति हेत्वा-काङ्क्षायामाह are set aside by Jayatīrtha : ज्ञानरहितात्कर्मत्यागरूपाद्यत्याश्रमात् सिद्धिं न समधिगच्छतीति किल पूर्वमुक्तं तत्र हेत्वाकाङ्क्षायां ' न हि कश्चिदित्युच्यत ' इति व्याख्यानमसदिति भावेनाह नन्विति ॥

Vedānta Deśika rejects the reading सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा (III, 10) adopted by Śaṅkara with the remark : सहयज्ञा इति शंकरयादवप्रका-शीयपाठस्त्वप्रसिद्धेरनादृतः ॥ We may note incidentally that Rāmānuja has सहयज्ञैः in lieu of सहयज्ञाः favoured not only by Śaṅkara and Yādavaprakāśa but also by Abhinavagupta and Madhva ; so that the latter reading seems to have been much more widely current than the former, Deśika's verdict notwithstanding.

Śaṅkara's rendering : ब्रह्म पुनर्वेदाख्यं अक्षरसमुद्भवं, अक्षरः परमात्मा समु-द्भवो यस्य is discarded by Madhva : अक्षराणि प्रसिद्धानि तेभ्यो ह्यभिव्यज्यते ब्रह्म whereupon Jayatīrtha comments : ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवमित्यत्र ब्रह्मवेदः अक्षरा-त्परब्रह्मणो जायत इति परेषां व्याख्यानमसदिति भावेनाह ॥

1. Of. अथवा योयमात्मानं पश्यति स आश्चर्यतुल्यः यो वदति, यश्च श्रुणोति ॥

Deśika flares up in a violent protest against Śaṅkara's interpretation of the term माया in IV, 6 :- एतेन प्रकृतिशब्दस्यात्र त्रिगुणात्मकप्रकृतिविषयत्वं मायाशब्दस्य मिथ्यार्थपरत्वं च शंकरोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ॥

Jayatīrtha rejects Śaṅkara's special pleading in IV, 13 : यद्यपि मायासंख्यवहारेण तस्य कर्मणः कर्तारमपि मां परमार्थतो विद्वच्छकर्तारम् with the remark : क्रियाया मिथ्यात्वात्कर्ताप्यकर्तेति परव्याख्यां प्रत्याख्याति and objects to Śaṅkara's rendering of ब्रह्मकर्मसमाधिना into ब्रह्मैवकर्म, ब्रह्मकर्मणि समाधिर्न सः ॥

Śaṅkara's rendering of संन्यास into परित्यागं कर्मणां शास्त्रीयाणामनुष्ठेय-विशेषाणां (V, 1), is, at the outset, rejected by Jayatīrtha : तथा च, कर्मणां संन्यासं त्यागमिति व्याख्यानमसदिति सूचितम् ॥

Vedānta Deśika takes exception to Śaṅkara's rendering of the term संन्यास in V, 6 into प्रकृतः संन्यासः ब्रह्मोच्यते, न्यास इति ब्रह्मेति श्रुतेः । Says he : एवमव्यवहितात्मप्राप्तिसाधनत्वं वदता प्रकृतः संन्यासो ब्रह्मशब्देनोच्यत इति शंकरोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ॥ And in the next verse dismisses Śaṅkara's विजितात्मा = विजितदेहः as puerile.

Under VI, 13 Deśika quotes Śaṅkara with approval : मनस्यन्तर्मुखे नासासंप्रेक्षणस्यासंभवाच्चक्षुषो दृष्टिसंनिपातमात्रमिह विवक्षितं । अतः संप्रेक्ष्येत्यत्र 'इवशब्दो लुप्तो द्रष्टव्य' इति शंकरम् ; but is not at all satisfied with the latter's rendering of ब्रह्मचारिव्रतं into ब्रह्मचर्यं गुरुशुश्रूषामिक्षान्नशुक्त्यादि and therefore adds : शंकरोक्तप्रक्रियया वा, ब्रह्मचर्यगुरुशुश्रूषाभिर्यथादिधीः स्यादिति, तद्वचनच्छेदायाह । ब्रह्मचर्यं च स्तनवति पिशितपिण्डे भोग्यताधीर्गर्भरमणालोकनादिरहितत्वमत्र विवक्षितम् ॥

Referring to Śaṅkara, Deśika points out under VII, 4 केचिदाहुः अष्टा प्रकृतय इति श्रुतेरिह भूम्पादिशब्दैः तन्मात्राणि गृह्यन्ते । मनःशब्देन मनसः कारणभूतोऽहकारः अहंकारशब्देन त्वहंकारवासनास्पदं अव्यक्तं मूलकारणमिति । एवं समस्तपदमुख्यार्थभङ्गशेसाद्वचपेक्षया प्रकृतित्वं वरामिति भावः ॥ There is some slight discrepancy here. For, in the text of Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya which runs : भूमिरिति पृथग्वातन्मात्रमुच्यते, न स्थूला, 'मिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टयेति' वचनात् । तथावादयोपि तन्मात्राण्येवोच्यन्ते । मन इति मनसः कारणमहंकारो गृह्यते, बुद्धिरित्यहंकारकारणं महत्तत्त्वमहंकार इत्यविद्यासंयुक्तमव्यक्तम् * * * etc., the alleged quotation from the *Śruti* does not occur. Deśika's citation is faithful in other respects. Jayatīrtha too, differs from Śaṅkara and quotes him faithfully. In the passage which he extracts from Śaṅkara there is no *Śruti* text—अष्टौ प्रकृतयः such as is attributed to Śaṅkara by Deśika.

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Reference is made by Jayatīrtha to Śaṅkara's comment: यस्मान्मम प्रकृतियोगिनिः कारणं सर्वभूतानामताहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभव उत्पत्तिः प्रलयो विनाशश्च under VII, 6, thuswise: एतेन, यस्मान्मम प्रकृतियोगिनिस्सर्वभूतानां ततोऽहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथेति व्याख्यानमपहस्तितं भवति ॥

Deśika rounds up the 8th chapter with a trite note on परं स्थान-मुपैति चायं wherein Śaṅkara's interpretation of आयं स्थानं as आदौ भवं कारणं ब्रह्म is deplored: आदौ भवं कारणं ब्रह्मेति परोक्तं तु स्थानशब्दवैयर्थ्यादयुक्तम् ॥

At the beginning of IX chapter, Madhva has in explanation of the term — प्रत्यक्षावगमम्—प्रत्यक्षं ब्रह्मावगम्यते येन तत् in lieu of Śaṅkara's:—प्रत्यक्षेणावगमो यस्य तत् and Jayatīrtha remarks: प्रत्यक्षेणावगमो यस्येति व्याख्यानमसत् । भगवन्माहात्म्यस्य शास्त्रैकसमधिगम्यत्वात् ॥

Deśika, referring to Śaṅkara's: आध्यक्षेण सर्वतो दृशिमात्रस्वरूपेण अविक्रियात्मना अध्यक्षेण मया, writes: तेन, अध्यक्षशब्दस्यात्र अविक्रियादृशिमात्रपरतां घटन्तः प्रत्युक्ताः (IX, 10).

Jayatīrtha rejects गतिः कर्मफलं of Śaṅkara on IX, 18, in view of Madhva's गम्यते सुसुक्ष्माभिरिति गतिः ॥

Under X, 4 both Deśika and Jayatīrtha have something to say against Śaṅkara whose renderings of दम as बाह्येन्द्रियोपशम and शम as अन्तःकरणस्योपशमः are set aside by Jayatīrtha while Deśika rejects those of भवं and भावः—अत एव, भवो भव्यता भावोऽभिप्राय इत्यादि परव्याख्यानं मन्दम् ॥

Madhva has quite an interesting note on महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वै (X, 6), which Śaṅkara understands as a reference to Bhṛgu etc. Madhva, however, understands by the 'seven sages' Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha and cites *Mokṣadharmā*¹ in support. It is interesting to note that Jayatīrtha makes a pointed reference to Śaṅkara's: महर्षयः सप्त-भृगवादय इति शंकरः तदसत्, 'पूर्वै' इति विशेषणेन प्रथममन्वन्तरस्थानामेव ग्रहणस्योचितत्वात् मोक्षधर्मसंवादाच्चेति भावेनाह even though Rāmānuja also follows Śaṅkara's explanation. Śaṅkara himself, in the beginning of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* refers² to Marīci etc.; and Jayatīrtha presumably alludes to this apparent self-contradiction in Śaṅkara.

1. मरीचिरत्र्यंगिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ।

वासिष्ठश्च महातेजास्ते हि चित्रशिखण्डिनः ॥

Mokṣadharmā, 343, 30.

2. स भगवान्मरीच्यादीनमे सृष्ट्वा प्रजापतीन् p. 6.

Jayatīrtha, again, accords passing notice to Śaṅkara's explanation of जनार्दन (X, 18) as अर्दतेः गतिकर्मणोरूपं असुराणां देवप्रतिपक्षभूतानां नरकादिगमयितृत्वाज्जनार्दन । अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसपुरुषार्थप्रयोजनं सर्वैर्जनैर्याच्यत इति वा and dismisses it as unsound : अर्दगतौ याचने चेतिवचनात् जनैर्याच्यत्वाद्वा जनार्दन इति शंकरः तदप्रामाणिकं व्याख्यानम् ॥

Deśika dismisses Śaṅkara's *anvaya* of भूतानां भवाप्ययोरुत्तः त्वत्सकाशाच्छ्रुतौ as puerile : त्वत्तः श्रुताविति अन्वयस्तु-मन्दप्रयोजनः (XI, 2).

Śaṅkara's interpretation of यद्विकारि as यो विकारो यस्य तद्विकारि and of यतश्च यत् as यस्माच्च यत्कार्यमुत्पद्यते come in for criticism at the hands of Madhva ; and Jayatīrtha points out the defect in Śaṅkara's interpretation : यो विकारो, यस्य तद्विकारीति कश्चित्तदसत् । बाहुव्रीहितायामिनेर्वै-यर्थ्यात् (XIII, 3).

Deśika repudiates Śaṅkara's rendering of अनन्ययोग as अपृथक्समाधि in no uncertain terms : अनन्ययोगेनापृथक्समाधिनेति शंकरोक्तं एतेन प्रत्युक्तम् (XIII, 10).

Keen controversy centres round the proper interpretation of the term अनादिमत् in the verse अनादिमत्परं ब्रह्म न सत्तन्नासदुच्यते (XIII,12). Several interesting views have been expressed by commentators regarding this curious form.¹ Śaṅkara himself refers to an earlier interpretation of this term in the light of which अनादि and मत्परं will be treated as separate words. Śaṅkara departs from this interpretation because of an inevitable contradiction which he sees on such a view. The same interpretation is also stated and repudiated implicitly by Madhva and explicitly by Jayatīrtha for quite other reasons. Śaṅkara, ultimately, calmly admits it as a phraseological redundancy on the part of the author of the *Gītā* excusable on metrical grounds. It is against this left-handed compliment to the author of the *Gītā* that both Rāmānuja and Madhva protest. Deśika adds : एतेन मत्परमिति पदच्छेदेऽर्थासंभवान्मतुषो बहुव्रीहिणा समानार्थत्वेऽपि प्रयोगः श्लोकपूरणार्थ इति

1. The grammatical accuracy of this form has been questioned by even as recent a writer as Prof. V. K. Rajwade, in his unfortunate paper on the 'Grammar of *Gītā*' contributed to the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 1917. A criticism of which by the present writer, has already appeared in the *Annals* (Vol. XI, pp. 284-299).

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शंकोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ॥ Jayatirtha opines : ये त्वेवं प्रयोजनमनभिधाय, मनुष्यः प्रयोगः श्लोकपूरणार्थं इत्युक्तवन्तः तान्निराचष्टे, अन्यथेति ॥ Jayatirtha further shows the invalidity of Śaṅkara's objections to the earlier interpretation in terms of अनादि and मत्परं :— अहं पराशक्तिर्यस्येति व्याख्यानेऽर्थसंभवं कश्चिदन्यथा प्राह । “ब्रह्मणः सर्वविशेषप्रतिषेधेनैवात्र विजिज्ञापायिषितत्वात् शक्तिमत्वप्रतिपादनं विरुद्धमिति ” तदसत् अत्र विशेषवत्वस्य दर्शनादिति भावेनाह सर्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासं..... ॥

Deśika protests against the remarks *ex cathedra* of Śaṅkara that the terms ग्रसिष्णु, प्रभविष्णु etc., used by the author of the *Gītā* are to be taken with a grain of salt, in their phenomenal sense: अत्र भरणग्रसनादिकं रज्ज्वादितुं सर्पादिरिवेति वदन्तः श्रुतिहानाश्रुतकल्पनाभिः निरस्ताः । And Deśika has in view the following concluding remarks of Śaṅkara : प्रलयकाले च ग्रसिष्णु ग्रसनशीलं यथा रज्ज्वादिः सर्पादिर्मिथ्या-कल्पितस्य (XIII, 16).

Under XIII, 20, Deśika sets aside the reading कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वे adopted by Śaṅkara as obscure : कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वेति परोक्तं पाठान्तरमप्रसिद्धेनानुवृत्तम् ॥ Śaṅkara, no doubt adopts कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वे as his main reading but is not entirely unaware of the other reading which also he interprets suitably : कार्यकारणकर्तृत्वेत्यास्मिन्नापि पाठे..... ॥

Deśika again, repudiates Śaṅkara's one-sided explanation of the introduction of the example of the sun in XIII, 33 :— व्याचख्युश्च परे, रविदृष्टान्तोऽत्र रविवत्सर्वक्षेत्रेष्वेक आत्मा, अलेपकश्चेति ज्ञापनार्थमिति । तच्चायुक्तम् ॥

The point is raised by Deśika and Jayatirtha whether ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठाहं in the concluding verse of chapter XIV admits of the interpretation ब्रह्मशब्दवाच्यत्वात्साविकल्पकं ब्रह्म, तस्य ब्रह्मणो. निर्विकल्पकोऽहमवाच्यः प्रतिष्ठा आश्रयः given to it by Śaṅkara. Deśika finds fault with Śaṅkara's introduction of these fanciful theories of the 'determinate' and 'indeterminate' Brahman न च निर्विकल्पकं रूपं विकल्पितस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रतिष्ठेति वाच्यं श्रुत्यादिवैपरीत्यात्तन्मतनिर्भूलनाच्च ॥ Jayatirtha objects strongly to Śaṅkara's first explanation : ब्रह्मणः परमात्मनः हि यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा and remarks : ब्रह्मणोहीत्येतत्परब्रह्मणोहीति व्याचक्षते तदसत्..... ॥

1. In any case, Śaṅkara's explanation of the "Speaker and Indeterminate Brahman" viz., Kṛṣṇa being the substrate of the Determinate is clearly incongruous since in Śaṅkara's view Kṛṣṇa, the speaker (अहं), could never be a *Nirvikalpaka* !!

Deśika promptly exposes the fallacy underlying Śaṅkara's explanation of the creation referred to in XV, 4 in terms of 'jugglery' ¹: अत्र, प्रसृतादिशब्दैः सत्यत्वस्यैव प्रतीतिः परेषामिन्द्रजालादिदृष्टान्तः शब्दस्वारस्येन प्रत्यक्षादिभिश्च बाधितः ॥

He also dismisses Śaṅkara's comment : यथा वयमनृतप्रायाः तथेदं सर्वं जगदसत्यं on XVI, 8 as puerile²; and takes very strong exception³ to the rendering of अप्रतिष्ठं in the same verse as नास्य धर्माधर्मौ प्रतिष्ठा । Jayatīrtha, for his part, draws attention to the absence of the negative element⁴ on such a view as अपरस्परसंभूतं कामप्रयुक्तयोः स्त्रीपुरुषयोः अन्योन्यसंयोगाज्जगत्सर्वं संभूतम् ॥

Rāmānuja makes an evident attempt at improving on Śaṅkara's plain interpretation of नामयज्ञ as नाममात्रैर्यज्ञैः and has instead नामप्रयोजनैर्यष्टेति नाममात्रप्रयोजनैर्यज्ञैः which is no doubt better; for, it brings out the hollow selfishness of motive behind the sacrifices performed by the Tāmasas. Still, Śaṅkara's explanation does not seem to be so puerile as Deśika contends it to be : अत एव, यज्ञसमाख्यामात्रः नतु वस्तुतोऽसौ यज्ञः इति व्याख्यापि मन्दा प्रदर्शिता ॥ For one thing, Deśika does not seem to have benefited by the cleverest and happiest explanation hit off by Abhinavagupta : यज्ञैर्यजन्ते नाम । निष्फलमित्यर्थः ॥ Fortunately or unfortunately, Madhva does not enter the controversy. Neither does Jayatīrtha obtrude.

Madhva, as indicated by Jayatīrtha, equates कर्शन in XVII, 6 with अल्पदृष्टि as against Śaṅkara's मदनुशासनाकरणमेव मत्कर्शनम् ॥

Exception is taken by Madhva and his commentator to Śaṅkara's view of संन्यास (XVIII, 2) as consisting of the abjuration of desired acts such as Aśvamedha : काम्यानां कर्मणामित्येतं श्लोकं केचिद्व्याचक्षते, काम्यानां कर्मणामश्वमेधादीनां स्वरूपेण त्यागः संन्यास इति तदप्यसादिति भावेनाह ॥

Madhva discredits Śaṅkara's view that reference is made to the Śāṅkhya philosophers in the hemistich त्याज्यं दोषवदित्येके । The

1. प्रसृता निस्सृता ऐन्द्रजालिकादिव माया ॥
2. यथा वयमनृतप्रायाः तथा सर्वं जगदिति प्राहुः इति व्याख्यापि मन्दा ; जगच्छब्दस्य चेतनमात्र-विषयत्वाभावात् ॥
3. एतेन प्रतिष्ठाशब्दस्य धर्माधर्ममात्रपरत्वेन व्याख्या निरस्ता ॥
4. अपरं परस्मात्संभूतामिति व्याख्यानमसत् । प्रतिषिद्धप्रकरणात्

point is that Śaṅkara classes the view expressed in त्याज्यं दोषवत् under *pūrvapakṣa* and hence ascribes it to the Sāṅkhya philosophers, whose attitude towards the question has been significantly set forth by the author of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* : दृष्टवदानुश्रविकः सद्बुद्धिस्तस्यातिशययुक्तः । तद्विपरीतः श्रेयान् ॥ But Madhva sees nothing heterodox in त्याज्यं दोषवत् (XVIII, 3), and takes his stand on the eulogistic epithet applied to the Pūrvapakṣins (मनीषिण इत्युक्तत्वात्पूर्वपक्षोपि ग्राह्य एव). This significant attitude of Madhva towards a class of quasi-Pūrvapakṣins may throw welcome light on the influence exercised by 'Sāṅkhya' ethics on the philosophy of Madhva. The cult of Piṣṭapaśu upheld by the followers of Madhva might have been remotely inspired by 'Sāṅkhya' ethics (though not exactly for the same reasons as were put forward by Sāṅkhya). The question is doubly interesting in view of the obvious influence exercised on the metaphysical side, by the Sāṅkhya Dualism and its plurality of Selves on the Dvaita Vedānta of Madhva.

Jayatīrtha further makes out that Śaṅkara's contention that the doctrine of renunciation of acts refers only to those in the lower plane of action and not to those who have attained wisdom, is refuted by Madhva : एवमिदमप्यपास्तं यत्केनचिदुक्तं अज्ञानं कर्मण्यधिकारिणोऽधिकृत्यैतत्प्रकरणं प्रवृत्तं न परमहंसपरिव्राजकानिति । And Jayatīrtha is obviously referring to the following comment of Śaṅkara : तस्माज्ज्ञाननिष्ठाः संन्यासिनः नेह विवक्षिताः । कर्मण्यधिकृतान्प्रत्येवैष संन्यासत्यागविकल्पः । ये तु परमार्थदर्शिनः सांख्यस्तेषां ज्ञाननिष्ठायामेव सर्वकर्मसंन्यासलक्षणायामधिकारो नान्यत्रेति न ते विकल्पाद्वर्गाः ॥

What does 'कृतान्त,' in apposition to 'सांख्य' in XVIII, 13, mean? Śaṅkara explains it as कृतमिति कर्मोच्यते तस्यान्तः परिसमाप्तिः कर्मान्त इति which implies that the term (= Vedānta) stands (as indeed it does, in Śaṅkara's view) for complete negation of Karma. Rāmānuja, quite naturally, rejects such an interpretation of the simple term कृतान्त and Deśika puts in : यदिह शंकरेणोक्तं, सांख्यं वेदान्तः स एव कृतान्तः कृतस्य कर्मणोऽस्मिन्नन्त इति, तदसत् । वेदान्तेष्वपि कर्मान्वयस्य स्थापितत्वात् ॥ Jayatīrtha too, controverts Śaṅkara in a similar strain.

Deśika again, refutes Śaṅkara's exposition of the term केवलं कर्तारं in verse 16, in conformity with the doctrine of the non-activity of the soul :—

तत्र यत्परैरुक्तं 'आत्मनोऽविक्रियस्वभावत्वेनाधिष्ठानादिभिः संहतत्वानुपपत्तेः, विक्रिया-
वतो ह्यन्यैः संहननं, संहत्य वा कर्तृत्वं स्यात् । नन्वाविक्रियात्मनः केनचित्संहननमस्तीति
न संभूयकारित्वमुपपद्यत इति तदसत् ॥ The remarks attributed to Śaṅkara
appear in the latter's commentary on verse 17.

Jayatīrtha accords passing notice to Śaṅkara's rendering of
कर्म in verse 18 : कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्मात् काश्चित् तदसत् ॥

Deśika dismisses Śaṅkara's identification of गुणसंख्यान in verse
19 with the Śāṅkhya system of Kapila¹ as invalid and irrelevant.
गुणसंख्यानशब्देन सांख्यराद्धान्तविवक्षायां प्रमाणभावात्प्रकृते चानुपयोगाद्गुणस्वरूप-
गणने च ज्ञानादेरनुपवेक्षाभावात् ॥ Śaṅkara, however, introduces a special
pleading on behalf of Śāṅkhya :—

गुणसंख्याने कापिले शास्त्रे—कापिलमपि गुणसंख्यानशास्त्रं गुणभोक्तृविषये प्रमाणमेव ।
परमार्थब्रह्मैकत्वविषये यद्यपि विरुद्धते, तथापि, ते हि कापिलाः गुणगौणव्यापारनिरूपणे
अभियुक्ता इति वक्ष्यमाणार्थं स्तुत्यर्थत्वेन उपादीयत इति न विरोधः ॥

Deśika under verse 20, summarily rejects Śaṅkara's equation
of सात्त्विकज्ञान with monistic knowledge : तज्ज्ञानमद्वैतात्मविषयं सात्त्विकं
विद्धि । and turns down the inclusion², suggested by him, of an
additional इव after यन्त्रारूढानि in verse 61.

Deśika makes the last reference by name to Śaṅkara under
verse 66, where he disagrees with the latter's introductory com-
ment on the verse : यदिह शंकरेणोक्तं । मन्मना भवेति श्लोकेन, सर्वकर्मयोग-
निष्ठायाः परमं रहस्यमीश्वरशरणतामुपसंहृत्याद्येदानीं, कर्मयोगनिष्ठाफलं सम्यग्दर्शनं सर्व-
वेदान्तसारं विहितं वक्तव्यमित्याह, सर्वधर्मानिति, अयमपि * * * * * ॥
and takes the additional opportunity towards the close of his
commentary on the *Gītārtha Saṁgraha* of Yāmunācārya, of
alluding to the deceitful character of Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on
the *Gītā et hoc genus omne* : अथात्र सौगताद्वैतादिसगन्धानां शंकरादि-
ग्रन्थानां भगवदभिप्रायविरुद्धताख्यापनायोक्तसंग्रहप्रकारेण निगमयति³ ॥

1. गुणसंख्याने कापिले शास्त्रे । (Śaṅkara).

2. यन्त्रारूढानीवेति इवशब्देऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः ।

3. *Gītārtha Saṁgraha Rakṣā*, of Vedānta Deśika, p. 973, Ānanda Press. 1910.

IV

The voluminous textual evidence brought together in the foregoing pages would clearly establish that Śaṅkara wrote a commentary on the *Gītā*. Nay, more. The identification of that commentary with the one that is now extant and goes by his name is also easily accomplished in view of the fact that the extant work attributed to him presents all the main features of that original Bhāṣya disclosed by the successors, critics and contemporaries of the Ācārya in their diverse writings. The testimony of writers like Bhāskara and Abhinavagupta is particularly noteworthy. Above all, the fact that their reported references to 'Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya' are happily traceable today, in the latter's work removes all grounds of reasonable scepticism in the way of identifying the present work attributed to Śaṅkara with the one familiar to these early writers.

We may close with a short discussion of another allied topic which is bound to strengthen our case. It is this. Is there any evidence to show that 'Śaṅkara's' *Gītā Bhāṣya* as it stands today, is wholly the work of a single individual? For, without seriously disputing the existence, once upon a time, of a Bhāṣya by Śaṅkara on the *Gītā*, scepticism may still entrench itself behind its fashionable argument of the possibility and probability always of any given work having been produced or added to, at different times, by different personages. So that "the provenness" of a *Gītā Bhāṣya* by Śaṅkara would not, at once, suffice to establish that the entire work, as it stands today, was that of one single man — Śaṅkara. The sceptic and the critic have always a right to ask for such internal evidence as may establish the unity of authorship of any given work.

To digress a little by way of illustration, the mere fact of there having flourished a Bharata, or a Kālidāsa or a Bāṇa or a Bhavabhūti does not necessarily establish his authorship, *in full*, of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or the *Kumārasambhava* or the *Kādambarī* or the *Mahāvīracarita*. Notorious, indeed, is the example of Vyāsa and his authorship of the entire epic. Nor is break of authorship an unknown phenomenon in philosophical literature. One has simply to cite the well-known fact of the dual — authorship of

the *Anu-Bhāṣya* of Vallabhācārya¹. It could thus be readily shown or argued that the historicity of a person and his being known to have written a certain work are not, in themselves, enough to guarantee unity of authorship. A doubt could thus be perfectly legitimately raised against the unity of authorship of Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Gītā*. Traditional and orthodox acquisition in such a unity of authorship is no argument at all in such a case; for, tradition having, once at least, erred egregiously in the case of 'Vyāsa², stands self-condemned.

No more apology is, therefore, needed to examine the internal evidence, if any, in support of the unity of authorship of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara. It is gratifying to note that the author of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* (whoever he might have been) refers to himself and to his own explanations of particular passages of the *Gītā* in at least three distinct places in the course of his commentary on the same. What is significant is that these references occur in different and widely--separate portions of the commentary. The first occurs under III, 5 ; the second under XIII, 2 ; and the last under XVIII, 3 — a truly interesting distribution indeed. These three references, in their turn, presuppose three others and thus, we have six sections under reference. Unity of authorship in such a case is a 'necessary' assumption. Else, it would be difficult to account for the unerring confidence with which the author in a particular section refers to views expressed by him on earlier or later occasions.

An examination of these references establishes the unity of authorship of the commentary on chapters II, III, XIII and XVII.

(a) Commenting on III, 5, Śaṅkara writes : सांख्यानां पृथक्करण-
दज्ञानामेव हि कर्मयोगो न ज्ञानिनां । ज्ञानिनां तु, एणैरचात्यमानानां स्वतश्चलनाभावात्कर्म-
योगो नोपपद्यते । तथाच व्याख्यात वेदाविनाशिनं (II, 21) इत्यत्र ॥ The
views herein expressed are clearly anticipated under वेदाविनाशिनम् '

1. Which has been fully proved by Mr. G. H. Bhatt, in his excellent paper to the IV Oriental Conference, (Allahabad).

2. Cf. कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुं ।

को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षान्महामारतकृद्भवेत् ॥

Mokṣadharmā, 353, 11.

thuswise :— विदुषः कर्मसंभववचनात् यानि कर्माणि शास्त्रेण विधीयन्ते तान्य-
विदुषो विहितानीति भगवतो निश्चयोऽवगम्यते ॥

(b) His remarks under XIII, 2, viz., हन्त तर्हि, आत्मनि क्रियाकारक-
फलात्मतायाः स्वतोऽभावे अविद्यया चाध्यारोपितत्वे, कर्मण्यविद्वत्कर्तव्यान्येव, न विदुषा-
मिति प्राप्तं । सत्यमेवं प्राप्तं । एतदेव, 'नाहि देहभृताशक्य' (XVIII, 11) मित्यत्र-
दर्शयिष्यामः ॥ are faithfully echoed later on, under XVIII, 11 : तस्मा-
त्परमार्थदर्शित्वेनैव अदेहभृता, देहात्मभावरहितेन, अशेषकर्मसंन्यासः शक्यते कर्तुम् ॥

(c) Lastly, note the remarks under XVIII, 3 : तस्माकर्मण्यधि-
कृतान्प्रत्येवैषसंन्यासत्यागविकल्पः ये तु परमार्थदर्शिनः सांख्यास्तेषां ज्ञाननिष्ठायामेव सर्व-
कर्मसंन्यासलक्षणायामधिकारो नान्यत्रेति न ते विकल्पाहस्तच्छांपपादितमस्माभिर्'धेदा-
विनाशिन' (II, 11) मित्यस्मिन्प्रदेशे, तृतीयादौ च ॥ The extract pre-
supposed here, has already been given under (a) *supra*. Besides
this, the authorship of commentary on the *third* chapter is also
tacitly assumed in C.

A MS. OF VARĀṅGA-CARITA

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

1. Previous discussions about the references to Varāṅga-carita.—2. The errors in those discussions.—3. Description of the newly discovered Ms. of Varāṅga-carita.—4. The story summarised and some critical remarks on the style etc.—5. Authorship of this Varāṅga-carita.—6. The age of this work.—7. Popularity of this work and its influence on later writers.—8. Varāṅga-carita as one of the earliest Jaina epic-kāvyas in Sanskrit.—9. Another Varāṅga-carita by Vardhamāna, his date etc.—10. Kanarese Varāṅga-carita by Dharaṇipāṇḍita.—11. Concluding remarks.—12. Text of the first chapter.

1. It was some twenty years before Pt. Premi of Bombay announced¹ that Raviṣeṇa had composed a Varāṅga-carita besides his Padma-carita² (677 A. C.). His conjecture was based on the following two verses from the Harivaṁśa-purāṇa³ (783 A. C.) of Jinasena.

कृतपद्मोदयोद्योता प्रत्यहं परिवर्तिता ।
मूर्तिः काव्यमया लोके रवेरिव रवेः प्रिया ॥
वराङ्गनेव सर्वाङ्गैर्वराङ्गचरितार्थवाक् ।
कस्य नोत्पादयेद्वाढमनुरागं स्वगोचरम् ॥

I. 34-35

Further, in support of his view he adduced an evidence, from Kuvalaya-mālā⁴, (778 A. C.) of Udyotanasūri, based on a verse which runs thus :—

जेहिं कए रमणिज्जे वरंग-पउमाण चरियवित्थारे ।
कह व ण सलाहणिज्जे ते कइणो जडिय-रविसेणो ॥

This view of Pt. Premiji was accepted by all, and even a prize was set upon the discovery of Varāṅga-carita of Raviṣeṇa.

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1. Vidvadratnamālā, p. 43. (Bombay, 1912).
 2. Published in Manikohand Granthamālā (M. G. M.) Vols. 29-30.
 3. Published in M. G. M. Vols. 31-32.
 4. See Jesalmere Catalogue G. O. S. Vol. XXI; p. 42.

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2. Pt. Premi's conjecture and the consequent attribution of authorship of a Varāṅga-carita to Raviṣeṇa are due to his misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the above verses.

First, considering the reference from Harivamśa he is not justified to read both the verses together, since they are not syntactically connected. We can take the verse *varāṅganaiṣa* etc. independently and translate thus, "In whom will not the style of Varāṅga-carita, which is pregnant with sense arouse, with all its factors, deep passion for itself, just in the wise of a lovely damsel who arouses, with all her limbs, deep passion for herself - a damsel whose speech has its purpose done through her excellent limbs?" It is a self-sufficient verse describing only the merits of Varāṅga-carita without mentioning the name of its author. Secondly, the verse from Kuvalaya-mālā has not been correctly interpreted by Pt. Premiji. He is not sure about the reading and naturally about the meaning of the word *Jaḍiya* in the last part of the second line. Once he read it as *Jaḍiya* and now in his introduction to Padmacarita he reads *Jaiya*. Mr. Dalal quotes an extract from Kuvalaya-mālā in his notes on Kāvya-mīmāṃsā¹ of Rājasekhara and his reading too is *Jaḍiya*. When one scrutinizingly notes the forms *ijyehim*, *te* and *kaiṇo*, all in plural, he cannot but suspect that the author of Kuvalaya-mālā is mentioning two poets who are the authors of Varāṅgacarita and Padmacarita respectively. Neither the reading *Jaḍiya* nor its improved form *Jaiya* is correct. The correct reading must have been *Jaḍila*, which as we learn from other sources, is the name of the author of Varāṅga-carita. For instance, Dhavala, in his Harivamśa² (circa 11th century A. C.) written in Apabhramśa dialect, refers to Varāṅga-carita thus:—

मुणिमहसेण सुलोयण जेण
पउमचरिउ मुणिरविसेणेण ।
जिणसेणेण हरिवंसु पविचु
जडिलमुणिणा वरंगचरित्तु ॥

It is plain from the above discussion that Pt. Premi's view that Raviṣeṇa is the author of a Varāṅga-carita will have to be given

1. See G. O. S. Vol. I. p. 124.

2. See Catalogue of Skr. and Pkr. Mss. in the C. P. and Berar, page, 764.

up for the simple reason that, of the two evidences put forth by him one is insufficient since it does not mention the name of the author at all, and the second goes completely against him.

3. I have come across a palm-leaf Ms. (13" × 2" × 2") of *Varāṅga-carita* in the Lakṣmīśena Maṭha, Kolhapur. It contains 148 leaves (= 296 pages); each page has eight lines and each line about 55 letters. It is written in old Kanarese script and the handwriting is fairly beautiful. The age of the Ms. is given thus at the end :—

“स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदयशालियाहनशकवर्ष १६५८ नलनामसंव-
त्सरे कार्तिकमासे कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्दशीतिथौ मन्दवारयुक्तायां श्रीरङ्गपत्तन-
प्रविराजमानश्रीमदादिनाथश्रीवीरनाथपादाम्भोरुहयुगमसन्निधौ श्रीमद-
भिनवचारुकीर्तिपण्डिताचार्यवर्यानुज्ञया पो(सो?)मण्णोपाध्यायस्य प्रिय-
पुत्राय अण्णयोपाध्याय पायिसेट्टिपुत्रेण पार्श्वार्हयेण मया लिखित्वा
दत्तमिदं वराङ्गचरितमिति मङ्गलमहा श्री ६ ”

So the Ms. is about 195 years old. It is in good order, only one page in the middle is broken across. The Ms. has some lacunae here and there. The copyist is careful but his copy appears to have inherited some mistakes from the original. As usual in old Kanarese Mss. short and long vowels are not distinguished. Here *dh* and *th* are generally represented by *d* and *t*. Very often the copyist interchanges *p* and *y* which perhaps indicates that he is copying from a Devanāgarī Ms. The Ms. is complete in 31 chapters and the author gives significant names to all of them. Various kinds of usual metres are used throughout the book. The favourite metre of the author being Upajāti – a combination of stanzas of lines of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā. The first chapter is in Vasantatilakā Metre excepting the concluding two verses which are in Puspitāgrā Metre.

4. *Varāṅga-carita* deals with the story of *Varāṅga* of the *Harivamśa*, a contemporary of *Neminātha* and *Kṛṣṇa*. King *Dharmasena*, his father, appointed him as heir apparent to the throne which incident gave rise to jealousy in the minds of his step-mother and her son *Suśeṇa* who in their plottings, were promised assistance by the minister *Subuddhi* in procuring the throne for him by somehow getting rid of *Varāṅga*. *Subuddhi*

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appeared like a faithful minister but he was always waiting for an opportunity to overthrow Varāṅga. Once he trained two horses, one in a proper and the other in an inverse manner and arranged an exhibition of horses in such a manner that Varāṅga mounted the inversely trained horse, was carried away in a dense forest and thrown off by that rash horse. The prince wandered long in the forest facing and passing through various fatal difficulties and moral tests. Once by fighting against Bhills he obliged Sāgarabuddhi, the leader of a caravan of merchants, and with him he came to Lalitapura where he remained unknown under the name of Kaścidbhataḥ. This unexpected loss of Varāṅga caused great sorrow to Dharmasena and all others. There he was installed as the head of merchants and once again he made himself famous by crushing an enemy that marched against the king of Lalitapura. His identity was soon disclosed. He returned home to the great joy of his parents and all other members of the family. He abandoned his father's kingdom in favour of his elder brother Suśeṇa and requested his father to allow him to conquer fresh territories and establish a new kingdom in the construction of which, he would have ample scope for his military bravery. He founded a new kingdom with the well-planned town of Anartapura as its metropolis. Since the days of his Yuvarāja-ship till he returned to his parents he had married many excellent girls in whose company he spent his time in his new kingdom. After some time, he began to feel indifference towards this world and its pleasures. The sight of a lamp which was extinguished at the exhaustion of oil made him leave the house and enter the order of monks after placing his son on the throne. He took *dīkṣā* at the hands of Varadatta Gaṇadhara from whom in his days of youth he had adopted the partial vows of a householder, practised severe austerities and finally attained eternal bliss in liberation.

Jealousy of the step-mother, wanderings in forest and the ultimate restoration of kingdom — these are some points in this story which remind the reader of Rāma's story. Jaina stories have always a moral and they generally illustrate some religious doctrine. More than once the author reiterates that Karmas are all powerful and no one can exempt himself from their consequences. It is faith that helps one in times of difficulties and

the words of Jina are an ambrosial doze which cures one from the disease of Samsāra and they lead him to liberation. Varāṅga marries a dozen of girls, and remains always faithful to married life. Once he bravely stands the temptation of a Yakṣakanyā who came to seduce him with a view to test his vow of celibacy. Thus poly-gamy is allowed, but strict faithfulness to married life is demanded from every householder.

The threads of the story are not in any way intricate. Major portion of this work is covered by long and technical sermons by the sage Varadatta and others on Jain doctrinal points. The author's style is generally vigorous in narrations, chaste in descriptions, but it becomes tedious to a general reader when the author goes on giving religious sermons full of technical terms peculiar to Jainism. The work stands midway between a *Purāṇa* and a *Kāvya*. The author wants to conform to the standards and import here and there the conventions of a *Kāvya*, but in majority of cases his descriptions and the general atmosphere can be compared with those in Mahābhārata, Paumacariya and other works of the epic type.

5. I have not been able to find any clue as to the authorship of this *Varāṅga-carita* in the work itself. The Colophons do not mention the name of the author nor there is any *prastāvi* at the end. However, I have discovered one external evidence which sheds light on the authorship of this *Varāṅga-carita*. Cāmuṇḍarāya, the Commander-in-chief and minister of Rācamalla (974-84 A. C.) has composed in Kanarese prose a *Triṣaṣṭhi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita* popularly known as *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* (978 A. C.). In that work a verse is quoted thus:—

जटासिहनन्द्याचार्यर वृत्तं—

मृत्सारिणीमहिषहंसशुक्लस्वभावा

-
1. This phrase is found in two Mss. of the five used for the edition of *Ādipurāṇa* of Cāmuṇḍarāya (published by Karnataka Sāhitya Parishad, 1928) and in a democratic spirit the editors have relegated this phrase to the footnote (see page, 8. of that edition.). A palm leaf Ms. of Cāmuṇḍarāya purāṇa written in Śaka 1427 (1505. A. C.) has this introductory remark along with the quotation (p. 2a) and I do not see any reason to doubt the genuineness of that phrase. This Ms. belongs to Mr. Tatyasaheb Patil of Nandani and is with me at present.

मार्जारकङ्कमशकाजजलूकसाम्याः ।

सच्छिद्रकुम्भपशुसर्पशिलोपमाना-

स्ते श्रावका भुवि चतुर्दशधा भवन्ति ॥

अंतु प्रशस्ताप्रशस्तात्मकमप्य चतुर्दशविकल्पमुं ।

From the context it is plain that the quotation is genuine and the verse quoted is the 15th of the first chapter of our *Varāṅga-carita*.¹ So the author of this *Varāṅga-carita* is *Jaṭā-Simhanandya* according to *Cāmuṇḍarāya*'s authority. Further, I think this *Jaṭā-Simhanandya* is the same as *Jaṭācārya* referred to in *Ādipurāṇa* (c. 838 A. C.) by *Jinasena* thus:---

काव्यानुचिन्तने यस्य जटाः प्रचलवृत्तयः ।

अर्थान्स्मानुवदन्तीव जटाचार्यः स नोऽवतात् ॥ I. 50

In a marginal note of a Ms. of *Ādipurāṇa*, *Simhanandi* is given as the proper name of *Jaṭācārya*.² One is tempted to surmise, from the above evidences, that the name of the author is *Simhnandi*, and he was popularly known as *Jaṭācārya* perhaps from his long matted hair, 'which shivered when he was deeply engrossed in his poetic compositions'. *Cāmuṇḍarāya* calls him *Jaṭā-Simhanandi*, perhaps to distinguish him from some other *Simhanandi* that flourished before. *Jaṭila* means one who has matted hair and hence we can identify *Jaṭācārya* with *Jaṭila* -- the latter being the author of *Varāṅga-carita* according to *Kuvalayamālā* and *Apabhraṃśa Harivaṃśa*. So we can say that this *Varāṅga-carita* is composed by *Simhanandi* who was popularly known as *Jaṭācārya* or *Jaṭila*,³ and it is to this *Varāṅga-carita* that *Jinasena* the author of the *Harivaṃśa* refers.

1. See the text of the first chapter at the end.

2. See Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, p. 272.

3. Pandit Jinadas of Sholapur has raised a question whether the author *Jaṭila* is *Digambara* or *Śvetāmbara*. We find in this work that *Varadatta Gaṇadhara* is preaching his sermons seated on a slab of stone (III. 6) which is against *Digambara* tradition according to which a *Kevalin* has a *Samavasaraṇa* or at least a *Gandha-kuṭi*. Further heavens are enumerated as twelve (IX. 7-10) and not sixteen according to *Digambaras*.

6. Now we should see when Jaṭila flourished. Dhavalā, who refers to Varāṅga-carita as composed by Jaṭila, belongs to circa 11th century A. C.; Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa which quotes a verse from Varāṅgacarita is composed in 978 A. C.; Jinasena who mentions Jaṭacārya began his Ādipurāṇa about 838 A. C.; Jinasena who talks highly of Varāṅga-carita finished his Harivaṁśa in 783 A. C.; Udyotanasūri who mentions Varāṅgacarita and its author finished his Kuvalayamālā in 778 A. C. Thus in the beginning of the last quarter of 8th century Varāṅga-carita was a famous work, both in the South and the North, both among Śvetāmbara and Digambara writers. To account for this wide circulation and fame, Jaṭila might be said to have flourished in the seventh century *at the latest*. At present I am not in a position to put an earlier limit to his date but this much I wish to note that there are some passages in Varāṅga-carita which reminded me of similar passages in the works of Samantabhadra (about second century A. C.) and Pūjyapāda (about 500 A. C.). So far as I know, I have not been able to trace the name of Jaṭila or Jaṭacārya in any epigraphical records. There flourished one Siṁhanandi in the second century A. C. who helped the two forlorn princes to found the Gaṅga dynasty. It is perhaps to distinguish from this famous Siṁhanandi that Cāmuṇḍarāya calls our author Jaṭa-Siṁhanandi.

7. Though its Mss. are rare today, Varāṅga-carita appears to have been once a very popular work. It has received proper appreciation at the hands of Jinasena the author of the Harivaṁśa, as we have seen above. It is not a small thing that Jaṭacārya's poetic flash has been complimented by Jinsena the author of Pārśvābhyudaya-himself a genius. Not only that but Jinasena appears to have used Varāṅga-carita and reproduced some topics in his own words when writing his Ādipurāṇa. Jinasena, as he was writing his first chapter in *Śloka* Metre, has recast the form only and even some words are common. For instance, compare Ādi-

purāṇa¹ I. 122-24 with Varāṅga-carita I. 6-7 ; Ādi. I. 127-30 with Varāṅga. I. 10-11; Ādi. I. 139 with Varāṅga. I. 15 and Ādi. I. 143-44 with Varāṅga. I. 16 and 14. Cāmuṇḍarāya's exposition of this topic closely agrees with that in Varāṅga-carita and Ādi-purāṇa, and as we have seen above he actually quotes a verse from the former.

8. So far as our knowledge of Jaina literature goes, Varāṅga-carita is one of the earliest Jaina epics in Sanskrit written in a semi-epic and semi-kāvya style. Whether Jaṭila was earlier than or contemporary of Raviṣeṇa, the author of Padma-carita (677 A. C.) cannot be said at this stage. The only Jaina epic that claims priority over Padmacarita of Raviṣeṇa and Varāṅga-carita of Jaṭila is the Prakrit Pauma-cariya of Vimala who according to the concluding verse of that work wrote it in 4 A. C.

9. The story of Varāṅga too has proved fascinating in later days. Vardhamāna composed in Sanskrit verse another Varāṅga-carita in thirteen chapters. It is edited with Marathi translation by Pt. Jinadasa of Sholapur. This book is a summary of Jaṭila's work with which it has close phraseological agreements in places more than one; the author only curtails the details of religious sermons and various descriptions, the skeleton of the story remaining the same all the while. Vardhamāna perhaps implies that he has summarised Jaṭila's work when he says:—

गणेश्वरैर्या कथिता कथा वरा
वराङ्गराजस्य सविस्तरं पुरा ।
मयापि संक्षिप्य च सैव वर्ण्यते
सुकान्यबन्धेन सुबुद्धिवर्धिनी ॥ I. 11.

Pt. Jinadas writes in the introduction to that edition that Vardhamāna's Varāṅga-carita is the same as the one referred to in Harivaṁśa. But this view cannot be accepted since, it is proved beyond doubt that Jaṭila is the author of Varāṅga-carita referred to by Jinasena.

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1. I have not quoted those passages from Ādipurāṇa since the work is easily accessible. It is published with Hindi translation from Calcutta; with Marathi translation from Kolhapur; and in part with Kanarese translation once from Bangalore and once from Mysore. To facilitate this comparison I have given at the end the text of the first chapter of Varāṅga-carita,

There is no definite evidence as to the date of Vardhamāna who gives meagre information about himself. He was a Bhaṭṭāraka belonging to Mūlasaṅgha, Balātkāragana and Bharatī gaccha and he had a title *paravādi-pañcānana*. I know of two Vardhamānas. The first was the guru¹ of Dharmabhūṣaṇa, the author of Nyāyadīpikā. If this Vardhamāna is the same as the guru of Dharmabhūṣaṇa then this Varāṅga-carita is composed in the middle of the 14th century at the earliest, since the date of Dharmabhūṣaṇa is given as circa 1600 A. C. by Dr. Vidyabhūṣaṇa² and 1385 A. C. by Dr. Pathak.³ The second Vardhamāna is the author of Humch inscription⁴ and his date is about 1530 A. C. according to Rice. It is important to note that this second Vardhamāna belonged to Balātkāragana. Thus this Varāṅga-carita cannot be taken earlier than 13th century A. C.

10. Then there is a Varāṅga-carita⁵ in Kanarese by Dharanipandita who flourished about 1650 A. C. He was a native of Viṣṇuvardhanapura. It is written in a popular Kanarese metre known as Bhamini-ṣatpadī. He says that his work is based on previous compositions. From the fact he mentions one Vardhamāna-yati along with other previous authors, it appears that Vardhamāna's Varāṅga-carita was his authority. The Ms. noticed by R. B. R. Narasimhacharya is incomplete containing only eight chapters.

11. In the end I have given below the faithful text of the first chapter of this Varāṅga-carita with a view that the Mss. of it are very scarce and a complete edition with this single Ms. is not possible in the near future and that the readers would be able to have an idea about its style etc. and to compare the same with other Sanskrit works. I am very thankful to my friend Prof. S. S. Sukthankar for his ready help in preparing this essay especially in checking errors in the following text.

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1. Aitaka Pannalala Saraswati-bhavana Report III. p. 81.
 2. Indian Logic: Mediaeval School. p. 54.
 3. Annals of B. O. R. I. XII. iv. p. 376.
 4. EC, VIII, Nagara. No. 46.
 5. See Karañjaka Kavi-carita, Vol. II. p. 417 etc.

अर्हस्त्रिलोकमहितो हितकृत्प्रजानां
धर्मोऽर्हतो भगवत्स्त्रिजगच्छरण्यः ।

ज्ञानं च यस्य सचराचरभावदर्शि
रत्नत्रयं तदहमप्रतिमं नमामि ॥ १ ॥

येनेह मोहतरुमूलमभेद्यमन्यै-
रुत्पाटितं निरवशेषमनादिवद्धम् ।
यस्यर्द्धयस्त्रिभुवनातिशयास्त्रिधोक्ताः
सोऽर्हज्यत्यमितमोक्षसुखोपदेशी ॥ २ ॥

प्राप्येत येन नृसुरासुरभोगभारो
नानातपोगुणसमुन्नतलब्धयश्च ।
पश्चादतीन्द्रियसुखं शिवमप्रमेयं
धर्मो जयत्यवितथः स जिनप्रणातः ॥ ३ ॥

ज्ञानेन येन जिनवक्त्रविनिर्गतेन
त्रैलोक्यभूतगुणपर्ययसत्पदार्थाः ।
ज्ञाताः पुनर्युगपदेव हि सप्रपञ्चं
जैनं जयत्यनुपमं तदनन्तरं तत् ॥ ४ ॥

अर्हन्मुखागतमिदं गणदेवदृष्टं
सद्धर्ममार्गचरितं परया विशुद्ध्या ।
संशृण्वतः कथयतः स्मरतश्च नित्य-
मेकान्ततो भवति पुण्यसमग्रलम्भः ॥ ५ ॥

द्रव्यं फलं प्रकृतमेव हि सप्रभेदं
क्षेत्रं च तीर्थमथ कालविभागभावौ ।
अङ्गानि सप्त कथयन्ति कथाप्रबन्धे
तैः संयुता भवति युक्तिमती कथा सा ॥ ६ ॥

द्रव्याणि षड्भगवताभिहितानि तानि
क्षेत्रं तथा त्रिभुवनं त्रिविधश्च कालः ।
तीर्थं जिनेन्द्रचरितं प्रकृतं हि वस्तु
ज्ञानक्षयोपशमजा फलभावकल्पा ॥ ७ ॥

धातुः स काश्चनमयः क्रियया विहीनः
कालान्त इदपि न याति सुवर्णभावम् ।
एव जगत्यमितभव्यजनश्चिरेण
नालं भवाद्व्रजितुमत्र विनोपदेशात् ॥ ८ ॥

क्षीयं विना नयनवानपि संदिदृशु-
 र्द्रव्यं यथा घटपटादि न पश्यतीह ।
 जिज्ञासुरुत्तममतिर्गुणवांस्तथैव
 वक्त्रा विना हितपथं निखिलं न वेत्ति ॥ ९ ॥

सर्वज्ञभाषितमहानदधौतबुद्धिः
 स्पष्टेन्द्रियः स्थिरमतिर्मितवाङ्मनोज्ञः ।
 मृष्टाक्षरो जितसभः प्रगृहीतवाक्यो
 वक्तुं कथां प्रभवति प्रतिभादियुक्तः ॥ १० ॥

सत्कारमैत्र्यवनमैषजसंश्रयादी-
 म्वक्ताऽनपेक्ष्य जगदत्युपकारहेतुम् ।
 निःकेवलं हितपदं प्रवदन्वदान्यः
 श्रोतात्मनोरुपचिनोति फलं विशालम् ॥ ११ ॥

जन्मार्णवं कथमयं तरतीति योऽत्र
 संभावयत्यतुल्यधीर्मनसा दयालुः ।
 संसारघोरभयदुःखमनादिबद्धं
 तस्य क्षयं व्रजति साध्विति वर्णयन्ति ॥ १२ ॥

श्रेयोऽर्थिना हि जिनशासनवत्सलेन
 कर्तव्य एव नियमेन हितोपदेशः ।
 मोक्षार्थिना श्रवणधारणसत्क्रियार्था
 योज्यास्तु ते मतिमता सततं यथावत् ॥ १३ ॥

शुश्रूषताश्रवणसंग्रहधारणानि
 विज्ञानमूहनमपोहनमर्थतत्त्वम् ।
 धर्मश्रवार्थिषु सुखाभिमुखेन नित्य-
 मष्टौ गुणान्खलु विशिष्टतमा वदन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

मृत्स्फुरिणी महिषहंसशुकस्वभावा
 मार्जारकङ्कमशकाज्जलूकसाम्याः ।
 साच्छिद्रकुम्भपशुसर्पशिलोपमाना-
 स्ते श्रावका भुवि चतुर्दशधा भवन्ति ॥ १५ ॥

श्रोता न चैहिकफलं प्रतिलिप्समानो
 निःश्रेयसाय मतिमांश्च मतिं विधाय ।
 यः संश्रुणोति जिनधर्मकथामुदारां
 पापं प्रणाशमुपयाति नरस्य तस्य ॥ १६ ॥

प्राज्ञस्य हेतुनयसूक्ष्मतरान्पदार्थान्
 मूर्खस्य बुद्धिविनयं च तपः फलानि ।
 दुःखार्दितस्य जनबन्धुवियोगहेतुं
 निर्वेदकारणमशौचमशाश्वतस्य ॥ १७ ॥ (?)

लुब्धस्य शीलमदनस्य फलं मृतानां (?)
 दानं क्षमां च धनिनो विषयोन्मुखस्य ।
 सदृशं व्यसनिनो जिनपूजनं च
 श्रोतुर्वशेन कथयेत्कथको विधिज्ञः ॥ १८ ॥

संसारसागरतरङ्गनिमग्नजीवान्
 सज्ज्ञाननावमधिरोप्य सुखेन नीत्वा ।
 सद्धर्मपत्तनमनन्तसुखाकरं यत्
 तत्प्रापयन्ति गुरवो विदितार्थतत्त्वाः ॥ १९ ॥

जन्माटवीषु कुटिलासु विनष्टमार्गान्
 अत्यन्तनिर्वृतिपथं प्रतिबोधयन्ति ।
 तेभ्योऽधिकः प्रियतमो वसुधातलेऽस्मिन्
 कोऽन्योऽस्ति बन्धुरपरः परिगण्यमानः ॥ २० ॥

राज्यार्धराज्यपृथुचक्रधरोरुभोगान्
 भौमेन्द्रकल्पपतिनामहमिन्द्रसौख्यम् ।
 क्लेशक्षयोद्भवमनन्तसुखं च मोक्षं
 संप्राप्नुवन्ति मनुजा गुरुसंश्रयेण ॥ २१ ॥

तेभ्यो नमः प्रयतकायमनोवचोभिः
 कृत्वा जगत्त्रयविभूतिशिवंकरेभ्यः ।
 धर्मार्थकामसाहितां जगति प्रवृत्तां
 वक्ष्ये कथां शृणुत मोक्षफलावसानाम् ॥ २२ ॥

आसीद्धि यो निजगुणैर्ह्रियमादधानः
 पुंसां समुन्नतधियां स निवासभूमिः ।
 भोगाश्रयः कुरुभुवः प्रतिबिम्बभूतो
 नाम्ना विनतिविषयः ककुदं पृथिव्याम् ॥ २३ ॥

लोकस्य सारमखिलं निपुणो विचिन्त्य
 सत्संनिवासभुवनैकमनोरथेन ।
 यन्निर्ममे स्वयमुदाहृतरत्नसारं
 धर्मार्थकामनियमाच्च निधिं विधाता ॥ २४ ॥

यस्मिन्दिशश्च रहितालिविपिञ्जराभा
 यस्मान्त इक्षुवनपीलितदुःप्रचाराः (?) ।
 रक्तोत्पलामलदलैरुपहारितास्ते
 कालागुरुप्रततधूपवहाश्च गेहाः ॥ २५ ॥

यस्मिन्वनानि फलपुष्पनताग्रशाखा-
 विभ्राजितानिलविकम्पिमहीरुहाणि ।
 स्वाद्वम्बुकोमलतृणानि दिवानिशीथे
 घोषाः प्रतिध्वनितमन्द्रगुणागुणाढ्याः ॥ २६ ॥

सन्तो नरा युवतयश्च विदग्धवेषा
 रागोत्तरास्तु सकलास्तु कलास्वबाह्याः ।
 अन्योन्यरञ्जनपराः सततोत्सवाश्च
 सौख्येन किंनरगणानतिशाययन्ति ॥ २७ ॥

देशान्विहाय हि पुराध्युषितान्कलाज्ञाः
 शिल्पप्रदत्तमतयश्च नटा विटाश्च ।
 रङ्गोपजीवनपराः पुरुषाः स्त्रियश्च
 यस्मिन्पुनर्वहुविशेषगुणा वसन्ति ॥ २८ ॥

रत्नोपलामपरिचुम्बितमेघमालो
 नानादरीमुखाधिनिःसृतनिर्झरौघः ।
 सौम्याचलः फणिमणिक्षपितान्धकार-
 स्तस्मिन्बभूव हिमवानिव तुङ्गकूटः ॥ २९ ॥

यस्मिन्पदा गरुडकिंनरपद्मगानां
 गन्धर्वसिद्धतुषितामरचारणानाम् ।
 आक्रीडनानि विविधानि मनोहराणि
 सोद्यानकाननगुहागहनेष्वभूवन् ॥ ३० ॥

तस्मान्मतङ्गजविषाणविपाटितोरु-
 पाषाणगद्गरविजृम्भितपद्मगेन्द्रा ।
 कादम्बसारसगणैरुपसेव्यमाना
 रम्या नदी प्रभवति प्रथिता धरायाम् ॥ ३१ ॥

वाताहतद्रुमपतत्कुसुमोपहारे
 मत्तभ्रमद्भ्रमरगीतरवाभिधाने ।
 तस्यास्तु दक्षिणतटीसमभूमिभागे
 रम्यातटं पुरमभूद्भुवि विश्रुतं तत् ॥ ३२ ॥

रम्या नदी तटसमीपसमुद्भवत्वात्
 रम्या तटं जगति तस्य हि नाम रूढम् ।
 तस्यैव नाम कृतवद्वि गुणान्समीक्ष्य
 अन्वर्थमुत्तमपुरं पटुभिर्द्वितीयम् ॥ ३३ ॥

अभ्यन्तरस्य नगरस्य बहिःप्रदेशः
 कान्तो यतो भवति कान्तपुरं तदेव ।
 पद्मालया सततमारमतीति यस्मात्
 लक्ष्मीपुरं बुधजनैः कथितं पुरं तत् ॥ ३४ ॥

उद्यानपर्वतवनान्तरितप्रदेशै-
 र्वापीतटाकवरपुष्करिणीह्रदैश्च ।
 दिग्देवदेवगृहरम्यसभाप्रपाभि-
 बाह्यं पुरं परपुरश्रियमादधार ॥ ३५ ॥

आवेष्ट्य तत्परवरं परिखाऽवतस्थे
 द्वीपं यथा जलनिधिर्लवणाम्बुगर्भः ।
 माहीमयोभ्युदितशैलसमानशालः (?)
 प्रोज्झ्य भूतलमिवाभ्यधिकं रराज ॥ ३६ ॥

प्रासादकूटवलभीतटगोपुरैः स्वै-
 रत्युच्छ्रितध्वजविचित्रचलत्पताकैः ।
 आरामकल्पतरुगुह्मलताप्रतानै-
 रूद्धातपं पुरमभूद्विरिभित्तिभिश्च ॥ ३७ ॥

संगीतगीतकरतालमुखप्रलापै-
 र्वीणामृदङ्गसुरजध्वनिमुद्गिरद्भिः ।
 हर्म्यैरनेकपरिवर्धितभूमिदेशे
 विन्यस्तचित्रबलिभिः सततं रराज ॥ ३८ ॥

भूशैलतोयविविधाकरजातपुण्यं
 मुक्ताप्रवालतपनीयमनेकभेदम् ।
 यद्यच्च दुर्लभतमं परराजधान्या
 तस्मिन्पुरे प्रतिवसत्सुलभं च वस्तु ॥ ३९ ॥

न्यायार्जितद्रविणतैककुटुम्बपूर्णं
 सर्वर्तुसौख्यसहितं परमर्धियुक्तम् ।
 उद्धाटितापणमुखेषु निरन्तरेषु
 नक्तं दिवं क्रयपरिक्रयसक्तमर्त्यम् ॥ ४० ॥

नैकप्रकारमहिमोत्सवचैत्यपूजा-
 दानक्रियास्नपनपुण्यविवाहसङ्गः ।
 अन्योन्यगेहगमनागमनो जनौघ-
 स्तमिन्पुरे प्रतिदिनं ववृधे यथावत् ॥ ४१ ॥
 शब्दार्थहेतुगणितादिविशेषयुक्ता
 ज्ञानप्रभावितमतिः कृतधर्मनस्काः । ?
 सद्धर्मशास्त्रकुशलाः सुलभा मनुष्या
 यत्राररञ्जुरधिकं सततप्रमोदाः ॥ ४२ ॥
 वृद्धाः समेषु तरुणाश्च गुरूपदेशे
 वेक्ष्याङ्गनासु ललिताः समवा युवानः ।
 त्यागेष्वथाजितधनाः प्रमदाः प्रियेषु
 वस्त्वन्तरे रतिमुपेयुरथानुरूपम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 पाषण्डिशिल्पबहुवर्णजनातिकीर्णं
 रत्नापगा जलनिधिः सुरलोककल्पम् । ?
 प्रह्लातिमुग्धधनिनिर्धनसज्जनेष्टं
 चोरारिमारिपरचक्रकथा न तत्र ॥ ४४ ॥
 नीरोगशोकनिरुपद्रवनिर्भयत्वा-
 दस्मिन्ननः सुरसुखं मनसाऽवमेने ।
 किं वा पुरस्य बहुवर्णनया नराणा-
 मिष्टेन्द्रियार्थपरिभोगसुखावहस्य ॥ ४५ ॥
 तस्येश्वरः प्रथितभोजकुलप्रसूतो
 धर्मार्थकामानिपुणो विनिगूढमन्त्रः ।
 न्यायेन लोकपरिपालनसक्तबुद्धिः
 श्रीधर्मसेन इति भूपतिरास नाम्ना ॥ ४६ ॥
 यः कामिनीजनमनोहरचारुमूर्ति-
 नौकावहप्रथितलब्धविशुद्धकीर्तिः ।
 शक्तित्रयप्रतिविशेषहृतप्रजार्तिः
 शास्त्रोपदिष्टवचसाऽप्रतिमानवृत्तिः ॥ ४७ ॥
 श्रीमान्प्रभिन्नकटवारणतुल्यगामी
 रक्ताम्बुजच्छविहरामलपाणिपादः ।
 आख्यायिकागणितकाव्यरसाद्यभिज्ञो
 नित्यं पराभिगमनीयगुणावतंसः ॥ ४८ ॥

बृद्धोपसेवनरतिर्द्वैतसौहृदश्च

त्यक्तप्रमादमवमत्सरमोहभावः ।

सत्संगद्विस्थिरसखः प्रियवागलोभः

प्रागल्भ्यदाक्ष्यसहितो हितबन्धुवर्गः ॥ ४९ ॥

रूपेण काममथ नीतिबलेन शुकं

कान्त्या शशाङ्कमरेन्द्रमुदारकीर्त्या ।

दीप्त्या दिवाकरमगाधतया समुद्रं

दण्डेन दण्डधरमप्यतिशिष्य एव ॥ ५० ॥

यस्याज्ञया स्वपथमुत्कमितुं न शेकु-

र्वणाश्रमा जनपदे सकले पुरे वा ।

पाषण्डिनः स्वसमयोपविनीतमार्गाः

सोऽतीव बालबुधवृद्धतमान्बभार ॥ ५१ ॥

यस्याहितं प्रकुरुते मनसापि कश्चित्

किञ्चित्कचित्पुरुषमर्थमनर्थकं वा ।

भुत्क्षीणभुमनयनोदरवक्त्रदण्डः

स्थातुं हि तस्य विषये न शशाङ्क मर्त्यः ॥ ५२ ॥

युद्धेषु भिन्नकटवारणगण्डलेखा-

संप्रसुतैः शमितधूलिषु दानतोयैः ।

वाक्येषु बृंहितमदान्प्रतियोद्धकामान्

यः सद्यः एव हि रिपून्विमदीचकार ॥ ५३ ॥

चेतांसि बद्धद्वद्वैरवतां नराणा-

मभ्यन्तरप्रकृतिकस्य जनस्य वापि ।

स्वाभाविकैर्विनयजैश्चरितैरुदारै-

र्यो रञ्जयेद्भृशमथ स्वगुणैर्नरेन्द्रः ॥ ५४ ॥

ताराधिपः कुमुदषण्डविकासदक्षैः

शीतैः करैर्नभसि संविबभौ यथैव ।

नित्यं प्रियाकुमुदषण्डवचोमयूखै-

र्मह्यां तथैव वसुधाधिपपूर्णचन्द्रः ॥ ५५ ॥

आफुल्लचारुविमलाम्बुरुहाननस्य

आजानुलम्बमतिपीनभुजद्वयस्य ।

श्रीवक्षसः खलु मृगेन्द्रपराक्रमस्य

स्वान्तःपर परपतेस्त्रिशतीबभूव ॥ ५६ ॥

युक्ताधिरोहपरिणाहसमन्विता या
 हंसीस्वनासु गमनग्रहणस्वभावाः ।
 लज्जावपुर्विनयविभ्रमचारुवेषा-
 स्तुल्यावलोकननिरन्तरसौहृदाश्च ॥ ५७ ॥

फुल्लारविन्दवदना वरचारुनेत्राः
 फुल्लारविन्दकुसुमोरुशुचित्वगन्धाः ।
 फुल्लारविन्दवरकान्तिगुणावदाताः
 फुल्लारविन्दवरकोमलपाणिपादाः ॥ ५८ ॥

सर्वाः स्त्रियः प्रथमयौवनगर्ववत्यः
 सर्वाः स्वमातृपितृगोत्रविशुद्धमत्यः ।
 सर्वाः कलागुणविधानविशेषदक्षाः
 सर्वा यथेष्टमुपभोगपरिप्सयिन्यः (?) ॥ ५९ ॥

चातुर्यहावगतिविभ्रमसात्क्रियाभी
 रूपेण ता युतिमतातिमनोहरेण ।
 सत्यन्तरे समनुकूलतयानुभूय
 राज्ञो मनस्यधिगता वनितास्तदासन् ॥ ६० ॥

हासेन वा मधुमदेन सगर्वितेन
 रागेण वाथ कलूषीकृतचेतसा वा ।
 अन्योन्यमर्मपरिहासकथाभिरामा
 राज्ञः स्त्रियस्त्विति कथा न बभूव लोके ॥ ६१ ॥

धर्मप्रियस्य रतिनीतिविशारदस्य
 सामान्यदृष्ट्यभिनिवीत ।
 नात्युद्धताः सममुखा पतिवत्सलाश्च
 शीलानुरक्तहृदया वनिता विनीताः ॥ ६२ ॥

तासु क्षितीन्द्रहृदयप्रियकारिणीषु
 माधुर्यकान्तिललितप्रतिभान्वितासु ।
 रेजे भृशं गुणवती क्षितिपाङ्गनासु
 तारागणेषु विमलेष्विव चन्द्रलेखा ॥ ६३ ॥

शुद्धान्वया रुचिरभूषणभूषिताङ्गे
 कामेकभारवति कर्कशजातरागा (?) ।
 स्निग्धा हिता शुचिमती मितवाक्सुदक्षा
 भूर्माश्वरस्य हृदयं स्वगुणैर्बबन्ध ॥ ६४ ॥

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या धर्मसेननयनामृतरूपशोभा
 तस्येव च श्रवणपथ्यहितानुवाक्या ।
 तद्गात्रचित्तरतिकारणवेषचेष्टा
 तेनाभवत्सुरतनाटकनायिका सा ॥ ६५ ॥

तस्यास्तदङ्गममलेन्दुनिभाननायाः
 पीनोन्नतस्तनतटर्पितचन्दनायाः ।
 आश्लिष्य कामशरताडनविह्वलायाः
 प्रीतिं परासुपजगाम पतिर्धरायाः ॥ ६६ ॥

सा चापि तस्य वदनं नयनातिकान्त-
 माकृष्य सीधुरसिना वदनाम्बुजेन ।
 भूयश्चुचुम्ब मदनातुरमन्दचेष्टा-
 पूर्वं प्रियव्रणितपाटलविभ्रमोष्ठी ॥ ६७ ॥

ताभ्यां यथेष्टमभिसंहितमन्मथाभ्यां
 तुल्यानुरागरतिवर्धनसत्क्रियाभ्याम् ।
 अन्योन्यचित्तपरितोषणतत्पराभ्यां
 प्राप्तं नृजन्मचिरजीवितयोः फलं तत् ॥ ६८ ॥

अनुपरतमुदङ्गमन्द्रनादे
 मणिकिरणैरवभासितान्धकारे ।
 षड्रक्तसुखगृहे विशालकीर्ति-
 वैरवनिताभिररंस्त राजसिंहः ॥ ६९ ॥

इति नगरनरेन्द्रभार्याः (?)
 प्रथमतः कथिता कथाप्रबन्धात् ।
 श्रुतिपथसुखं निगद्यमानं
 तत उपरि प्रकृतं निशामयेदम् ॥ ७० ॥

इति धर्मकथोद्देशे चतुर्वर्गसमन्विते स्फुटशब्दार्थसंदर्भे
 वराङ्गचरिताश्रिते जनपदनगरनृपतिपत्नीवर्णनो
 नाम प्रथमः सर्गः

Post-script

i. Just recently an old Kanarese inscription mentioning the name of Jaṭāsimhanandi is discovered at Koppala (Nizam State) — a place recently famous as a find-spot of Aśoka inscription and held in high respect by the Jainas of mediæval India. It is found on a *nisidi* situated on the top-most peak known as Pallakki Gunde, (i. e. palanquin rock) on the hill adjoining Koppala. From the foot-prints, just above the inscription, it is clear that the inscription commemorates the death of Jaṭāsimhanandi and it is engraved by some of his disciple or devotee. It is partly mutilated and runs in two lines —

1 *Jaṭāsiṅganāṁdi ācārya (mahadeva..... ?) worn out.*

2 *macayyaṁ māḍisideṁ.*¹

In the same place there is one more inscription about Simhanandi but I am not ready, at present, to identify both for no other reason than the fact that he is called Simhanandi and not Jaṭāsimhanandi, and as I have shown in the body of this paper he was called Jaṭāsimhanandi only to be distinguished from various other Simhanandis. If we identify Simhanandi and Jaṭāsimhanandi the very purpose of the latter's name would be vitiated. I am inclined to identify this Jaṭāsimhanandi with the author of *Varāṅga-carita*, since our author is known to and quoted by Cāmuṇḍarāya who is well acquainted with some of the famous saints associated with Kopaṇādri (Koppala) such as Kumārasena and Candrasena.²

ii. In *Amṛtāśīti*³, a didactic work ascribed to one Yogindra, a verse of Jaṭāsimhanandi is thus quoted,—

जटासिंहनन्द्याचार्यवृत्तम् —

तावत्क्रियाः प्रवर्तन्ते यावद्ब्रह्मतस्य गोचरम् ।

अद्वये निष्फले प्राप्ते निष्क्रयस्य कुतः क्रियाः ॥६७॥

The plam-leaf Ms. of *Varāṅga-carita* being beyond my reach now, I have not been able to verify this quotation.

1. I am very thankful to Mr. P. B. Desai of Dharwar through whose kindness I could get a copy of this inscription.

2. Cāmuṇḍarāya *Purāṇa*, I, 15 and 17.

3. See *Annals of B. O. R. I.* XII, ii, p. 162.

NIRVĀṆA AND BUDDHIST LAYMEN

BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M. A., B. L., Ph. D.

Nirvāṇa (nibbāna) is, according to the Saṃyutta Nikāya (Vol. II, p. 117), cessation of existence (bhavanīrodho nibbānaṃ). It is according to the Visuddhimagga,¹ pañcannam khandhānaṃ nirodho (extinction of five khandhas). The Visuddhimagga further points out that there is only truth and no second (ekam hi saccam na duttiyaṃ). This is the idea of nibbāna involved in this passage. Nibbāna includes absence of passion (virāga), destruction of pride (mada nimmadana), killing of thirst (taṇhākkhayo), freedom from attachment (ālayasamugghāto) and destruction of all sensual pleasures (Kāmapipāsa Vinaya), these are the attributes of nibbāna. It is the cessation of all sufferings – (sabbadukkāpasama saṃkhāta)². In the same work we find that nibbāna can be attained through meditation (jhāna), wisdom (paññā), precepts (sīla), steadfastness (āradhāviriyo)³ etc.

In the Atthasālinī (p. 409) nibbāna means that from which the arrow of desire (taṇhāsaṃkhātāṃ vānaṃ niggatam vā tasmā vānāti nibbānaṃ) is gone away. It is freedom from all sins, final release from the lower nature as Mr. Maung Tin puts it (Expositor, 518). In the Sumaṅgalavilāsini (Vol. I, 217) Buddhaghosa says that a person obtains nibbāna making himself free from the wilderness of misdeeds. Nibbāna is described here as the state of bliss (duccarita kantāraṃ nīttiharitvā paramaṃ khemaṇṭa-bhūmim Amata-Nibbānaṃ pāpuṇāti). This is in agreement with what has been said in the Milindapañho (p. 69). In the Kathāvatthupakaranatthakathā nibbāna has been described as a void (J. P. T. S., 1889, p. 178; cf. Dhammapada, verse 93, *Suññato*). Ac-

1 Vol. II, p. 611.

2 Vol. II, p. 497.

3 Vol. I, p. 293.

4 Vol. I, p. 3.

According to the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha it is so called because it is a departure from that craving which is called vāna, lusting or craving. It is to be realised through knowledge belonging to the four paths. It is the object of those paths and of their fruition. It is called lokuttara saṁkhātaṁ. It is excellent, uncreated, and it is free from lust.¹

Dr. Poussin² points out that according to the doctrinal tenets of Buddhism, accurately and profusely explained in every part of the Scriptures, Nirvāṇa is annihilation. But this meaning is very vague. We do not agree with him when he further points out that the most exact and most authoritative definition of Nirvāṇa is not annihilation but 'unqualified deliverance,' a deliverance of which we have no right to predicate anything³. Nirvāṇa means the extinction of rāga, dosa and moha (passion, hatred and delusion). Mrs. Rhys Davids is perfectly right when she says in her learned introduction to the Dhammapada that Nirvāṇa is the waning out of all evil, rāga, dosa and moha. (The minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon, pt. I., p. xix).

It is clearly pointed out in the Saṁyutta Nikāya that Nibbāna is rāgakkhaya, dosakkhaya and mohakkhaya (Saṁyutta Nikāya, IV., 251). It is true as Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that Nirvāṇa is nothing but diminishing of the vicious and the weak in the man which is the negative aspect of his positive advance in becoming. The literal meaning of 'nirvāṇa' is 'nibbāpeti' that which is extinguished. We can gather a clear idea of the subject from various Pāli Books, the Dhammapada, the Khuddakapāṭha, the Sutta Nipāta and the Milindapañho.⁴ Some have translated

1 Nibbānaṁ pana lokuttara — saṁkhātaṁ catumagga-ñāṇena sacchikātabbaṁ magga-phalānaṁ ālambaṇa-bhūtaṁ vāna-saṁkhātāya tanhāya nikkhantattā nibbānaṁ ti pavuccati, asaṁkhataṁ anuttaraṁ nibbānaṁ vānamuttā (Abhidhammattha-Saṁgaha, p. 31, in J. P. T. S., 1884).

2 *The way to Nirvāṇa*, p. 133.

3 *The way to Nirvāṇa*, p. 131.

4 Vide my paper 'Idea of Nibbāna in the Milindapañho (*Journal of the Mahābodhi Society*, October, 1931). I have discussed all these points in my forthcoming volume on the History of Pāli Literature.

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the word, 'Nibbāna' as 'ambrosia', 'immortality', 'perfect beatitude', Summum Bonum, etc. We all know that an arahat obtains Nirvāṇa. Arhattva and Nirvāṇa are synonymous. Childers rightly points out that nibbāna in verse 23 of the Dhammapada means arhatship (Pali Dict., p. 269). He further points out that nibbāna is used to designate two different things:— (1) the state of blissful sanctification called arhatship, and (2) the annihilation of existence in which arhatship ends (ibid., p. 266). This view of Childers has been supported by James D'Alwis in his 'Essay on Buddhist Nirvāṇa', a review of Max Müller's Dhammapada.

Next comes the question whether a layman can attain nirvāṇa. We are shocked to read pp. 150-151 of *the Way to Nirvāṇa* where Dr. Poussin writes thus, "Laymen, however faithful, generous, and virtuous they may be, even if they practise the fortnightly abstinence and continence of the Upavāsa, cannot reach Nirvāṇa." In other words, according to Dr. Poussin only the monks after having reached the fourth stage of sanctification can obtain nirvāṇa. We find it otherwise if we closely examine the following references from Pali books. A close study of the Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta (p. 58) and the Jarā Sutta (p. 129) of the Mahāniddesa together with their commentaries by Dhammapāla helps us to look for the munis both among the householders and the recluses. The munis are defined as persons who have attenuated their sins and have seen nibbāna and as to householders, they are represented as persons who are overburdened with all household duties. No other discrimination is sought to be made between the Āgāramunis and the Anāgāramunis than this, that while the former keep to the method of household life, the latter do not. As for the attainment, both are held out as equally competent to win the highest state, which is nibbāna¹.

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1. Āgāraṃ majjhe vasantā āgāramunino pabbajjūpagatā anāgāramunino sattasekkhamunino arahantā asekkhamunino paccekabuddhā paccekamunino sammāsambuddhā munimunino. Āgāramunino — āgārikā ti kasigorakkhādi āgārika-kamme nijuttā, diṭṭhapadēti diṭṭhanibbānē, viññāta sāsanaṭi viññātaṃ sikkhattayasāsanaṃ etesanti viññāta sāsanaṃ. Anāgārā ti kasigorakkhādi āgāriyakammam etesam natthi, pabbajjita anāgārā ti vucoanti. (Commentary on the Mahāniddesa. Siamese Edition, p. 218, *Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta* and *Jarā Sutta*).

In the *Anguttara Nikāya* we find mention of 21 lay arahats.¹ T. W. Rhys Davids in his learned introduction to the *Sāmañña-phala Sutta* calls them laymen arahats (S. B. B., Vol. II., p. 63, f. n.). If we are to believe the statement of Dr. Poussin, how was it possible that laymen became arahats fully qualified for obtaining nirvāṇa. In the *Kathāvatthu* (Bk. IV, p. 268, P. T. S.), we find that kulaputta Yasa, householder Uttiya and young Brahman Setu attained arahatship in all the circumstances of life in the laity.² Referring to this point S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids have inferred that a layman under exceptional circumstances may attain arahatship but to keep it he must give up the world (Points of Controversy, p. 158, f. n.). We find that T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids in part iii, p. 5 of the *Dialogues of the Buddha* (S. B. B., Vol. IV) have raised this question: who in the oldest period could be an arahat? The answer is: - Anyone - men or women, old or young, lay or *religieux*. They have drawn our attention to a number of lay arahats mentioned in many canonical and non-canonical Pali books. It is distinctly mentioned in the *Milindapañho*³ which is one of the most important Pali books that Nāgasena in reply to the question put to him by King Menander points out that whether he be a layman or recluse, he who attains to the supreme insight, to the supreme conduct

1 Chahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato Bhaliko gahapati ... Sudatto gahapati Anāthapiṇḍiko... Citto gahapati Macchikāsaṇḍiko... Hatthako Alavako ... Mahānāmo Sakko ... Uggo gahapati Vesālīko ... Uggato gahapati ... Sūro Ambaṭṭho ... Jivako Komārabhacco ... Nakulapitṭhako gahapati ... Tavakapṇiko gahapati ... Purāṇo gahapati ... Isidatto gahapati ... Sandhāno gahapati ... Vijayo gahapati ... Vajjiyamahito gahapati ... Meṇḍako gahapati ... Vāsetṭho upāsako, Ariṭṭho upāsako, Sārāggo upāsako Tathāgate niṭṭham gato amataddaso amatam sacchikatvā iriyati (*Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 451; Cf. *Vinaya*, I, 17; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, V, 94; *The Questions of King Milinda*, II., 57, 96, 245; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 308, etc.).

2 Yaso kulaputto, Uttiyo gahapati, Setu māṇavo gihissa byañjanena arahattam pattā, tena vata re vattabbe 'Gihī' ssa Arahā ti.'

3 According to the Burmese tradition the *Milindapañha* is one of the books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* which is included in the *Sutta Piṭaka*, hence a book of the canon (*The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 4).

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of life, he too will win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatsip.¹

"Gihī pi mahārāja sammā paṭipanno ārādhako hoti
 nāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalam, pabbajito pi mahārāja sammā
 paṭipanno ārādhako hoti nāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalam."²

It is clear from this passage that a householder if he leads a religious life may obtain arahatsip which is nirvāṇa. The Milindapañho further points out that whosoever has attained, as a layman, to arahatsip, one of the two courses is left to him and no other—either that very day he enters the order or he dies for, beyond that day he cannot last. (*The Questions of King Milinda, II., p. 96*).

"Yo gihī arahattaṃ patto dve v' assa gatiyo bhavanti, anaññaḥ :
 tasmim yeva divase pabbajati vā parinibbāyati vā, na so divaso
 sakkā atikkametun ti." *Milindapañho*, ed. by Trenckner, pp. 264-
 265).

And all they who as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good Nirvāṇa,—all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; and so now even as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvāṇa (*The Questions of King Milinda, II., p. 253*). T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids remark in their introduction to the Pāṭika Suttanta that when laymen had experienced the mental change called becoming an Arahant, the natural result, under the conditions prevailing in Northern India in the 6th or 5th Centuries B.C., would be that he would become a *religieux*, and this may have been sufficient reason for such opinions as those expressed in the Kathāvatthu and the Milinda having, in the course of centuries, grown up, (*S. B. B., Vol. IV., Dialogues of the Buddha, III, pp. 5-6*). In the Dhammpada we find that the verse 23 of the

1 *The Questions of King Milinda, II., p. 58. (SBE).*

2 *Milindapañho, Ed. by Trenckner. p. 243,*

Appamādevagga refers to the learned, meditative, steadfast and always firm in their determination having obtained nirvāṇa. The verse 226 of the same work mentions that those who are always watchful, study day and night and who strive after nirvāṇa, their passions will come to an end. The verse 289 refers to a wise and well-behaved man who should quickly clear the way leading to nirvāṇa. All such verses of the Dhammapada point out that a layman or monk may obtain nirvāṇa.

Another interesting point which should attract our attention is whether there be any such precept prescribed for the laity as we find prescribed for the monks. A layman with trusting heart (pasanna-citto) while leading a household life should observe the following precepts:—

1. pāṇātipātāveramaṇī, avoidance of life slaughter,
2. Adinnādānāveramaṇī, abstinence from stealing,
3. Kāmesumicchācārāveramaṇī, abstinence from evil conduct in respect of sensual pleasures,
4. musāvādāveramaṇī, abstinence from speaking falsehood,
5. surā-meraya-majja-pamādatṭhānāveramaṇī, abstinence from taking strong, intoxicating and maddening drinks.¹

It is curious to note that among the ten precepts prescribed for regulating the conduct of the Buddhist monks, only five mentioned above are meant for the householders. Some are under the impression that it is not possible for a householder to observe these

1. "Yo kho brāhmaṇa pasanna-citto sikkhā-padāni samādiyati, — pāṇātipātā veramaṇī, adinnādānā veramaṇī, kāmesu micchārā veramaṇī, musā - vādā veramaṇī, surā - meraya - majja - pamādatṭhāna veramaṇī — ayaṃ kho brāhmaṇa yaṇṇo imāya ca ti — vidhāya yaṇṇa - sampadāya solasa — parikkhārāya iminā ca nicca - dānena anukūla - yaṇṇena iminā ca vihāra - dānena imehi ca saraṇāgamanehi appaṭṭhataro ca appasamārabbhataro ca mahapphalataro ca mahā - nisaṃsataro cā ti." *Kūṭadanta Sutt-Dīgha Nikāya*, I., p. 146; cf. also the *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which is also called the *Vinaya of the Houseman*, S. B. B., Vol. IV., p. 169.

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precepts. We are at a loss to understand why the observance of these precepts is not practicable in the case of a householder, rather it is difficult for him deeply engrossed in worldly affairs. Surely this is the course of conduct laid down for the ordinary Buddhist layman contained in the Gahapati-vaggas found in the various Nikāyas.¹

1. cf. Introduction to the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, S. B. B., Vol. II., p. 63,

TYPICAL PROBLEMS OF HINDU MATHEMATICS

BY

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In this paper we shall deal with a few of the typical problems of Hindu mathematics which, it is apparent, had their origin in practical applications of mathematics to questions of real life. But the problems, starting as practical cases, underwent different variations in later times for the reason, put in a nutshell by Smith, that "there is an interesting law of book writers that most of them would steal from one another without the least scruple if they can thinly veil the theft".¹ As has been pointed out by his student Vera Sanford, there is however some justifications for it, for no mathematical principle is a monopoly of any mathematician.² The many metamorphoses will also be within the scope of each type of our problems.

The purpose of the study is to show one of the distinctive features of Hindu mathematics. Furthermore, there are certain problems which are found to be in common with many nations which show an inter-relation amongst ancient peoples that is very significant to the students of primitive culture.

But the materials pertinent to the study of the history of our problems are so very limited that it has become practically an impossibility to ascertain the time, place and the cause of the origin of a problem. In fact we have no work earlier than the seventh century which deals with problems although it must at the same time be said that there was a regular culture of mathematics amongst the Hindus from an earlier time. We should therefore be strictly cautious in forming our judgments from the

1 Smith — "On the origin of certain typical problems" *American Math. Monthly*, xxiv. No. 2, February 1917, p. 65.

2 Vera Sanford — "The History and significance of certain standard problems in Algebra," Teacher's College, Columbia University, New York, 1927, p. 79.

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external evidences as available under the present state of research, on the relation between two nations, considering that some of them might be apt illustrations of *argumentum ex silentio* which had led to many accidents in history. As such, some problems which appear to us with a stamp of foreign influence might be genuine products of Hindu brain without our knowing of the fact. Some of our remarks are therefore provisional and the excuse still for completing the theses is in the hope that it will attract the attention of the future workers and save at least some amount of labour of the more successful researcher

The first of these problems, without which an arithmetic of to-day, might by some be thought to be incomplete and which is likely to retain its honourable position, as it illustrates a valuable mathematical principle is based upon the reduction of fractional differences. These problems to whose origin and development, I wish to direct special attention, appears first in definite form in the *Trīśatikā* of Śrīdhara (c. 750 A. D.) as 'a rule of the pole' -- "One-half, one-sixth and one-twelfth parts of a pole are immersed in water, clay and sand respectively. Two *hastas* are visible. Find the height of the pole."¹ It also appears in one of the great mathematical classics of India, the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* of Mahāvīra (c. 850 A. D.).² As to the origin of the problem, any one familiar with the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya cannot fail to recognise that it originated in connection with architecture at least as early as the 4th century B. C. In this work we find a rule included under the "Construction of Forts" that "in fixing a pillar, six parts are to form its height on the floor, twice as much to be entered into the ground and one-fourth for its capital".³ Kaye suspected⁴ that the problem originated on the banks of the river Nile, as if there was no river in India.

1 *Bib. Math.* (3) xiii, p. 211.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, of Mahāvīra, Rangaacharya's Ed. p. 71.

3 Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* — R. Sham Shastri's Ed. p. 69.

4 *Bib. Math.* (3) xiii, p. 211.

Problems in general, have many variants and the one under consideration, is no exception to the rule. One of them most interesting and so devised in their effort to make problems represent cases that actually happen, was to find the numbers of pearls in a necklace which was broken in an amorous struggle. The problem appears in *Trisatikā*¹, *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*² and *Manorañjana*, a commentary of Bhāskara's *Lilāvati*³, where it is stated as "the third part of a necklace of pearls, broken in an amorous struggle, fell to the ground, its fifth part rested on the couch, the sixth part was saved by the wench and the tenth part was taken up by her lover, six pearls remained strung. Say of how many pearls the necklace was composed".

Another variant as found in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*⁴ and the *Lilāvati*⁵ is "Out of a swarm of bees, one-fifth part settled on the blossom of Kadamba and one-third on a flower of Silindhri, three times the difference of those numbers flew to the bloom of a Kuṭaja. One bee, which remained, hovered and flew about in the air, allured at the same moment by the pleasing fragrance of a Jasmin and pandanus. Tell me, charming woman, the number of bees."

It is interesting to note that the very same problem has been repeated elsewhere in the *Lilāvati*⁶ with some modification to illustrate the principle of assimilation of roots co-efficient, thereby transforming the equation from a simple one to a variety of quadratic. The problem as it stands in its modified form is: "The square-root of half the number of a swarm of bees is gone to a shrub of jasmin and so are eight-ninth of the whole swarm, a female is buzzing to one remaining male that is humming within a lotus, in which he is confined, having been allured to

1 *Trisatikā* Ed. Sudhākara Dvivedi, Benares. Rule 50.

2 Rangacharya's Edition, iv. 17-22.

3 Colebrook — *Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration from the Sanskrit of Brahmagupta and Bhasāra* Lond. 1815; to be hereafter called Colebrook.

4 iv. 6.

5 iii. 54.

6 Colebrook's Translation, *Lilāvati* 68.

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it by its fragrance at night. Say, lovely woman, the number of bees."

The next set of problems as found for the first time in the Bākhsāli Ms. is that of the forward and backward motions. The problem is : "A boat goes $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a yojana plus $\frac{1}{3}$ less $\frac{1}{4}$ in $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a day, but then it is driven back by the wind $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{5}$ of a yojana in $\frac{1}{8}$ of 3 days. In what time will it travel one hundred and eight yojanas".¹ Mahāvira gave the variant "In the course of $\frac{3}{7}$ of a day a boat traverses $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Krośa. State in what time will it have advanced 99 yojanas, thou who hast powerful arms in crossing easily the ocean in numbers".²

Prithudak Swami (864 A.D.) gives another variant of the problem³ :—"A white ant advances 8 barley corns less $\frac{1}{5}$ part of that amount in a day and returns the 20th part of a finger in three days. In what space of time will one, whose progress is governed by these rates of advancing and retarding, proceed one hundred yojana". This problem seems to have originated with the Hindus which was taken to Europe by Fibonacci in 1202 A.D., who depending upon some Arabic source, did much to make known the Hindu arithmetic there. The variant appears in the form⁴ :—"There is a lion in a well whose depth is 50 palms. He climbs $\frac{1}{7}$ of a palm daily and slips back $\frac{1}{9}$ of a palm. In how many days will he get out of a well?"

The next problems that attract our attention are those that deal with rate-time-distance. The simplest type of these problems deal with the computation of distance traversed or the time required to travel a fixed distance from the observation of a uniform rate of motion. There is in the Bākhsāli Ms.⁵, "Something travels 3 yavas a day. How long will it take to go five yojanas". A similar problem occurs in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* of Mahāvira⁶ "A lame man walks over $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Krośa together

1 Kaye's Ed. of Bākh. Ms. p. 51.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. V. 23-31.

3 Colebrook's Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration, p. 283.

4 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 63.

5 Kaye's Bākh. Ms. p. 37.

6 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. v. 4.

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with $\frac{1}{5}$ thereof in $71\frac{1}{2}$ days. Say what (distance) he (goes over) in $3\frac{1}{5}$ years (at this rate)."

The application of the idea to simplest astronomical problems, was another variant of the problem. In the Bākhsālī work we have two problems¹ :— "The Sun travels 500,000,000 yojans in a day. State with certainty the amount of progress in one ghaṭikā." "The Sun's chariot is guided by the god Mahorāga among the Siddhas and Vidyādhari. The clever scientist says that according to the general rule, it travels half a hundred Koṭi in a day and night. Tell me, O best of the calculators, what it will go in one muhūrta."

"The actual basis of these problems" supposes Vera Sanford² "may be traced to the use of pace-scales in the ancient world, particularly by Alexander whose official pacers measured the distances between towns and villas in mapping his empire."

This suggestion, however, seems to me not to represent the true view. Several centuries before Alexander, the idea was applied by the Hindus in astronomy. In the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, we have several rules the rationale of which is the "rate-time-distance" law. For instance we have a rule which gives the period, for which the Moon remains in one Nakṣatra (asterism) to be 1 day 7 kalās. The rationale of this however is that if in a 5 years' cycle the Moon passes through 1809 asterisms and if the total number of day in a 5 years' cycle is 1830, what is the time required to traverse 1 Nakṣatra³? Again there is another rule where the distance traversed in a particular time is to be found out. The rule is to find the place of the Sun on a particular lunar day. The rule is $P + \frac{11P}{124} + \frac{9T}{124}$ where P means Pārvan (fortnight), T stands for Tithi or the lunar day. The rationale of the rule is that if in a cycle the Sun traverses 135 Nakṣatras, the pārvans of the Moon is 124, what is the Nakṣatra on a particular pārvan⁴?

1 Kaye's Bākh. Ms. p. 51.

2 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 71.

3 Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, Sudhākara's Ed. p. 13.

4 Ibid. p. 22.

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The more complicated problems based on this principle are those that deal with the computation of motions of more than one thing. These problems, too, represent practical cases and have a history of wide travels. Furthermore, they are interesting from the standpoint of scientific mathematics. In its purely mathematical form it first appears in the Bākhsālī Ms. (early centuries of Christian era), "A travel at a certain rate r_1 for a number of days T and then B starts at a daily rate r_2 . When will A and B have travelled equal distances¹?"

A similar problem is also repeated in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*² :— "A certain person travels at the rate of 9 yojanas (a day) and 100 yojanas have already been gone over by him. Now, a messenger sent after him, goes at the rate of 13 yojanas (a day). In how many days will this messenger meet?"

Such problems have been found in China in the "Arithmetic of nine sections" (3rd century B. C.) as "A hare runs 100 paces ahead of a dog. The latter pursues the former for 250 paces, when the two are 30 paces apart. In how many further paces will the two come together³?"

"In Europe it appears, however, among the propositions ad acuendos jubenēs attributed to Alcuin, (8th century) in the form of hound pursuing the hare and thereafter it was looked upon as one of the stock questions of European mathematics. I have run across it in Italian manuscripts of c. 1440, it is in Petzensteiner's work of 1483, Calandri used it in 1491, Pacioli gives it in his Summa of 1494, and most of the writers of any prominence in the sixteenth century embodied it in their lists" so said Smith.⁴

There is another such problem found in the Bākhsālī Ms. a similar to which appears in Cardan's *practica arithmetice* (1539). The Indian problem is "A travels at a distance a_1 the first day, $a_1 + d$ the second day and so on; B travels a_2 the first day $a_2 + d_2$ the second day and so on. When will they have travelled equal distances⁵?"

1 Kaye's Bākh. Ms. p. 43, Art. 83 (i).

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vi, 337¹/₂.

3 Mikami - *Development of mathematics in China and Japan*, p. 16,

4 On the origin of typical problems, Loc. cit. p. 70.

5 Kaye's Bākh. Ms. p. 43 Art. 83 (2),

Cardan's problem was : " It is 100 miles from Florence to Rome. Four companions start from Florence to go to Rome. The first goes 1 mile the first day, 2 the second, 3 the next increasing by a mile each day. The second goes 1 mile the first day, 3 the second, 5 the third, increasing by 2 miles a day. The 3rd goes 2 the first, 4 the second, 6 the third, increasing by 2 miles a day. The fourth goes 4 miles the first day, 8 the second, 12 the third, increasing by 4 miles each day. If they wish to reach Rome together, how many days after the first should each start¹ ? "

It has already been pointed out by Vera Sanford that another variant was the application of the idea to conjunction of two planets, which in India began from Bhāskara I (522 A. D.)², and which was discussed by Trenchant, Cardan and Vender Hricke in the sixteenth century in Europe.³

The origin of this type of problems has often been traced to Zeno's paradox. The appearance of the hare problem in the " Nine sections " however puts it to an earlier date. But it appears that none of the two above mentioned views is correct. There is another variant of the problem as to the occurrence of the new moon. The astronomical cycles, too, involve the idea of finding the interval when the Sun and the Moon, starting from the same place, will meet again at the same place. These last variants were known to the civilised world many centuries before Zero's paradox or the " nine sections ". The earliest applications of these can be traced to the Caldeans and the oldest Indian reference is in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (1200 B. C.).

The next problems that we shall discuss are those on progression. The standard illustrations of the problems that depend on the idea of progression, both arithmetic and geometrical, are the problems of gift. Thus for instance, problems on A. P. in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha*⁴ " A certain excellent Śrāvaka gave

1 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit p. 73.

2 Vera Sanford and others attributed to Brahmagupta (628) the credit for the first application of the idea. But now it is known that it was first applied by Bhāskara I (522).

3 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 74 & 75.

4 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha*, II, 66.

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gems in offering to 5 temples (one after another). Commencing the offering with 2 (gems) and then increasing (it successively) by 3 (gems) O you ! who know how to calculate, mention what their total number is." Exactly similar problems were given by Prithudak¹ : "The king bestowed gold continually on venerable priests during three days and ninth part giving one and a half (bhāras) with a daily increase of a quarter. What were the mean, the last term and the total."

Another problem was : "A man gave his son-in-law sixteen pānas the first day, and diminished the presents by two a day. If thou be conversant with progression, say how many had he bestowed when the ninth day was past ?"

Bhāskara too gives such problems³ :

"A person having given four drammas to priests on the first day, proceeded, my friend, to distribute daily alms at a rate increasing by five a day. Say quickly how many were given by him in half a month."

"A person gave three drammas on the first day, and continued to distribute alms increasing by two a day and he thus bestowed on the priest three hundred and sixty drammas. Say quickly in how many days."

The elements of the problem in G. P. are also the same i. e. they are also based on gift where however the gift progresses geometrically. Thus Mahāvīra gives⁴ : "Having first obtained 2 gold coins (in some city) a man goes from city to city, earning everywhere three times. Say how much he will make in the eighth city?" Prithudak Swami gives⁵ "How much is given in ten days, by one, who bestows six with a threefold increase daily?"

In the *Līlāvati*,⁶ we find : "A person gave a mendicant a

1 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 290.

2 Ibid, p. 290.

3 Ibid. Rule 120 of *Līlāvati*.

4 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha* II, 96-99.

5 Colebrook, p. 291.

6 Ibid. translation of *Līlāvati*, Rule 128.

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couple of cowry shells first and promised a twofold increase of the alms daily. How many *niṣkas* does he give in a month ? ”

Similar problems in A. P. based on gift is found in Europe in the works of the 16th century and onwards. Thus in Clavius (1583)¹ we find : “ An emperor promises 100 scundi to the last of his 20 captains to scale the enemy’s wall, 130 to the one who is next to the last, 160 to the one next before that and so on. The question is how much did he give in his rewards and how much did the first captain give ? ”

There is another problem on A. P. found in Prithudak Swami’s commentary where the prices of the couch shells are progressive arithmetically : “ Tell the price of the 7th couch, the first one being worth six *pānas*, and the rest increasing by a *pāna* ² ? ”

After the penetration of oriental ideas in Europe, particularly when Hindu mathematics became well-known Buteo (1526) gave a similar problem with a modification to illustrate geometrical progression. It may be doubted that the problem of Buteo was taken from some lost work on Hindu mathematics or even it may be that the Problem of A. P. was borrowed with an attempt to conceal the fact of borrowal.

There is another type of problem in Hindu mathematics often used to find the sum of the squares of the natural numbers. Thus in Prithudak Swami³ we find : “ To find the contents of a pile of quadrates with period 5. (Having one at the top and the length and breadth increasing by one in each successive layer) ”. We find also in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* of Mahāvīra⁴ : “ There is constructed an equilateral quadrilateral structure consisting of 5 layers. The topmost layer is made up of one brick. O you, who know the calculation of mixed problems, tell me how many bricks are there ? ”

China shows itself in the variant given by Chen Huo (1011-1075) who states that the uppermost layer consists of 2 kegs and

1 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. 57.

2 Colebrook, p. 290.

3 Colebrook, p. 293.

4 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, Rule 331^{1/2}.

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the lowest of 12 kegs, there are 11 layers. To find the number of kegs. Ans. 649.¹

Another type of problem that pleased the attention of our fore-fathers was that of apportionment of shares in proportion to capital. In the work of Brahmagupta (628 A. D.) although we do not find any problem of this nature, there is however a rule by which such problems are to be solved. The rule in question is: "The contributions taken into profit divided by the sum of the contributions are the several gains; or if there be subtractive or additive differences into the profit increased or decreased by the differences and the product has the corresponding difference subtracted or added".² His commentator Prithudak dictated a problem to illustrate the rule. His problem was "A horse was purchased with the principal sums, one &c. upto nine, dealers in partnership and was sold by them for five less than five hundred. Tell me, what was each man's share of the mixt amount".³ Similar problems also occur in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha*,⁴ *Trīśatikā*⁵ and *Līlāvati*.⁶

The actual basis of these problems may be traced to an universal custom, the oldest Indian reference of which is found in the 4th century B. C. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, we find a direction that "shares may be allotted in proportion to.....or to the capital invested".⁷

Like many other problems, this too touched the eyes of the European scholars of the Renaissance period. Fibonacci (1202) of whom we already remarked to have indirectly borrowed from some Indian work, gave a typical form of these problems:⁸ "Two men form a partnership. One contributes 18 pounds, the other 25. The profits are 7 pound. What is the share of each?

1 Mikami. *Development of mathematics in China and Japan*, p. 62.

2 and 3 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 288.

4 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha*, vi, 86½/2.

5 *Bib. Math*, Loc. cit. Art. 93 of *Līlāvati*.

6 Colebrook, Loc. cit. Art. 93 of *Līlāvati*.

7 Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Tr. of R. Sham Shastri, p. 209.

8 Vera Sanford, p. 43.

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There was another of type problem which may be said to be typical to Hindu mathematics. These are problems for arriving at certain results in required proportion. This type of problems occurs in *Trisatikā*¹ (c. 750 A. D.), *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha* (850 A. D.)² and in the *Līlāvati* (1150 A. D.)³. The problem as it occurs in the *Līlāvati* is as follows:—"If three and a half manas of rice may be had for one *dramma* and eight of kidney beans for the like price, take these thirteen *cacinis*, merchant! and give me two parts of rice and one of kidney beans, for we must take a hasty meal and depart, since my companions will proceed onwards."

We next come to another type of problems which treats of arriving at equal amounts of wealth, after mutually exchanging any desired amount. These problems can be traced from the Bākhsālī Ms and are found to have occurred in the *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha* and the *Līlāvati*. A typical form is:—"One possesses seven horses, another nine mules and a third ten camels. Each gives one of his animals to each of the others and then their possessions become of equal value."⁴

Another variant of these problems is on the presentation of the gems. The problem in the *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha* is:—"The first man had 6 azure blue gems, the second man had 7 emeralds and the other—the third man—had 8 diamonds. Each one giving to each the value of a single gem, became equal to others. What is the value of the gem of each variety?"⁵ That of *Līlāvati* is: "Four jewellers possessing respectively 8 rubies, 10 sapphires, a hundred pearls and five diamonds, presented each from his own stock, one a piece to the others in token of regard and gratification at meeting and they thus became owners of stock of precisely equal value. Tell me friend, what are the prices of the gems respectively."⁶

1 *Bib. Math.* Loc. cit. p. 212, Art. 38.

2 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. Rule 90¹/₂ and 91¹/₂,

3 Colebrook, Loc. cit. *Līlā.* 97, Vij. 115.

4 Kaye's Ed. of Bākh Ms. p. 41.

5 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. vi. 164.

6 Colebrook, Loc. cit. 99 of *Līlāvati* O/o Vij. 111.

13 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

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Problems on Remainder theorems, as it transpires from the available evidences, originated with the Chinese. Its earliest treatment that can be traced to any Hindu work is in that of Āryabhaṭa. In later works it is found in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*: "When divided by 2 the remainder is 1, when by 3 it is 2, when by 4 it is 3, when by 5 it is 4. Tell me O friend ! wha the heap is ?" ¹ Next we find in the *Vijagaṇita* of Bhāskara "What number is it which being divided by six has five for the remainder, or divided by five has a residue of four, or divided by three leaves two ?" ²

The Chinese problem, the earliest trace of which is found in the *Sun-Tsu Suan-Ching* (58-75 A. D.), is stated as: "There are certain things whose number is unknown. Repeatedly divided by 8 the remainder is 2, by 5 the remainder is 3 and by 7 the remainder is 2. What will be the number ?" ³

This chronological sequence, however, speaks of the Chinese origin of the problem. But there are some reasons to believe that the Chinese obtained the problem from some other sources. Prof. Gino Loria rightly points out that the problem lies in the midst of a collection of problems, without the slightest indication, that Sun-Tsu regards the problem as more interesting or valuable than its trivial companions.⁴ Prof. Mikami, too, shares the same opinion. What is this source ? In the absence of any other evidence, it may be conjectured that this source must be some lost Buddhist work. There are two reasons, however, to support it and the first of them is that "All the subjects treated by Sun-Tsu were those that had been given in the "Arithmetic in nine sections", but the problem of indeterminate analysis first appeared in the above in Sun-Tsu. The second reason is embodied in the fact that the work contains some such as "Chang-an" and "Lo-yang" and "Buddhist works" all of which are assuredly of no origin of Pre-Chin era, "but that it was written after Buddhism was introduced into China." ⁵

1 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. vi, 123½.

2 Colebrook, *Vijagaṇita*, 160,

3 Mikami's work, Loc. cit, p, 32

4 Gino Loria, Debt of Mathematics to Chinese people". *The Scientific Monthly*, June 1927.

5 See Mikami's work, Loc. cit, p. 25.

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The last problem in Algebra which I shall undertake, to investigate the origin of, is based upon the application of indeterminate equation to a problem commonly known as that of "Hundred Fowls". Problems, bearing the same mathematical idea, appear in the Indian mathematical works from the early centuries of the Christian era. We have, for instance, in the Bākhsālī work, nearly complete statement and solution to the following pair of equations¹ :—

$$x + y + z = 20.$$

$$3x + \frac{2}{3}y + \frac{1}{2}z = 20.$$

of which the only solution in positive integers is $x = 2, y = 5, z = 13$. In Mahāvīra, we find the problem in the following form² :—"Pigeons are sold at the rate of 5 for 3 (Pānas), Sārāsā birds at the rate of 7 for 5 (Pānas) and peacocks at the rate of 3 for 9 (Pānas). A certain man was told to bring at these rates 100 birds for 100 Pānas for the amusement of the king's son and was sent to do so. What (amount) does he give for each (of the various kinds of birds that he buys)?" Bhāskara, too, gave exactly the same problem in his *Vijagaṇita*.³

In china the problem was given by Chang-Chin-Chien (6th century A. D.).⁴ About 900 A. D. it was pretty fully treated by Abu-Kāmel Al-Misrī who gives some six problems, varying from three to five terms and attempts to find all the integral solutions.⁵ In Europe, the problem made its appearance for the first time in the 8th century and was given by Alcuin.⁶

As to the origin of the problem, Prof. Smith's suggestion that "the problem originated in the East"⁷ deserves appreciation. But his suggestion that the problem found its way into India from China, seems to be another apt illustration of *argumentum*

1 Kaye's Ed. of Bākh. p. 42, Art. 80.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vi. 152.

3 Colebrook, Loc. cit. *Vijagaṇita*, 158.

See Mikami's work, Loc. cit. p. 43.

5 See Dickson. *Theory of numbers* II. p. 77.

6 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 93.

7 Smith — *History of Math.* II. 586,

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ex silentio. True it is, we have no direct evidence to show that the problem is of Indian origin by establishing the priority of its appearance in India, except the solution of similar problems in the Bakhshali Ms, which is believed with good reasons by authorities like Hoernle¹ and Dr. Datta² to be a work of the early centuries of the Christian era. The problem, on the other hand, with its solution occurs in such a way that the Chinese do not appear to have understood the mystery of the analysis of this kind. This strongly suggests that they obtained the problem with its solution from some other source. The determination of this source would be an important piece of work and what I can point out in this connection is that earlier than the sixth century it were the Hindus only that arrived at a general solution of the linear indeterminate equation.³

In Geometry, there are certain problems whose place and time of origin, we cannot ascertain today. But the fact of their appearance in the works of Prithudak and Mahāvīra who lived at the same time, but in parts of India widely separated from each other show that they were ancient problems and became typical to Hindu mathematics by ninth century. These problems are:—

1. What is the area of an isosceles triangle the base of which is 10 and the sides 13 ?⁴
2. What is the area of a scalene triangle, the base of which is 14 and the sides 13+15 ?⁵
3. From a tree 100 cubits high, an ape descended and went to a pond 200 cubit distant, while another ape vaulting to some height off the tree proceeded with velocity diagonally to the same spot. If the space travelled by them be equal, tell me quickly

1 *Ind. Antiq.* xvii, p. 36.

2 *Bākh. Math. Bull. Cal. Math. Soc.* xxi. p. 57. Reprint, p. 57.

3 *Āryabhaṭīyam Gaṇitapāda*, Verses 33-34.

4 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 295, *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii. 52.

5 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 295, comp. *Trīṣatikā*, Sudhākara's Edition, 81 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii. 10, 53,

learned man, the height of the leap, if thou have diligently studied calculation.¹

Three other problems are found to have occurred in Prithudak Swami's commentary and Śrīdhara's *Trisatikā*. These problems also seem to be typical to Hindu mathematics. These are:—

1. What is the area of a quadrilateral having three equal sides 25 and base 39 ?
2. What is the area of a quadrilateral with two equal sides thirteen, base fourteen and summit four ?²
3. Tell the gross area of a trapezium, of which the base is sixty, the summit twenty-five and the fifty-two and thirty-nine.⁴

Two other problems in Geometry, on the mis-called Pythagorean theorem, highly speaks of India's cultural relation with her neighbour China. These two problems are:—

1. If a bamboo, measuring 32 cubit and standing upon a level ground, be broken in one place, by a force of the wind, and the tip of it meet the ground at 16 cubit, say mathematician, at how many cubits from the root is it broken ?⁵
2. In a certain lake with ruddy geese and cranes, the tip of a bud of lotus was seen a span above the surface of the water. Forced by the wind, it gradually advanced and was submerged at the distance of two cubits. Compute quickly, mathematician, the depth of water.⁶

1 Colebrook, Loc. cit. see 155 of *Līlāvati*, 39 of Brahmagupta (Problem given by the com.). *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii, 190¹/2 – 200¹/2.

2 Colebrook, p. 296, *Trisatikā*, Sudhākara's Ed. Ex. 79.

3 *Ibid.* p. 296. *Ibid.* Ex. 78

4 *Ibid.* *Ibid.* Ex. 80.

5 Colebrook, Loc. cit. 148 of *Līlāvati*. Art 41 of Brahmagupta. (The Problem is given by commentator). *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii, 192¹/2. Mikāmi's work, Loc. cit. p. 23

6 Colebrook, Loc. cit. 153 of *Līlāvati*, 41 of Brahmagupta (commentator's note), Mikāmi's work, p. 22.

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These problems are found to have appeared in China in the third century B. C. in the *Chiu-Chang Suan-Shu* which seem to speak of a Chinese influence on Hindu mathematics. But I have elsewhere¹ shown that it does not seem that the Indian borrowed only one problem (this one) from the Chinese which if it be true, would be the only instance of Indian indebtedness to China in a cultural relation of these two nations extending over such a long period and in so varied branches of learning.

1 Self. "Relation of Hindu and Chinese mathematics." — A typed copy is preserved in the Controller's office, C. U. (Thesis to which the Griffith's Memorial Prize was adjudged).

NĀGARA APABHRAMŚA AND NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

BY

PROF. N. B. DIVATIA, B. A.

The March and April numbers of this year's Indian Antiquary contain an extremely interesting and enlightening article on "The Nāgar Brāhmīns and the Bengal Kāyasthas", contributed by Dr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar. There are two incidental statements in that article which at once arrest attention and challenge inquiry. They are as under :—

- (a) "He (i. e. Hemacandra) not only mentions, but also describes and illustrates, Nāgara Apabhramśa." (Ind. Ant. April 1932, p. 66)
- (b) "As a matter of fact, the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas to this day use the Nāgarī script though they live in Gujarat and Kathiawar, surrounded by people who employ nothing but the Gujarati character for their vernacular." (Ibid, p. 67)

I shall take up (b) first, it being comparatively a smaller issue. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regards this as a *most noteworthy fact*; and so it would be. But is it a fact at all? To me who am a Nāgara of Ahmedabad and for over half a century in permanent touch with the Nāgaras of Gujarat and Kathiavad, the statement comes quite as news to me. On reading it I rubbed my eyes more than once, questioned several Nāgaras of Gujarat and Kathiavad and they all expressed unqualified surprise at the statement. I have with me my father's writing in letters, diaries, manuscripts of his works etc.; they are all in current Gujarati script. This would carry us back to over a century (my father died in 1886 at the age of 63). The experience of the other members of my community must be similar. [I may state incidentally that during Persian influence from Delhi there were Nāgaras of Ahmedabad who wrote the *gāyatrī mantra* (तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवाक्यमभिधत्तवः) in the Persian script!] If Dr. Bhandarkar received occasional letters in Devanāgarī character

written by correspondents from Gujarat Kathiavad, for instance persons like the late Vallabhaji Haridatta Ācārya of Junagadh, who may have used that script in the hope of being understood by a Maratha Brāhmaṇa, it would be dangerous to generalize on such meagre data. If Dr. Bhandarkar has any extensive evidence on this point I should be delighted to know it. For a greater issue depends on the correct answer on this point: viz. That the name Nāgarī Script was given to it because the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas used it. I do not forget the proper value of the several facts advanced by Dr. Bhandarkar as to the existence of the name Nāgarī for the script through several centuries, even since the time when, in the middle of the fifth century, the Jain religious work, Nandī-Sūtra was written, - which includes Nāgarī as one of the eighteen scripts learned by the Tirthamkara Rṣabhadeva. But to connect this mention with the Nāgara Caste involves an unwarranted jump. I would only ask one question: what about the name, *Devanāgarī* for the script? Whence came the first member, *Deva*, in this compound? And how do we connect it with the Nāgara Caste? May not the name *Nāgarī* have been but a natural abbreviation of the term, *Devanāgarī*? Śāstri Vrajalāla Kālidāsa consistently calls the script *Devanagarī* not *Devanāgarī* in his *Gujarati-Bhāṣā-no-Itihāsa* (pp. 69 ff) written in 1866 A. D. Not being at all acquainted with English he could not have mistaken the nā (in English) for na (in English). This is not without a significance of its own.

It seems that Dr. Bhandarkar's basis for his statement is, after all, an earlier assertion (more or less unwarranted) made by Sir George Grierson. Thus, Sir George in the L. S. I. vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 327, n. 2, says: "At the present day, they (i. e. the Nāgaras) employ the Nāgarī and not the Gujarati character for their writings."

Again at p. 338 (para 4) of the same work Sir George says:

"Two alphabets are employed for writing Gujarati. One is the ordinary Devanāgarī. It is not much used now-a-days, *except by special tribes, such as the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas*, but the first printed Gujarati books were in that character. The other script is known as the Gujarati alphabet, and is the one in general use."

Once again, at p. 378 in introducing a specimen of what he quaintly calls Nāgarī-Gujarati" (a dialect which does not really exist), he repeats the assertion thus :

"At the present day they employ the Devanāgarī, and not the Gujarati character, as will be seen from the specimen annexed."

The specimen is printed (probably as received) in Devanāgarī. The locus for this so-called Nāgarī Gujarati is given at the top of the specimen as "Bombay Town and Island." Such a locus for this specimen is really strange. Evidently someone, for reasons best known to himself, sent this specimen written in this character. I repeat with all the emphasis I can command that to me, a Nāgara alive and with over 70 years behind me, this assertion, which gains nothing by repetition, is entirely opposed to facts. I may incidentally mention that the first printed Gujarati books were printed in Devanāgarī under certain special circumstances which it would be needless to dilate upon.

Another little point: Dr. Bhandarkar relies mainly on the article on "The Nagars and Nagari Alphabet" (J. A. S. B., LXV, Pt. 1. pp. 114 ff) by Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu. I shall have to deal with an important point in that article soon below. Here I would touch one of Mr. Vasu's statements extracted from that article by Mr. Manshankar P. Mehta in his Gujarati booklet on *Nāgarolpatti*. Referring to p. 124 of that article he tells us that many Nāgara Brāhmanas have been now settled in many parts of the Deccan and they even now *write their religious books in Nāgarī Script*. Well, — what of that? Religious books, presumably in Sanskrit language, would naturally be found written in Nāgarī character. Facts of this nature can render very little help in drawing the required inference. A similar remark would apply to Dr. Bhandarkar's observation based on the fact that the *religious books* of certain Bengal Mahomedans were written in Nāgarī character (p. 67 of Ind. Ant. April 1932).

I may ask one question before I take leave of this part of my article: Sir George Grierson (L. S. I. Vol. IX pt. II. p. 338) mentions the Kāithī script in vogue all over Northern India and says that the Gujarati script closely resembles it. (The plates 1. 2, 3,

in the article on Modern Indian Vernaculars at the end of this April number of Ind. Ant. clearly shows this resemblance, which is more or less close). If this was named after the Kayastha, as presumably it was, and if the Kayasthas, as so well demonstrated by Dr. Bhandarkar, were Nāgaras,—why should the name Nāgarī given to the *bālabodha* script be related to the Nāgaras? Nay, Kāithī script would really have been the script taken along by the Nāgaras with them as human nature's daily food—and not the Nāgarī which naturally would be reserved for occasional use.

It is high time now for taking up the first issue (a).

Well, who really started the myth that Hemacandra treated Nāgara Apabhraṃśa in his grammar? Ever since I saw Sir George Grierson's statements, scattered incidentally over several places, in this connection, I have been wondering what authority Sir George had for stating that Hemacandra treated Nāgara Apabhraṃśa. Here are his statements:—

- (1) "This (i. e. the Nāgara form of Śaurasena Apabhraṃśa) was the Apabhraṃśa with which the grammarian Hemacandra (fl. 12th century A. D.) was acquainted, and which he made the basis of his work on that language." (L. S. I. vol. IX, pt. II p. 327)
- (2) "The close connection of this old Gujarati with the *Gurjara Apabhraṃśa of the Prakrit Grammarians* is remarkable." (Article on the *Mugdhāvabodha Mauktika* (sic? *Auktika*) in J. R. A. S., 1902 p. 537 ff reproduced bodily in L. S. I. vol. IX pt. II, pp. 353-364 (This sentence is found in the opening paragraph of the article).
- (3) In his chapter on Language in the *Census of India Report* (vol. I pt. I chap. VII. 503, p. 305) he calls *Gaurjari* a dialect of *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa* parent of modern Gujarati.

Now, Hemacandra has nowhere in his *Siddha Hemacandra* (Prakrit Section) called his *Apabhraṃśa* by the name *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*. It is therefore not easy to understand Sir George's statement noted in (1) above. The earliest Grammarian who

has spoken of *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* as branches of *Apabhraṃśa* is *Mārkaṇḍeya* (flourished at the earliest about the middle of the 15th century after Hemacandra : see my *Gujarati Language and Literature* vol. I p. 261). In the opening portion of the first *Pāda* of his *Prākṛta Sarvasva*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* says:—

7. नागरा प्राचडश्चोपनागरश्चेति ते त्रयः ।
 अपभ्रंशाः परे सूक्ष्मभेदत्वाच्च पृथङ्मताः ॥
 एषु त्रिष्वन्येषामन्तर्भावं तत्रैव वक्ष्यामः ।

And at the close of his eighteenth *Pāda* he shows this omnibus inclusion by enumerating about twenty various dialects of which *Gaurjarī* is one.

I say *Mārkaṇḍeya* was the earliest grammarian to give the name *Nāgara* to his *Apabhraṃśa*, because he has not been preceded by any other in this statement, so far as can be ascertained. True, *Rāmaśarman* (*Tarkavāgiśa*) agrees word for word with *Mārkaṇḍeya* in his account of the minor *Apabhraṃśas*. But, as Sir George, in his private letter to me, dated 8th December 1924 states the date of *Rāmaśarman* is unknown (to him). He adds :—

“ Either *Mārkaṇḍeya* copied from him or else copied from an earlier writer (? *Laṅkeśvara*), for the account of the minor *Apabhraṃśa* dialects in their two works is almost word for word the same.”

However, in view of the uncertainty of *Rāmaśarman*'s date, and certain internal indications, to be stated later on, that *Mārkaṇḍeya* probably preceded *Rāmaśarman*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* may be regarded as the earliest grammarian of known date who spoke of and treated *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*. In any case Hemacandra cannot be connected with that name (*Nāgara*) for his *Apabhraṃśa*. *Lakṣmīdhara* who, in spite of the variation in the arrangement of his *Sūtras* in his *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*; virtually follows Hemacandra's grammar, speaks of *Apabhraṃśa*, pure and simple, — not *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*. I shall later on show that *Lakṣmīdhara* preceded *Mārkaṇḍeya*. The date accepted by me for *Mārkaṇḍeya* is merely tentative and simply marks the earliest limit. Sir George Grierson, in his letter referred to a little while ago, supports this view. He says there :—

"About the date of Mārkaṇḍeya, I have always admitted that it is doubtful. At present, it all depends on the date of Raja Vira Mukundadeva of Orissa. The best known king of that name flourished about 1664, but there were others of the same name. I am, however, inclined to think that Mārkaṇḍeya cannot have lived many centuries ago, for his village, Birapratāpapura or Birapura is well-known, and there is a field there still associated with his name."

Rāmaśarman, it is true, mentions and treats *Nāgara*, *Vrūcaḍa* and *Upanāgara* varieties of Apabhraṃśa in almost the same way as Mārkaṇḍeya (see the *Apabhraṃśa Stabaka* Ind. Ant. 1923, pp. 2, 3, 4). But as we noted above the date of Rāmaśarman is unknown; and thus it is difficult to dogmatize whether he preceded, or followed Mārkaṇḍeya, or whether both were contemporaries. I shall give reasons later on for the view that Rāmaśarman followed Mārkaṇḍeya. There is, however, a decidedly earlier grammarian, Kramadīśvara (1300 A. D. according to Dr. Belvalkar) who, *just incidentally* mentions *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*; i. e. less than two centuries after Hēmacandra these dialects were known in some parts of India. But a regular treatment of these seems to have been left to Mārkaṇḍeya at least a century and a half later, if we accept his earliest date 1450 A. D. Thus, my contention that Mārkaṇḍeya is the earliest grammarian who mentions and treats *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa* stands.

But Dr. Devadatta takes us far back to 1150 A. D. and accepting Nagendra Natha Vasu's views, places *Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa* in that date and states that he, *Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa*, enumerated 27 Apabhraṃśas two out of which were *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. (Ind. Ant. April 1932 p. 66). [Dr. Devadatta puts the weight of Sir George Grierson's authority in the scale in his favour by referring us to Sir George's statement at p. 152 of Ind. Ant. Vol. XL. All I find there is that Sir George calls N. N. Vasu's article interesting without committing himself to any view about *Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa*, and he again dwells on his obsession that Nāgaras even now write in Nāgarī script.] I shall soon below show that Dr. Devadatta's reliance on Nagendra Natha Vasu's date (1150 A. D.) for *Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa* is but a case of dependence on a very fragile reed. But Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar's next step is not easy to understand: He states :—

"In the same period (as Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa) lived Hemacandra. He not only mentions, but also describes and illustrates the *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*." (Ind. Ant. April 1932 p. 66).

In his foot-note Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar cites as his authority for this statement, Sir George Grierson's L. S. I. vol. IX pt. II p. 327. I have already at the outset of my examination of this issue (a) questioned the correctness of this statement of Sir George, for, I repeat emphatically, Hemacandra has nowhere mentioned, described or illustrated *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*; or, to put it more accurately, Hemacandra has nowhere given to the *Apabhraṃśa* of his grammar the name *Nāgara*.

But, curiously enough, to this specific reliance on Sir George Grierson's statement, Dr. Bhandarkar adds, by a subtle implication which can hardly be called a logical inference or even corollary, a hint that Hemacandra and Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa dealt with *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa* as a subject known commonly to both by some curious mental influence. Anyhow if we can show that this reliance on Nagendra Nath Vasu for the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa is futile, the whole fabric is bound to tumble down. Well, then, what is Nagendra Nath Vasu's authority for 1150 A. D. as the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa?

In his article entitled "*Nāgaras and Nāgarī Alphabet*" (J. A. S. Beng. vol. LXV, 1896 A. D.)—to which Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar refers at page 66 of his article as his authority, Nagendra Nath Vasu states as under:—

P. 116. "About 750 years ago Pandit Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa thus gives an account of different languages in his *Prākṛta Candrikā*:—

(Here follows a list of 27 *Apabhraṃśa* dialects which includes *Upanāgara* and *Nāgara*). It is clear from the above *ślokas* that like the Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, &c. which derived their names from the provinces or their people, the corrupt forms of languages, viz. *Nāgara*, *Upanāgara* and *Daiva* were current in some part of the country whose name they bear."

Foot-note to this is important. It runs thus:—

"Also known under the name of Kṛṣṇa Pandit, son of Narasimha, sprung in the Śeṣa Vamśa. According to Dr. Bhandarkar the

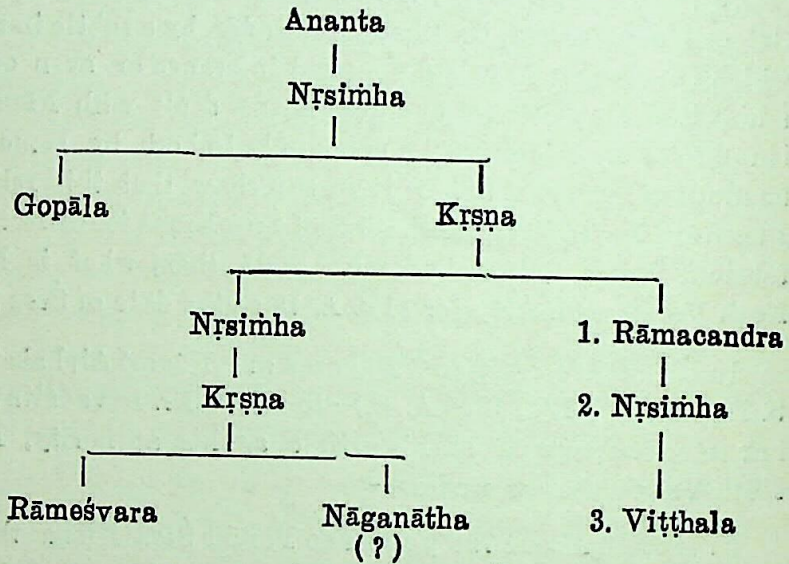
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probable date of Rāmacandra nephew of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa is about 1150 A. D. (R. G. Bhandarkar's Report of Sanskrit Mss. 1883-84, p. 59).

Now on looking up Dr. Bhandarkar's Report relied on by Mr. Vasu, what do I find at p. 59 and p. 60? Dr. Bhandarkar computes that--

- (a) A great grandson of Rāmacandra lived in 1527 A. D.
- (b) Therefore Rāmacandra himself must have lived about 1450 A. D.

The genealogy worked out is as under:--

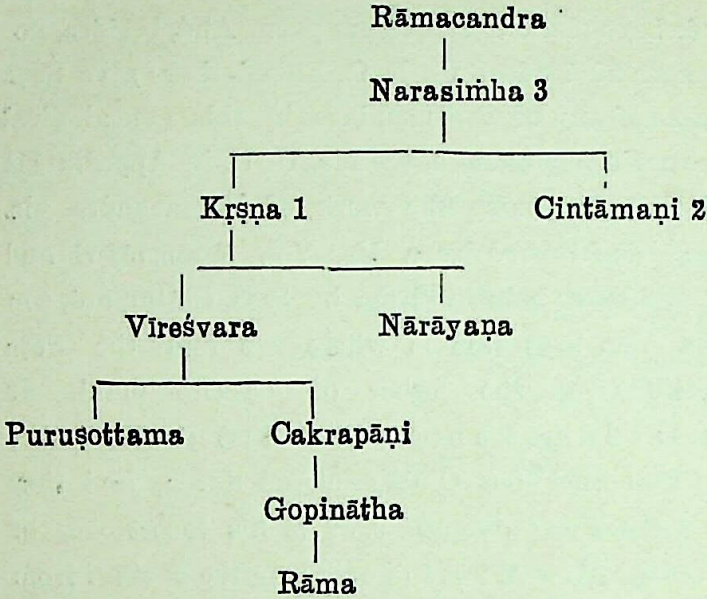


Out of these repetitions of names, one thing which stands out clearly is that Rāmacandra's uncle is not Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa; and that Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar does not give 1150 A.D. but 1450 A. D. as the date of Rāmacandra. Of the two *Nṛsimha sūta* Kṛṣṇas one would be Rāmacandra's father, the other his nephew. In either case they (Kṛṣṇa and Rāmacandra) would not be three centuries apart. How and whence, in the face of 1450 A. D. for Rāmacandra, did Nagendra Nath get 1150 A. D. for (Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa) the nephew, (1096 A. D. year of N. N. Vasu's paper = 1900; 1900 minus 750:

=1150 A. D.), it is beyond me to conjecture even. And, besides, nowhere in these pages 59-60 does Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar give Śeṣa as the family name of any of the members in this genealogical tree. However, curiously enough, the Ms. U. U. in Appedix III of the report (which contains the work of Rāmacandra viz. *Prakriyā Kaumudī*) is followed by a Ms. VV, *Rasamañjarī* and its commentary, the latter being written by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, son of Śeṣa Nṛsimha. In fact this is where we find the Śeṣa family and Nṛsimha as the father of one Cintāmaṇi. It seems that number 1 2 3 are the names for us, that number 2 had, besides Viṭṭhala, two other sons Cintāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa, and that Dr. Bhandarkar's genealogy given at p. 59 of his report was of the Śeṣa family; it is only difficult to guess why the *praśāsti* from which the family tree was constructed omitted the *Vaṃśa* name. It is possible, and I hope permissible, to combine this family tree with another, to be presented later on very soon, and place Cintāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa therefrom as brothers of Viṭṭhala (no. 3) in the above tree.

For, we need no longer wander in the wilds of conjecture. We have conclusive evidence about the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. If Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar had referred to the *Chronological conspectus* placed in the paper pocket of the cover of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's valuable work "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar", he would have seen Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa placed in 1600-1650 A. D. This is not the conclusive evidence which I mean. It is found in an enlightening, lucid, and well arranged article, entitled "The Śeṣas of Benares" written by S. P. V. Raṅganātha Svāmi in Ind. Ant. November 1912 vol. XLI pp. 245 ff. I shall take only salient and pertinent matter therefrom :

The family-tree constructed from the *Sūkti-Ratnākara* of Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa is as below :—



(Notes :— (a) To 1 &—2 (Kṛṣṇa & Cintāmaṇi) I add Viṭṭhala by combining with the tree given in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, as already stated above.

(b) Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar assigns the date 1450 A. D. to Rāmacandra. Raṅganātha Svāmi's article states that Nṛsimha (No. 3) belongs to the first half of the sixteenth century (i. e. about 1550 A. D.) A span of something about one century between father and son would seem too big. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's date is inferential, and we can adjust the difference by shifting the dates a decade or two at each end. However, this process may prove defective after all.

Works of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa

Raṅganātha Svāmi gives a list of 10 or 11 works of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, out of which the following three are noteworthy for our purpose :

(a) प्रक्रियाप्रकाशः A commentary on his grandfather's प्रक्रियाकौस्तुभदी.

Note : This establishes a link between Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's tree and Raṅganātha Svāmi's tree, enabling us to add Viṭṭhala's name among the sons of Nṛsimha; as Viṭṭhala wrote प्रक्रियाकौस्तुभदी-प्रसाद, as his commentary on Rāmacandra's work.

(b) प्राकृतचन्द्रिका— A grammar in metre of what Raṅgasvāmi terms the Jaina Prakrit dialects.

Note :— The dialect, Prakrit, the first of the six is termed आर्ष in this work and it does not treat of Apabhraṃśa as it is an unimportant dialect ; He says :

तच्चार्षं मागधी शौरसेनी पैशाचिकी तथा ।
चूलिका पैशाचिकं चापभ्रंशश्चेति पद्विधम् ॥

And at the end of work he tells us :

अपभ्रंशस्तु यो भेदः पष्ठः सोऽत्र न लक्ष्यते ।

Thus he brushes away Apabhraṃśa as negligible on these grounds :

देशभाषादितुल्यत्वान्नाटकादावदर्शनात् ।
अनत्यन्तोपयोगाच्चातिप्रसङ्गभयादपि ॥

But Nagendra Natha Vasu has quoted the list of 27 dialects given (as he believes) by Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa in his work, wherein he includes Nāgara and Upanāgara as varieties of Apabhraṃśa.

(c) कंसवधम् — A play.

This furnishes conclusive clue to the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. This play No. 6 in the *Kāvyamālā* series, shows in the *Sūtradhāra*'s prologue (*prastāvanā*) that Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa was a contemporary of Giridhara, son of Raja Todarmal, the finance minister of Akbar the Great. Raja Todarmal died in 1586 A. D.; so his son, argues Raṅgasvāmī, must have lived in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa thus flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

How in the face of this clear evidence, can anyone seriously accept the unwarranted date, 1150 A. D.? The range between 1150 and 1625 is so wide that we cannot conceive any element of reconciliation. However let us try to be accurate. The footnote at the beginning of the play says:—

एतन्नाटकं चानेनाकबरमन्त्रिणो राजतंतोडरमल्लनाम्नः पुत्रस्य गोवर्धनधारी-
त्यपरनाम्नो गिरिधारिणः प्रेरणया प्रणीतम् ।

And on this basis the *tippanī*-writer says that the author flourished in Akbar's time in the latter half of the sixteenth century A. D. But in the *prastāvanā* itself the *Sūtradhāra* informs the *Natī* after stating who Giridhara is,

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तेन चाहं सबहुमानमाहूय ससमाजेनादिष्टोऽस्मि ।
 पृथ्वीमण्डलमौलिमण्डनमणिः श्रीमन्तृसिंहात्मजः
 कृत्वा कृष्णकविः कुतूहलवशादस्मासु यन्न्यक्षिपत् ।
 नाट्यं कंसवधाभिधानमधुना तस्य प्रयोगोद्यमं
 विद्वद्राजसमाजमानसमहानन्दाय विन्दामहे ॥

which would show that Giridhārī ordered, — not the composition, but — the performance of *Kaṁsavadham*.

Nevertheless the formalities of a play's *prastāvanā* will explain the apparent discrepancy, and we can take it that the composition was necessarily the result of an invitation from Giridhārī; or at any rate the composition could not be very much earlier than the performance. But once again there is another difficulty in date-fixing. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report p. 60 mentions an unquestioned date, 1527 A. D. (1583 V. S) as the year in which a great grandson of Rāmacandra copied *Prakriyā Kaumudī* of Rāmacandra. Thus Kṛṣṇa, an uncle of this great grandson, could not have lived 60 years after the year of that copy. Some sort of adjustment will be necessary by assuming that Giridhara ordered the play कंसवधम् a good deal before Todarmal's death in 1586 A. D. Thus Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa may have composed the play, say, somewhere about the last quarter of the 16th century; uncle and nephew could very well be contemporaries, and longevity may easily wipe off other differences. And we may accept the last quarter of the sixteenth century or the first quarter of the seventeenth century as the period when Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa flourished. Thus the fixing of such an early date as 1150 A. D. for Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and his reference at that early date to *Nāgara* and *Upnāgara* as varieties out of 27 ones of *Apabhraṁśa* falls to the ground.

Another incidental statement, a virtual reproduction of Sir George Grierson's statements, made by Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar, may be noted and examined. He says (page 66 of his article) :—

"The language which they (i. e. the *Nāgara Brahmanas*) write, it is true, is ordinary Gujarati, with a slightly greater use of Sanskrit words than is met with in the Gujarati of other castes." Nevertheless, "they are said to have a dialect of their own, called *Nāgarī Gujarati*." For the statement in quotation marks he refers

us to Sir George's Linguistic Survey, Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 378. This is all entirely news to me, a Nāgara myself. For, there is nothing like Nāgarī Gujarati so far as I have known, and the specimen of Nāgarī Gujarati given by Sir George at p. 378 carries with it no linguistic or dialectic features peculiar to the Nāgars. Sir George obtained for his work a translation of an extract from the story of the Prodigal Son from some one in the office of the Collector of Customs. Bombay and located, unwarrantedly, the Nāgara dialect in Bombay town and Island, which in no sense is a Nāgara location. I need not quote the passage, for Sir George virtually gives his case away when he says at the same page, (after stating that the Nāgaras are said to have a dialect of their own called Nāgarī Gujarati) :—

"But their language is ordinary Gujarati with a slightly greater use of Sanskrit words than is met with in the Gujarati of other castes" (This, by the way, is like the definition संस्कृताद्व्या गंजरी in Mārkaṇḍeya's omnibus list of dialects.)

There are, no doubt a few formal peculiarities in the speech of Nāgaras in a few localities e. g. Karṇālī on the banks of the Narmadā, Surat (where they are fast dying out) and Benares; they are such forms as करीश for करीशु (future, 1st pers. plural); — करांछां, करछ, for (हुं) करेछे (present tense, 2nd pers., singular), confined to Charotar, which again is disappearing, and a few others. But, one swallow does not make a summer, such stray features do not make a dialect.

Having fairly well fixed the location of *Nāgara* and *Upa-nāgara* in the several grammatical works, let us attempt their relative positions. I shall at first apply two tests :—

- (a) The mention, or treatment, of *Nāgara* and *Upa-nāgara*;
- (b) The recognition of certain special Apabhraṃśa peculiarities.

I give a list of grammarians for easy reference :—

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. (V) Vararuci | 1st quarter of the 4th Century B. C. |
| 2. (H) Hemacandra | 1112 A. D. Apabhraṃśa grammar |

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|---------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| 3. (L) | Lakṣmīdhara | Early part of 13th Century A. D. |
| 4. (Kr) | Kramadīśvara | 1300 A. D. or later |
| 5. (Mk) | Mārkaṇḍeya | 1450 A. D. or later |
| 6. (R) | Ramaśarma | |
| 7. (S) | Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa | 1576 A. D. or thereabouts. |

Before proceeding further, let us try and verify the dates of the above writers. Vararuci's date is fairly trustworthy, as given by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who at p. 301 of his *Wilson Philological Lectures*, accepts the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the period of the Nandas, i. e. to about the first quarter of the fourth century B. C. Dr. Belvalkar practically assigns him to this date.

Hemacandra's date is undoubted. He was born in 1145 V. S. (= 1089 A. D.) and died in 1229 V. S. (= 1173 A. D.). Vrajalāl Kālidās Śāstrī, in his *Gujarati Bhāṣā-no Itihāsa* (p. 40) tells us that Hemacandra wrote his grammar of Apabhraṃśa in V. S. 1168 (= 1112 A. D.).

Lakṣmīdhara—K. P. Trivedi (p. 17 of his Introduction to the (*Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*)) assigns (L) to somewhere before 1532 A. D.

His line of reasoning is this :

"Kumāra Svāmin, son of Mallinātha, quotes Lakṣmīdhara. Mallinātha flourished in the sixteenth century; for one of his verses occurs in an inscription of A. D. 1532. This makes Lakṣmīdhara a contemporary of Mallinātha."

How? I cannot grasp. Assuming that the verse in the inscription is a sure index, all one can say is that Mallinātha flourished *before* 1532, not necessarily in the 16th century. Nor is it quite clear why, because Mallinātha's son quotes (L), he (L) was the father's contemporary.

If we reject K. P. Trivedi's date for (L) and assign the thirteenth century to him, we get over the anomaly created by the fact that (Kr) mentions (ever so much as incidentally) the dialects, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*, while (L) strictly adheres to (H) in his utter silence regarding the two dialects. For (L) follows (H) almost religiously except in a few variations and difference in arrangement. (L) reproduces, though with a varying development, (H)'s erroneous views; thus :—

1. (H) has हुच्च as an *ādeśa* for हृ with प्र as an *upasarga* when the sense is पर्याप्ति (sufficiency). (भुवः पर्याप्तौ द्रव्यः VIII. iv. 390 ; in *Siddha Hemacandra*). The instance given is अहर्णि पदुच्चइ नाहु. Now पदुच्चइ really is from प्राप् (प्राप्नोति). Gujarati प्हांचे. It has nothing to do with प्र + हृ. I need not discuss the error at length. I have done so in GLL, vol. II, pp. 32-33, pp. 132-3 ; which will soon be out. Now (L) has followed the error but turned पदुच्च into बहृच्छ (III. iv. 58 ; पर्याप्तौ भुवा बहृच्छः).

2. Again (H) imagines that हां is the ablative suffix in the case of certain pronouns ; his instances being जहां होन्तउ आगदो and the like (see his VIII. iv. 355). As a matter of fact the हां is the locative suffix and होन्तउ (= भवन्) conveys the ablative idea. I have discussed the question at great length in my article on "The Ablative Termination in Gujarati" (Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee, vol. III, pp. 656 ff). Lakṣmīdhara has altered the हां to हं and dropped the होन्तउ of (H) in his *sūtra* III. iv. 20 (p. 268), a reduction which wipes off the element of copying. His instance is सव्वहं not जहां होन्तउ. K. P. Trivedi (Appendix p. 148) compares this हं with H's हां. Could (L)'s हं be a mislection for especially as हं is given for gen. plur. in III. iv. 10 ?

K. P. Trivedi makes (L) contemporary with Mallinātha. As a matter of fact Mallinātha flourished in the early part of the thirteenth century A.D. Mable Duff (page 189) speaks of V. S. 1298 (=1242 A. D.) as the year in which Narahari, son of Mallinātha was born, and refers us to Peterson's first Report of Sanskrit Mss. p. 25, where we find the parentage of Narahari (viz. Rāmeśvara of Vatsa Gotra father of Narasimhabhaṭṭa, father of Mallinātha), as given in the introductory verses to Narahari's commentary on *Kāvyaṣaṭṭha* (written under the name, Sarasvatī-tīrtha). Narahari's birth date is there given as under :—

सवसु-ग्रह-हस्तेन ब्रह्मणा समलंकिते ।
8 9 2 1

काले नरहरेर्जन्म कस्य नासीन्मनोरमम् ॥

(The figures are placed by me.)

If, then, Narahari (Mallinātha's younger son) was born in V. S. 1298 (=1242 A.D.), Mallinātha himself must necessarily be placed say about 1210 A. D. Thus, there is only one century between

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(H)'s *Apabhraṃśa* grammar (A. D. 1112) and (L)'s *पद्मभाषाचन्द्रिका*, taking L as Mallinātha's contemporary, earlier though he must have been.

(Kr.) - Dr. Belvalkar has placed (Kr) in 1250 A. D.- 1230 A. D. in his chart. (We have to remember that at the top of his chart he tells us that all the dates are approximate only). He tells us (at page 109 of his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*) that Aufrecht makes (Kr)'s school even anterior to Bopadeva, though Colebrooke places it immediately after. Now "Bopadeva is quoted by Mallinātha (cir. 1350) in his commentary on the *Kumāra*, and he is known to have been the protégé of Hemādri who was a minister to Mahādeva the Yādava king of Devagiri (1200-1271 A. D.) and to his successor Rāmadeva. " (Belvalkar's pp. 104-105). Mallinātha as we have just seen above belonged to the early part of the thirteenth century. Belvalkar's date cir. 1350 is therefore out by a century. Add to this the further statement at p. 109 that (Kr) wrote seven *pādas* of his *Saṃkṣipta Sūra* (dealing with Sanskrit) earlier and the eighth dealing with Prakrit was added later. Thus, for the purpose of our investigation (Kr) must be placed fairly later, say, about 1300 A. D., if not later. (Belvalkar's chart shows 1200-1250 A. D. for Bopadeva; but the inquiry in the text takes him right up to 1271 A. D., and even later.)

Mārkaṇḍeya and *Rāmaśarman* : I take them as twins, both because they were apparently closely allied in time, and because their mention and treatment of *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* is almost identical. The occasional differences between (Mk) and (R) are indicated in detail by Sir George Grierson in his publication of *Rāmaśarman's Apabhraṃśa-Stabakas* in Ind. Ant. vol LI and LII 1922 and 1923 A. D. There are two noteworthy features in these *Stabakas* :—

- (1) The difference between (Mk) and (R) consists in additions to (Mk), not omissions.
- (2) While (Mk)'s *Prākṛta Sarvasva* is almost entirely in the common and simple *Anuṣṭup* metre (R)'s *Stabakas* employ various classical and elaborate metres like *Mandākrāntī*, *Upajāti*, *Aupacchandāsika*, *Vasantatilakā*, and the like. These

two features, to my mind, strongly indicate that (Mk)'s work preceded that of (R).

So we find that between 1112 A. D. when Hemacandra wrote his Grammar of the *Apabhraṃśa* language, but never uttered the names, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*, and 1450 A. D. or thereafter when (Mk) and (R) appeared in the firmament of Prākṛta grammar writing, the dialects *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* occupied a notice-worthy place.

Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. — We have already gone into the problem of his date and on the strength of the evidence of *Kaṁśavadham* assigned him the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth century. We have further evidence which I take from Belvalkar : "Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa was a *guru* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. Jagannātha, the court paṇḍit of the Emperor Shah Jahan, says that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. As Jagannātha was the pupil of the son of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, this gives us Bhaṭṭoji's date, which must be about 1630 A. D. This is also confirmed by the fact that a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji wrote a work in *Saṁvat* 1693 (= A. D. 1637). Bhaṭṭoji's date being 1630 A. D., Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa may safely be placed about 1600 A. D.

But there is a hitch : Śeṣa Viṭṭhala, son of Śeṣa Nṛsimha, and grandson of Śeṣa Rāmacandra, wrote a commentary, *Prakriyā Kaumudī Prasāda* on his grandfather's work (*Prakriyā Kaumudī*). The earliest Ms. of this Prasāda is dated *Saṁvat* 1605-6 = A. D. 1548-9. Hence, Belvalkar says, Viṭṭhala cannot be later than 1525 A. D. If so, 1600 A. D. for Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa presents a span of 75 years between the two brothers! This is absurd. Belvalkar's date for Rāmacandra is 1450 A. D. Viṭṭhala, the grandson being in 1525 A. D. The grand father may possibly have lived 75 years before him. But 75 years between the two brothers are an incredible gap. Some adjustment will, therefore, be necessary in this case also. We can very well reckon that कंसवध was performed or written, at the instance of Giridhara during the life-time of Todar Mal, and therefore fairly well before 1586 A. D. .

Let us now apply the tests stated before :

(a)

The mention, or treatment, of Nāgara and Upanāgara

(V) Does not mention even *Apabhraṃśa*, much less can we expect any reference to *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. Obviously these dialects did not exist in his time.

(H) Mentions *Apabhraṃśa*, but nowhere does he speak of, much less treat, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. It may be that these varieties did not exist in his time, or, if they did, he left them severely alone.

(L) Holds the same position as (H) in this respect.

(Kr) In the chapter in *Samkṣipta-sūtra* on *Apabhraṃśa*, *Sū'ra* 70 we find a bare incidental reference to *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. (It is noteworthy that (Kr) seems to cover *Māgadhi*, *Paiśāci*, and *Ardhamāgadhi* under the generic name *Apabhraṃśa*.)

We have fixed 1300 A. D. and a little later for (Kr). H. wrote his grammar of *Apabhraṃśa* in 1112 A. D. Thus within a space of nearly two centuries, these minor dialects appear to have just sprouted up, and nothing more.

When we come to (M) and (R), the two dialects, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* come into prominence, comparatively speaking, by way of recognition and treatment.

(Ś) is the last in the list. He professedly disowns *Apabhraṃśa*, for purposes of treatment, and briefly includes *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* in his omnibus list of minor dialects, as already noted by us above. To give him the place of honour in connection with *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*, as N. N. Vasu and, following him, Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar do, is out of perspective, to say the least. However, I have my doubts about the presence of the omnibus list in *Prākṛta Candrikā*, which I state fully in my *post script* to this article. If my doubts are valid, they cut the ground from under N. N. Vasu's main argument.

(b)

Recognition of certain special Apabhraṃśa Features

The neuter gender nominative and accusative singular form for words ending in अ.

Hemacandra has two alternative forms for this: 1. for words without the क suffix and 2. for words with the क suffix. For the former he has उ endings for neuter as well as masculine genders. For the latter he has उँ ending in the neuter gender: *स्यमोरस्योत्* VIII. iv. 351. Thus, अहरु for अहरः and अंयु for अङ्गम्, कमलु for कमलम्, पण्णु for पर्णम्. But (क्लीबे)कान्तस्यातउँस्यमोः VIII. iv. 354. Thus, भग्गउँ for भग्नकम्, पण्णउँ for पर्णकम्.

It is the treatment of this क suffix in the neuter gender that I apply as a test.

Lakṣmīdhara—recognises this उँ ending, no doubt, but attempts a needless improvement upon (H) by providing the उँ for the past participial forms additionally and specifically: कान्तस्यातउँस्वमोः (III. iv. 25 p. 222 in K. P. Trivedi) कान्तस्य तान्तस्य च अतः स्वमोः परयोः उँ भवति नपि नपुंसकलिङ्गे, and instances कुँडउँ । तान्ते भग्गउँ भग्नं । करउँ कृतम् इत्यादि ।

(H) would cover this भग्गउँ (तान्तुँ) under कान्त by tracing it to भग्नकम्. In fact he has given भग्गउँ itself as an instance of कान्त.

Kramadīśvara -- says nothing about उँ for कान्तनपुंसक. He has a general उ for all, अतास्वमोरुद्वा *sūtra* २२ । पुंसि ओच्च *sūtra* २३.

Mārkaṇḍeya, Rāmaśarman— Both are silent on the point of the उँ for कप्रत्ययान्त neuter gender.

(Mk) XVII. 10 gives उ for all genders for all bases (उच्चस्वमोः) in nom. and acc. singular but nowhere does he speak of उँ for the कप्रत्ययान्त in अ base. Both (Mk) and (R) supplement the उ suffix by a novel suffix, दु; see Mk. XVII, 7 and (R) *Ap. Stabaka* 7. Instances: रुक्खदु, तरुणिदु, वणदु (Mk), कामिनीदु (R). (R) calls such forms अराष्ट्रक (irregular) and ग्राम्य (boorish). Rāmaśarman follows suit in verse 8 of the *Apabhraṃśa Stabaka*. I say "follows suit" because, for reasons already stated, I regard (Mk) as the model and (R) as the copyist. I differ, with due deference, from Sir George

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Grierson's view that "Mārkaṇḍeya must have been acquainted with the present work, or with some of his predecessors, for he quotes almost *verbatim* the long passage, at the end of the chapter here given, which deals with the minor varieties of Apabhraṃśa" (See Ind. Ant. vol. LI, 1922 A. D. p. 14). The mere fact of identity of the particular passage can very well be proof of (R)'s being the copyist and (Mk) the original; and I have already given certain internal indications leading to my view of the question of priority between the two.

The pleonastic र

(H) in his *sūtra* VIII-iv-399 अभृतोऽपि क्वचित् notices this uninvited (प्राक्षित) र. His instance is ब्राह्म for व्यासः; the य being first elided under the general rule अधोमनयाम् (III-ii-78).

(L) accepts this fully (III-iii-6) क्वचिदभृतोऽपि and instances ब्राह्म for व्यासः.

(Kr) has ब्रासादिव्यासादेः (*sūtra* 5) citing the word specimen bodily without marking the phonetic change process. But evidently, at the back of his mind, there is an intention to take र as a substitute for य, almost so, as

(Mk) and (R) regard the genesis of the letter-transformation. For (Mk) has व्यासादेर्यस्य रफःस्यात् (XVII--३) and gives more instances than one. ब्राह्म । ब्राक्रोह । ब्राडि । ब्रागरण ॥

(R), verse 3, tells the same tale but slightly differently. It says व्यासव्याडिप्रभृतिषु पदेष्वत्ररः स्यादधस्तात्; i. e. in words like व्यास, व्याडि and the like a र comes as the lower member in the conjunct; which is almost the same thing as saying that य is turned to र; both these writers employ a crude empiric method, as compared with (H).

But throughout we find that the र comes in after the य is kicked out; that is to say, the प्रक्षेप of र is recognised only in cases where य is the lower member of a conjunct. This limited scope is largely widened in *post-Apabhraṃśa* period. I have given a longish list of words with a pleonastic र in my G. L. L. vol II, lecture IV, section III, *Utsarga* I, pp. 433-435—which will show this extension of the principle: पडखुं (= side) < प्रकखुं < पक्षकं; करोड < क्रोड < क्रोटि; सराण < साण < शाण; and the like are instances in point.

Tessitori §31 calls this a euphonic *r* (it is really pleonastic) and gives instances which are not all to the point, the *r*, as he himself admits, being present in Sanskrit.

The ढ suffix

This suffix, profusely used in *Apabhraṃśa*, is dealt with by (H) specifically in VIII-iv-429 and 431 (ही constructively, as really it is ढ + ई) e.g. दोसडा, गोरडी.

(L) gives, word for word, the same *sūtra* (his being III-iii-29) and instances रुम्बडु.

(Kr) is silent on this ढ suffix.

(Mk)—XVII 5 and 6 note डा and डी (fem.);—the आ in डा really is the nom. sing. form. (H) rightly gives डड=अड; virtually ढ; the ड being a mark-letter for टिलोप in the base-word. (H) also gives अ, उल्ल which (Mk) ignores.

(R), verse 6, has the same डा and डी; his instance, हिअडा (same as Mk) and गोलडी (गोरडी) different from Mk.

Note:—Tessitori §146 relates this, conjecturally, to the Skr. ट suffix. The conjecture is quite a happy one. We find instances like रथं वधुटीमारोप्य पापः क्वाप्येष गच्छात् (*Mahāvīracarita*); गोपवधुटीदुक्कलचौराय (*Bhāṣā-pariccheda*); where ट is a diminutive suffix showing delicacy; and, स्वर्गग्रामटिकाविलुण्ठनदृथोच्छूनैः किमेभिर्भुजैः (quoted in *Sāhitya-darpana* I) where टी-टिका is used to show contempt through the diminutive idea. This ढ suffix is profusely used in Gujarati literature, ancient and modern, especially in ancient; in modern literature it is too often a case of namby-pamby effeminacy.

What does this inquiry show us now? Does it not establish the chronological sequence of the grammarians named by me? But, we must cry halt. There may be an alternative explanation. Sir George Grierson notes two schools of Prakrit grammarians: (1) Eastern and (2) Western. To the Eastern belong Vararuci, Laṅkeśvara, Kramadīśvara, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya. Under the Western school he places Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara, Śimharāja and others who adopted the technology of

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the expanded Vālmiki *Sūtras* (See Ind. Ant. vol. V, 1922 p. 13). Could it be that the recognition of Nāgara and Upanāgara depended on the school of grammarians, so also the special Apabhraṃśa features which I discussed just above? Thus (Kr), (R) and (Mk) — all Easterns recognize the Nāgara and Upanāgara dialects, either fully or incidentally, while (H) and (L) — Westerners — ignore them. This would mean that the locus of the dialects was in the East and not in the West, a theory which would not readily be accepted by the advocates of Nāgara Apabhraṃśa.

Again, out of the special Apabhraṃśa features, the most important one is the ङ formations in कान्तनपुस्तक of अङ्गना bases. This principle accounts for the ङ ending of neuter words in Gujarati, पर्णकं, पण्णङं, पाहुं (Guj.). Marathi, also a Western vernacular, has ँ to correspond to the ङ in Gujarati : e. g. गेलें < गयलयं < गतकम्. But this comes from अकं-अयं-ए and not from अङं-ङं. All the same the nasal is there. While these features are present in the Western vernaculars, they are absent in Hindī which has अ ending for neuter gender as well as in masculine. Other Eastern vernaculars will also go with Hindī — at least they do not possess the ङ ending of Gujarati. Sindhi too has no distinctive neuter gender ending. The pleonastic र and ङ suffix vary in their presence in East and West. In fact we have not enough data for fixing them locally.

Thus, the fact of a grammarian being Eastern or Western will not furnish a true solution ; and we must fall back on the comparatively surer basis viz. chronology, which will show how the Nāgara and the Upanāgara dialects gradually appeared in the linguistic field.

In these circumstances my view that Mārkaṇḍeya was the first grammarian who dealt with Nāgara and Upanāgara, and that Hemacandra has nowhere even so much as mentioned them, stands justified.

Post-Script

Mr. N. N. Vasu, in the article relied on by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar quotes certain *ślokas* which enumerate 27 minor dialects ; these *ślokas*, according to him, are found in Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's *Prākṛtā Candrikā*. I obtained from the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute of

Poona a Ms. of *Prākṛta Candrikā* which was copied in V. S. 1776 (⁶रस-⁷गोत्र-⁷गिरीन्दु-¹संमितेऽद्दे) = A. D. 1720, i. e. about a century after Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's time (1600 A. D. or thereabouts).—I went through the Ms. carefully more than once, asked a competent friend to do the same, and the result was that these *ślokas* are *not* there, in any part of the work. How are we to account for this? The absence of the *ślokas* does not leave a gap in the B.O.R. Institute's Ms.. A solution, possibly the only solution, lies in the possibility of the *ślokas* being an interpolation in Mr. N. N. Vasu's Ms.. This theory gains colour from a very significant fact: Mārkaṇḍeya, in the Introductory portion of his *Prākṛta Sarvasva* raises in the commentary a possible objection to his statement in the 4th stanza that the Prakrit languages are sixteen in all; viz, how sixteen in all, when some people have said that there are Mahārāṣṭrī, Āvāṇṭī, Śaurasenī and others eight in number, Śākārī etc., and 27 varieties of Apabhraṃśa, and 11 Piśāca dialects. In enumerating the 27 Apabhraṃśas the list given by (Mk) is the original which must have supplied matter for interpolation to Mr. N. N. Vasu's Ms.. In fact the list is the same as given by Mārkaṇḍeya. Sir George Grierson regards this list as taken by Mārkaṇḍeya from an unnamed author (See his *Apabhraṃśa Stobakas* of Rāmaśarma, Ind. Ant. vol. LII, A. D. 1923, p. 5).

In my foregoing article all observations regarding Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and his 27 varieties of Apabhraṃśa are to be taken as subject to this interpolation theory.

MISCELLANEA

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XV

HEMĀDRI'S COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA (CALLED DARPAṆA) AND ITS PROBABLE DATE — FIRST HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY

Hemādri, the author of the commentary called Darpaṇa on the Raghuvamśa was a very learned commentator. This is evidenced by the list of "authors, works and portions of works quoted by Hemādri in his Darpaṇa" published by Mr. S. P. Pandit as an Appendix to his edition of the Raghuvamśa.¹

According to Mr. Nandargikar, Hemādri stands second to Vallabha, another commentator on the Raghuvamśa, chronologically.² He also observes in the same place that this commentary "excels by far all the others both in point of scholarship and judgment." Hemādri mentions other earlier commentators such as Dakṣiṇāvarta, Kṛṣṇa and Vallabha but it is "curious to note that Cāritravardhana and Mallinātha although they literally imitate him nowhere give his name or at least indicate that these expressions are not their own."³ Cāritravardhana flourished after Vallabha for he quotes him in his commentary. Cāritravardhana imitates Hemādri while Dinakara's commentary which gives its date viz. A. D. 1385 is simply the epitome of Cāritravardhana's commentary. It is clear, therefore, that Vallabha lived long before 1385 A. D. and between him and Dinakara flourished Hemādri and Cāritravardhana.⁴ Hemādri's

1. *Raghuvamśa*, part II, Bombay, 1872, Appendix I, pp. 12-18.

2. *Raghuvamśa*, Poona, 1897 —Critical Notice, p. 13,

3. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

commentary mentions *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* of the celebrated Hemādri, the writer on *Dharmaśāstra*.¹ This work is assigned to a period (1260-1270 A. D.).² It would thus be seen that Hemādri's commentary must be assigned to a period between 1260 to 1385 A. D., if Mr. Nandargikar's hypothesis of putting him before Dinakara is accepted.

We have, however, to record the following evidence which to a certain extent upsets Mr. Nandargikar's hypothesis :-

- (1) Hemādri in commenting on verse 20 of Canto XII refers to *प्रक्रियाकौमुदी* as follows :-

“प्रक्रियाकौमुद्यां च भजनदेर्दाढ्यमात्रं विवक्षितं न स्त्रीत्वमिति”

- (2) We have been able to identify the above quotation in the recent edition³ of the work by Mr. K. P. Trivedi, where the quotation reads as under :-

“दृढभक्तिरित्यादौ भजनदेर्दाढ्यमात्रं विवक्षितं न तु स्त्रीत्वम् ॥”

- (3) It is, therefore, perfectly clear that Hemādri knew the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra and possibly in his time it was gaining in status as one of the authorities on grammar because he refers to it in the same breath with *Kāśikā* in the same place.⁴

- (4) Now as regards the date of *Prakriyākaumudī*, the following views are available :-

- (i) According to Keith⁵ the work was written c. 1400.
(ii) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar thinks that Rāmacandra lived about 1450 A. D.⁶

1. See Comm. on Canto XIII, 52, and Canto VII, 37, 51.

2. *History of Dharmaśāstra* (1930) by P. V. Kane, Vol. I, p. 357.

3. B. S. S. LXXVIII, Part I, 1925, p. 584.

4. Ms. No. 47 of 1873-74, folio 106, a, line. 5 —

“तथा काशिकायां च । दृढभक्तिरित्यादिषु स्त्रीपूर्व-
पदस्याविवक्षितत्वात्सिद्धमिति समाधेयमिति ॥”

5. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 430.

6. *Report on the Search for Mss. for 1883-84*, p. 60.

- (iii) Mr. K. P. Trivedi,¹ however, concludes that Rāmacandra flourished in the latter half of the 14th century (i.e. between 1350 to 1400 A. D.).

We are inclined to adopt Mr. Trivedi's conclusion because he notes a Ms.² of the *Prakriyākaumudī* which is dated Samvat 1493 (= A. D. 1437). If a copy of the work is dated A. D. 1437 the work may be presumed to have been written during the 2nd half of the 14th century i.e. between 1350 to 1400 A. D.

- (5) If the above view is accepted, Hemādri, who refers to the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra, must be assigned to a period which is removed at least by 50 years or so. We may be, therefore, not much wrong if we state that Hemādri's commentary was written during the *first half of the 15th century* i.e. between A.D. 1400 to 1450. This conclusion vitiates Mr. Nandargikar's inference that Hemādri lived before A.D. 1385. We may state here that this view is based on the philological argument that Cāritravardhana imitates Hemādri and that Dinakara's commentary is practically an epitome of Cāritravardhana's commentary.

- (6) Other evidence in support of our conclusion is the fact that Hemādri refers to *Rūpamālā* a work on grammar in commenting verse 70 of Canto XIII. Presumably the reference is to the work of this name by Vimalasarasvatī³ who is placed not later than A. D. 1350. This work is put prior in chronological order to the *Prakriyākaumudī*. As this work is referred to as an authority on grammar by Hemādri, he must have lived at least 50 years after A. D. 1350 i.e. after A. D. 1400. Our conclusion, therefore, that Hemādri belongs to the *first half of the 15th century* appears to be approximately correct.

1. B. S. S. LXXVIII, Part I, Introduction, p. XLV.

2. MS. No. 20 of 1904 (Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta).

3. Belvalkar : *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 44.

XVI

SOME FURTHER LIGHT ON THE DATE OF ŚRĪKAṆṬHA,
THE AUTHOR OF RASAKAUMUDĪ

In my note in the *Annals*, Vol. XII, pp. 202-4 I have shown that Śatruśālya was the patron of Śrīkaṇṭha (author of *Rasakaumudī*) and that he was identical with Jam Sattarsal of Navanagar (1569 to 1608 A. D.). I also inferred that the B.O.R.I. Ms. of the *Rasakaumudī* was a contemporary copy from the original of the court poet Śrīkaṇṭha, who must have been living in Jam Sattarsal's reign, and that he composed his *Rasakaumudī* about A. D. 1575 i.e. 5 or 6 years after Jam Sattarsal's accession to the gādi.

In the present note I have to record the corroboration of my inferences. There is a poem on the history of the Jam dynasty of Kaccha and Navanagar, especially of Śatruśālya Nṛpa claiming descent from Yadu and Kṛṣṇa, in seven cantos. It is called *Jāmaṇijaya-Kāvya* by one Vāṇinātha. Aufrecht¹ records two Mss. of this historical poem, at the end of which the following verse occurs with reference to Śrīkaṇṭha :—

“ आस्ते यस्य समीप एव नगरी द्वारावती श्रीपते-
देवो नागविभूषणोऽस्य नगरोपांतेऽस्ति नागेश्वरः ।
नानाशास्त्रविचारचारुचतुरः श्रीकण्ठनामा द्विजो
यस्यास्ते स चिरायुरस्तु जगति श्रीशत्रुशत्र्यो नृपः ॥ १०७ ॥ ”

The above verse makes it clear beyond the possibility of a doubt that Śrīkaṇṭha, who is none other than the author of *Rasakaumudī* described by me in my previous note, was a court-poet of Jam Sattarsal, being extremely clever on account of his study of various Śāstras as mentioned in the verse.

The India Office Ms. of the *Jāmaṇijaya Kāvya* is dated Samvat 1866 (= A. D. 1810) while the B.O.R.I. Ms. is dated Samvat 1805 (= A. D. 1749) and hence older.

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, p. 206—“P. 9” which is the same as B. O. R. I. No. 183 of 1879—80 and iii, 44—“IO-2351” described by Eggeling on p. 1511 of Part VII of *India Office Mss. Catalogue*, 1904.

XVII

A RARE MANUSCRIPT OF A COMMENTARY ON THE
MEGHADŪTA CALLED *SĀRODDHARINĪ*
AND ITS PROBABLE DATE (*between A. D. 1173 AND 1561*)

Mr. Nandargikar in his edition of the Meghadūta¹ describes a Ms. of a commentary on the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa called *Sāroddhārīnī*. This Ms. is No. 157 of 1882-83 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. It is dated Samvat 1617 (=A.D. 1561). According to Mr. Nandargikar it is a "very learned commentary." "It abounds in quotations from numerous authors and in grammatical, philological, rhetorical, and critical disquisitions. It refers in several places to older commentators but does not name any of them."

Dr. K. B. Pathak² who has also made use of this Ms., records this commentary as "next only to Mallinātha's work in point of merit."

As Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* does not record this Ms. or any other Mss of this important commentary, the only available B.O.R.I. Ms., though in a damaged condition, must be regarded as very rare and important.

As regards the date of this commentary Dr. Pathak³ thinks it is composed after Mallinātha's commentary "as we find in it a reference to his explanation of माल as मालाख्य क्षेत्रं in verse 16." I have examined this reference in the Ms. of *Sāroddhārīnī* referred to above. It appears as under on folio 8:—

“अत्र कोचिन्मालं मालाभिधानं क्षेत्रं⁴ इति ब्रुवते तत्र युक्तं”

Dr. Pathak identifies this reference with the following line⁵ in Mallinātha's commentary:—

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1. *Meghadūta* with Mallinātha's commentary, Bombay, 1894, Critical Notice, p. 7.
 2. *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, (Second Edition), Poona, 1916. Introduction, p. xxi.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
 4. In a commentary on the Meghadūta (Ms. No. 158 of 1882-83 dated Samvat 1626, i.e. A.D. 1570 — fol. 19) the expression “मालं मालाभिधानं क्षेत्रं” is found.
 5. Pathak's Edition of the Meghadūta, Poona, 1916., p. 11.

“मालं मालाख्यं क्षेत्रं”

It will be seen from the above quotations that the *Sāroddhārīnī* does not mention Mallinātha by name. We are, therefore, not positively sure from this vague reference whether it pertains to Mallinātha or any other commentator who preceded the *Sāroddhārīnī*. Even though quotations are given in the commentary the names of the sources drawn upon are not mentioned and consequently it has become difficult to fix the date of composition of this commentary. On a cursory perusal of this decaying Ms I have been able to get the following references :—

यदुक्तं अनेकार्थे (fol. 2) ; यदुक्तं (fol. 16) ;
तथा च उक्तं (fols. 4, 9, 21, 22, 26, 33, 46 etc.) ;
रामायण (fol. 6) ; दंडो (fol. 33).

In these few references the only reference which could be of use for chronological purposes is the following :—

On folio 2 -- “छायाशब्दः पंक्तिवाचकोऽप्यस्ति यदुक्तं अनेकार्थे ॥

छायापंक्तौ प्रतिमायामर्कयोषित्यनातपे ।
उक्तो च पालने कान्तो शोभायां च तमस्यपि ॥”

I have succeeded in indentifying this quotation in the *अनेकार्थसंग्रह*¹ of हेमचन्द्र where it is found as under :—

“छायापंक्तौ प्रतिमायामर्कयोषित्यनातपे ।
उक्तो च पालने कान्तो शोभायां च तमस्यपि ॥ ३५१ ॥”

(the reading “उक्तो च” for उक्तांचे is evidently a scribal error).

The above identification enables us to put the date of the *Sāroddhārīnī* between Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṃgraha* and A. D. 1561, the date of the present Ms. As Hemacandra died in A. D. 1173² we may for the present fix the date of the *Sāroddhārīnī* between A. D. 1173 and 1561. If Dr. Pathak's identification of reference to Mallinātha is corroborated by any other evidence internal or external we may put the date of the *Sāroddhārīnī* between A. D. 1420³ and 1561.

1. *Anekārtha-saṃgraha*, ed. by Zacharie, Vienna, 1893, p. 27.

2. Duff: *Chronology of India*, p. 152.

3. Keith: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 87, foot-note 2.

XVIII

A QUOTATION FROM THE *HANŪMANNĀṬAKA*
IN THE COMMENTARY ON *MEGHADŪTA* BY
MAHIMAHANSAĠANI, COMPOSED IN
SAMVAT 1693 (= A. D. 1637)

Dr. S. K. De in his elaborate study of the " Problem of the Mahānāṭaka " ¹ states that Ānandavardhana (middle of the 9th century) and Dhanika (end of 10th century) quote verses which occur in the Mahānāṭaka or Hanūmannāṭaka, but these quotations being anonymous cannot establish the antiquity of the Mahānāṭaka. Dr. De further adds that a large number of quotations mostly anonymous, from the Mahānāṭaka is also found in Sanskrit Anthologies. Out of *ten* quotations given as *hanūmalah* in the Śārṅgadharapaddhati (about A. D. 1363) only *two* can be traced, one in the recension of Madhusūdana and the other in that of Dāmodara. ²

I find from the above useful data gathered by Dr. De that the quotations ascribed to Hanūmat and identified in the two recensions of the Mahānāṭaka are two only. It may, therefore, be useful to record and identify any further quotations from the Mahānāṭaka.

While examining the Mss of the commentary on the Meghadūta by Mahimahansaḡani in Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute I came across the following quotation :--

Ms No. 389 of 1884-87, folio 36 --

“अत एवोक्तं हनूमन्नाटके

कुत्रायोध्या क रामो दशरथवचनाद्वडङ्कारण्यमागात्

कासौ मारीचि मा कनकमयसृगः कुत्र सीतापहारः

सुग्रीवो राममैत्री क जनकतनया चेक्षणे प्रेक्षितोहं

योध्यो संभावमानस्तमपि घटयति क्रूरकर्मा विधाता ”

1. Ind. Histo. Quarterly, Vol. VII. pp. 537-627.

2. Ibid., p. 542.

The above verse appears as under on p. 70 (Act V) of the edition of the *Mahānāṭaka* (Madhusūdana's recension) by Rāmatārāṇa Śiromaṇi, 1870 -

“कुत्रायोध्या क रामो दशरथवचनाद्वंदकारण्यमागात्
 कासौ मारीचनामा कनकमयसृगः कुत्र सीतापहारः
 सुग्रीवो राममित्र क जनकतनयान्वेक्षणे प्रेषितोऽहं
 योऽर्थो सम्भावनीयस्तमपि घटयति क्रूरकर्मा विधाता ॥ २६ ॥

As the above verse cannot be traced in the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, the possibility of its being a second-hand quotation from this anthology is negated and the statement of Mahima-hamsaṅgaṇi that it is taken from the *Hanūmannāṭaka* appears to be correct.

BINKA PLATES OF RAṆABHANJADEVA OF THE REGNAL YEAR 16

BY

ADRISH CHANDRA BANERJI, M. A.

This grant was edited for the first time by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar nearly fifteen years ago. But as his transcription is far from correct it is being re-edited. I have prepared my reading from the excellent facsimiles reproduced with Mr. Mazumdar's article.¹ As it is the custom to name the copper plate grants according to the find-spot, I have changed the title of the plates.

This grant is reported to have been found at Binka, a sub-divisional town in Sonepur feudatory State, in Orissa. It had also a seal partly broken (not reproduced by Mr. Mazumdar) on which the the body of a Bull is represented, the head seems to have disappeared with the broken part of the seal. Above the animal is engraved the legend : *Rāṇaka Śrī Raṇabhañjadevasya*.

"The charter consists of three copper plates of which the first plate alone bears an inscription on the inner side only. The plates are rather irregular in shape their average height (length?) and breadth may be put down as 5" and 7" respectively. The ring which is half inch in thickness and three inches in diameter passes through the hole cut at the left margin of the plates, contains the oval seal of the grantor (donor) at the top.²

The inscription is very badly inscribed and contains many mistakes. The language is no doubt Sanskrit but it is wretched, even the quotations are not properly done. The grant was inscribed by Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi, who is called a '*vaṇika*' and '*suvarṇakāra*'.

The record belongs to the reign of *Rāṇaka Raṇabhañjadeva*, of the spotless Bhāñja family who was the 'lord of both the

1. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. II. pp. 167-77.

2. *Ibid.* p. 167.

Khiñjalis'. Raibahadur Hiralal tried to identify this Raṇabhañja with the king of the same name ruling over a place called Khijjīṅga Koṭṭa in Orissa. But the absurdity of such a hypothesis was first demonstrated by late Mr. R. D. Banerji and conclusively proved by my friend Mr. C. C. Dasgupta.¹ Following grants of this king are also known :—

- (1) Singhara plates of the year 9.²
- (2) Daśapalla grant of the year 24.³
- (3) Baudh grants of the years 24 and 54.⁴
- (4) Unpublished Baudh grants of the year 58 and another.

Before we begin consideration of the text it would be well to point out some peculiar points about these plates. The first point is that no mention is made of any ancestor of the donor excepting his father. The second point is that though the grant mentions the myth about the progenitor of the family being born out of an egg, it does not mention Gandhāṭa who is described as an ancestor of the king in some of his grants. This Gandhāṭa seems to be the same man as King Gandhamārdana of local tradition at Baudh, in whose honour a village called Gandhāṭapaṭi was established (represented by modern Gandharāḍi in Baudh state).⁵

Raṇabhañja seems to have begun his life as a feudatory of some powerful king. In all his earlier grants he is invariably described as a Rāṇaka together with the adjectives *Samādhigata pañca-mahā śabda*. Later in life he seems to have become an independent sovereign, because in his land grants of the years 54 and 58 he is called a *Mahārāja*.

The king is described in this as well as in other grants as *Ubhaya Khiñjaly = ādhipati*. Now the question that requires to be settled is where was this Khiñjali maṇḍala situated? Raibahadur Hiralal is of opinion that ancient Khiñjali is modern Keonjhar.⁶

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1. Banerji-*History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 166 fn. 1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XII, pp. 231--2.
 2. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol, VI, p. 175.
 3. *Ibid.* p. 165ff.
 4. *E. I.* p. 321, ff.
 5. *J. B. O. R. S.* 1929. pp. 72-74.
 6. *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 292.

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On the other hand late Mr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that the ancient Khiñjali maṇḍala was the name of the country on both banks of the Mahānadi, near and about the modern states of Sonapur, and Baudh.¹

The grant which is issued from Dhṛtipura, the capital of the Bhañjas is dated in the 6th day of a month not specified, in the 16th regnal year of the king. It records the grant of the village of Tasapaikera on the river Mahānadi in the Uttarapalli division of the Khiñjali maṇḍala. The donee was Śrīdhara, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra, son of Balabhadra, and grandson of Vāpula, a student of the Madhyāṃdina branch of the Yajurveda. He was an immigrant from the village of Bhaṭa Nirola then residing at Kāmāri.

Text

Line

1. Om* svasti । Sa[m]hāra-kāla-huta-bhug—vikarāla ghora-sa[m] bhrānta-kiṃka-²
2. ra kṛtānta bhinnam [1*] bhinnāndhak—āsura--mahagahana — ātyatra³ । tad = bhairava[m] Hara-
3. vapur = bhavataḥ papātuḥ⁴ ॥ Durvvāra vāraṇam-ṛaṇam-pratipakṣa-Lakṣmī ha-
4. tha-grahanam suprasṇa⁵ pa[pra]tāpā [11*] Bhañjā-narādhipatayo vahava vabhuvu-
5. r = udbhutayo⁶ = tra bhuva⁷ bhuri-sahasra saṃkhyāḥ ॥ Teṣā [m] kule sakala-bhutala-
6. pāla-mauli-māl-ārcit=āṅghri-ju(yu)galo valavām⁸ nṛpo=

1. *J. B. O. R. S.* 1929. pp. 83-84.

* Expressed in symbol as well as in words.

2. Read *kiṃkara*.

3. Read *ātapattraṇ*.

4. Read *prapātu*.

5. Read *suprasṇa*.

6. Read *udbhutayetra*.

7. Read *bhuvi*.

8. Read *valavān*.

7. huta || [*] Śrī-Śatrubhañja ity = atula-dhiḥ [||] Tasy =
atmaja [ḥ] svayambhu-vat || Anyo-
8. nya mada¹-māna milita- samuddhata- nrpa-cakra-ca-
tuṅga² va [ba] la kṣo-
9. bha calita-dharā-maṇḍala [lo] gaja-turaga-kṣura-nird-
-dhārana pasarad³-ātula
10. dhuli-vitāna-saṁochanna jany-āṅgana[no] -ga[ja]
-skandha | vedikā-svayamvar-āyata || [*]
11. parinīta-bh[ja]aya-lakṣmī-samānandita-paurajana-māna-
sāḥ⁴ Śrīmad — Bhañja-
12. bhupatiḥ purād = Dhṛtipura-namnā [ḥ] || Sa[Śa]rad-
amala dhavala-kara-yaśaḥ paṭa-
13. la dhavalita-dig = vadano || Anavarata-pravṛta⁵-san-
māna dān = āna-

Second Plate : First side

14. [īndi] ta sakala-jano aṇḍaja-va[m]śa⁶ prabhavaḥ parama-
vaiṣṇava mātāpitṛ pā-
15. dānudhyāta[to] Bhañj--āmala-kula-tilaka Ubhaya-khiñ-
jaly - adhipati [ḥ] sama [ā]
16. dhigata-pañca-mahāśabda⁶ mahāsāmanta-vandita Stambhe
śvari lavdha-vara-
17. prasāda || Rāṇaka [ḥ] Śrī Rāṇabhañjadeva [ḥ] kuśali ih =
aiva Khiñjali-maṇḍa-
18. le bhaviṣād⁷-rāja-rājanak = antaraṅga-kumārāmānya⁸-
mahāsāmanta-vrā [brā] hma-

1. Read marda.
2. Read caturāṅga.
3. Read prasarada.
4. Read mānasah.
5. Read pravṛtta.
6. Read śabda.
7. Read bhaviṣyad.
8. Read kumārāmātya.

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19. na pradhānā any = añca¹ daṇḍapāsika-cāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha jātiyā-
20. n ॥ Yathārhi² mānmayati³ vodhayati samādiśayati c = ānyat ॥ Sa-
21. rvvataḥ s[ś]livam — asmākaṁ ॥ viditam = astu bha-vataḥ⁴ utrapali⁵ pravati-
22. vaddhaḥ⁶ Mahānadī vimala-jala-viji⁷ prakṣālita Tasapaikarā gāma⁸
23. catuḥ-sīma-paryanta nidhā⁹ upanidhi-sahita mātā-pitr = ātmajaśva¹⁰ puṇyā-
24. bhi vṛddhye salila-dhārāḥ-puraḥsareṇa vidhinā । Bhārad-vāja-gotra Ā-
25. ŋgirasa vārisyatya¹¹ pravarāya Yajurveda madhyānna-śākhāḥ¹²-dhyāi । bhaṭa
26. Nirola vinirgata Kāmārī-vāstavya bhaṭa-putra Śrī-Śrī-dhara Śrī-Vā

Second Plate : Second side

27. pula-sutaḥ Śrī-Va[Ba]labhadra-naptre vidhi-vidhānena saviṣaya tāmvrāśā-
28. sana pratipāditoyaḥ¹³ pāra [m] parya-kul-āvatāreṇa yavad¹⁴ ved [ā] । nu vacamne-

-
1. Read *anyaśca*.
 2. Read *yathārham*.
 3. Read *mānmayati*.
 4. Read *bhavatām*.
 5. Read *uttarapallī*.
 6. Read *prativaddha*.
 7. Read *vici*.
 8. Read *grāma*.
 9. Read *nidhye*.
 10. Read *ātmajaśca*.
 11. Read *bārhaspatya*.
 12. Read *madhyāmdina*.
 13. Read *pratipādito*.
 14. Read *yāvad*.

29. na yatha [ā] | Kāṇḍā [t] Kāṇḍā [t] prarohanti || śāsanena
pratīnasi sahasreṇa viro-
30. hasi¹ evaṁ buddh[v]ā parārdh=ma² parato vaṁśa-
āvatāreṇa — āpi asmad-anurodhā [t] dharmma-gau-
31. ravā = ca na kenāci[t] smalp = āpi³ vādhā karaṇīyā
[m] | tathā c=okta dharmma-śāstreṣu [*] Pha-
32. la [m] kṛṣṭā mahi [m] -dadyā [t] sa-vija-śasya-medini
yāva [t] sūrya kṛta [m] lo-
33. ke tāvat svarge mahīyate || Veda-vākyas-mayo⁴ jihva
vadanti ṛṣi-
34. devatā[h] bhūmi harttā tath — ānyacca aho mā [m]
haro mā hara | [*] Yath = āpsu
35. patitam śakra tailavindu visarpati || Evaṁ bhūmi-kṛtam
dānam sasye sasye⁵ pra-
36. rohati || Ādityo Varuṇa Viṣṇu [m] V[B]rahmā Soma
[o] Hutāśana [h] | Śūlapāṇis = tu bha-
37. gavām⁶ ābhinandati bhūmida[m] | [*] Asphoṭayanti
pitarah pa [pra] valghayanti pi-
38. tāmaha[h] bhūmi-dātā ka[ku] le jātā [āh] sa me tā
[trā] tā bhaviṣyati || Rvvhubhir = vvasu-
39. dhā dattā rājānah⁷ sagara-ādbhi || Mārud-aphala saṁkā-
ya paradatte-

Third Plate: First side

40. ṣu pālita⁸ || Yasya Yasya yadā bhūmi tasya tasya tadā
phalam | [*] Svadattām

1. Read virodhasi.
2. Read parārdhamca.
3. Read svalp—āpi.
4. Read veda—vāk-smṛtayo—jihva.
5. Read śasye—śasye
6. Read bhagavān.
7. Read rājābhīḥ.
8. Read bhud = aphala-saṁkā vah paradatt—eti pārthivah.

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41. paradattāṃ=vā yo hareta[m] vasumdhara[m] । Sa
viṣṭhāyā kṛmīr bhūtvā pitṛbhi [h]
42. saha paśyate ॥ Hiraṇyam=ekam gāmekam apy =
ārdham aṅgulaṃ । haraṃ nara-
43. kaṃ āyāti yāvad-ābhūti-saṃplavaḥ ॥ Bhūmīyaḥ pratiga
[gr] nḥāti yac = ca bhu-
44. mi prayacchati । ubhau tāu puṇyā-karmṇānau niyatau¹
svargga-gaminau । [11*] Ha-
45. rate hārayate bhūmi[m] manda-vu[bu]ddhis stamaya
[vr]ta । savvaddho² varuṇaḥ
46. pāsai[s] tīrya[g]-yonīṣu ja[jā]yate ॥ Mā pāthivāḥ
kadāci[t] v[b]rahma-
47. sva[m] manas = ādi³ ānausa⁴ dha[r]ma[m] bhāṣajya
[m] etata[m] halā-halaṃ viṣaṃ ॥ Aṣa [m]
48. viṣaṃ ity = āhu[r] v[b]rahmasva[m] viṣa[m] ucyate ।
viṣa [m] ekākino hanti vra[br]hmasva[m] pu-
49. tra pautrikam । loha-curnṇ = āśva curnṇāṇ = ca jaraye
naraḥ vrahmasva [m] tṛṣṇu lokaṣu
50. kaḥ pumā[n] jaramiṣyati⁵ ॥ Vājapeya sahasraṇi
Āśvamedha⁶ śatāni ca ga-
51. vā [m] ko [ti] pradattena bhūmi-hartā na śyudhyanti ॥⁷
Iti kamala-d[al] = āmbu-vindu-lolā-

1. Read *niyataṃ*.2. Read *baddho*.3. Read *manasād—api*.4. Read *āneṣa*.5. Read *jarayīṣyati*.6. Read *āśvamedha*.7. Read *śuddhati*.

Third Plate : Second side

52. Śrī¹ annucintya-manuṣya-jivitañ--ca sakalam --idaṁ udā-
hṛtañ--ca vu
53. dhaiḥ² na hi purasaiḥ parakīrttayo vilopyā || Vijaya-
rājya saṁva [t] sa-
54. re so[ṣo]daḥ=ābdi ṣaṇ³=divase utkina⁴--āca vanika-
suvaṇākāra⁵ Sivaṇāga
55. Pāṇḍi sūta mahārājakiya- mudre = natih ||

-
1. Read śrīyaṁ
 2. Read buddhvā.
 3. Read ṣaṭ.
 4. Read utkīrṇa=śca.
 5. Read suvaṇākāra.

REFERENCES TO THE BAUDDHAS AND THEIR PHILOSOPHY IN UMĀSVĀTI'S TATTVĀRTHABHĀṢYA AND SIDDHASENA GAṆI'S COMMENTARY TO IT

BY

PROF. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

I have come across some references pertaining to the *Bauddhas* and their tenets in *Vācaka Umāsvāti's bhāṣya* to his splendid work *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* and its commentary composed by *Siddhasena Gaṇi*. So far as I know, no scholar has seriously devoted himself to the study of this commentary, which is, in my opinion, a precious mine of information pertaining to various topics.

First of all we shall examine in this connection, the *bhāṣya* and then turn our eyes to the commentary.

We come across the word *Tantrāntariyāḥ*, in three places in the *bhāṣya*, firstly when *Umāsvāti* discusses the *nayas* or stand-points (I. 35 ; p. 121¹), secondly when he deals with the nether regions (III. 1 ; p. 232), and thirdly when he is interpreting the meaning of *pudgala* (V. 22 ; p. 354).

If we refer to the commentary (p. 121) we see that the *bhāṣya-kāra* uses this word in the first place to signify a non-Jaina, a *Jaina* being designated as *svalantra* or having the same scriptures as his own. In the remaining two places he distinctly alludes to the *Bauddhas* or *Māyāsūnavīyas* as the learned commentator has pointed out on p. 232 and p. 354 respectively.

The commentator refers to the *Bauddhas* under several names: (i) मायासूतवीय on pp. 70, 232 and 354 (part I) and p. 67 (pt. II); (ii) बौद्ध on p. 85, (iii) शाकलिकजीवरक on p. 30, and (iv) सुगतशिष्य on p. 123 (part II).²

1. The number of the page refers to my edition, published in the D. L. P. Jain P. F. Series.

2. These and other references given in this article are by no means exhaustive.

Out of these *Māyāsūnaviṇa* means son of *Māyā*. This may imply that the tradition of Lord *Buddha* being the son of *Māyā-devī* was current in the time of the commentator.

By *Śākalikacivaraka* the commentator seems to allude to the fact that a Buddhist monk has to wear a garment consisting of several pieces and patches.

At least in two places, pt. I, p. 32 and pt. II, p. 67 he has even mentioned the name *Buddha*.¹ He has also referred to his staunch followers and famous philosophers, *Vasubandhu* and *Dharmakīrti*, the former with as well as without his nickname *Amiṣa-grddha* on p. 68, lines 1 and 29 (pt. II) and the latter with his magnificent work *Pramāṇaviniścaya* on p. 397 (pt. I).

The *bhūmikā* (pp. 4-5) to *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa* written by *Tripiṭakācārya Rāhula Saṃkrītyayana* deals with 18 Buddhistic *nikāyas* mentioned by *Siddhasena* on p. 123 (pt. I). [As these appear to refer to the 18 schools or sects of the *Hīnayāna* Buddhists, it will not be fruitless to consult *Dīparamśa* (Ch. V, 39-48) *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. V.), *Mahābodhivamsa* and the commentary on *Kathāvatthu*. Even the article "The sects of Buddhists" by J. W. Rhys Davids published in J. R. A. S., July 1891 (pp. 409-422) may be studied in this connection, as it throws light even on the relationships etc., of these sects.

The well-known doctrine² of five *ānantarya pāpas* mentioned in *Nāgārjuna's Dharmasaṃgraha* (p. 13) is discussed by *Siddhasena* on p. 67 (pt. II).

Now we shall refer to the passages quoted by him from the Buddhistic works. For instance, on p. 232, he observes:—

“यथा हि वर्षति देवे प्रततधारं नास्ति वीचिका वा अन्तरिका वा एवमेव पूर्वायां दिशि लोकघातवो नैरन्तर्येण व्यवस्थितास्तथाऽन्यास्वपि दिक्ष्विति”³

1. The name *Sugata* occurs in pt. II. on pp. 66 and 123.

2. This is treated by *Śīlānka Sūri* in his commentary to *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*.

3. Up-till-now I have not succeeded in tracing the original sources of this and the following quotations. So will any veteran scholar of Buddhism kindly point them out to me and oblige?

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On page 354 he has remarked as under:—

“अस्त्यार्यसम्मितीयानामात्मा सौत्रान्तिकानां तु चित्ततयुक्तसन्ततौ तत्पुद्गल-
प्रज्ञातिः, चित्तसन्ततौ वेदनासञ्ज्ञा चेतनादिधर्मयुक्तायां चक्षुरादिसहितायां च चित्ते-
नान्योन्यानुविधानात्, इत्येषा चित्ततयुक्तानां धर्माणां सन्ततिरहङ्कारवस्तुत्वादात्मेत्युपच-
र्यते, तथा पुनः पुनर्गत्यदानात् ‘पुद्गल’ इत्युपचर्यते, योगाचाराणां तु विज्ञानपरिणामः
पुद्गलः ॥ यथाऽऽह—

‘आत्मधर्मोपचारो हि, विविधो यः प्रवर्तते

विज्ञानपरिणामोऽसौ, परिणामः स त्रिधा¹’ ॥”

In the end, I may enumerate the topics dealt with by me in this article: (1) designation of the *Bauddhas*, (2) their various schools, (3) names of their prominent philosophers and their standard works, and (4) some of the main features of Buddhism accompanied by quotations at times.

1. For an incidental reference to these systems see “The place of the *Āryasatyas* and *Pratītyasamutpāda* in *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*”, an article published in the *Annals of B. O. R. I.* (vol. XI, pp. 101-127).

RAJAPRAŚNĪYASŪTRA, ITS CLAIM AS UPĀṄGA, ITS TITLE, ETC.

BY

PROF. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

As is well-known to a student of *Jaina* literature *Śruta*¹-*jñāna*² or the *Jaina āgama*³ is divided for facilitating⁴ its study into two groups (i) the *aṅgapraviṣṭa* and (ii) *aṅgabāhya*⁵ (also known as *anaṅgapraviṣṭa*⁶). The first group includes the 12 *aṅgas*, composed by the *Gaṇadhara*s, whereas the latter comprises the remaining canonical works composed by saints immediately next to the *Gaṇadhara*s.⁷

The *aṅgabāhya Śruta-jñāna* is further classified as (i) *āvaśyaka* and (ii) *āvaśyakavyatirikta*,⁸ the former having six sub-divisions, such as *sāmāyika*⁹ etc, and the latter having only two namely (i) *kālīka*¹⁰ and (ii) *utkālīka*,¹¹ both of which include a number

1. Reserving the question of its origin for some other occasion, I may state that this word reminds me of two things: (1) the word "suyam" occurring in सुयं मे आउतं etc. in several *Jaina āgamas* e. g., *Ācārāṅga*, *Sthānāṅga*, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, etc., and (ii) *Sruti*, the designation for the *Vedas*.
2. For the various synonyms of this *Śrutajñāna* such as *āgama* etc. see *Vācaka Umāsvāti's bhāṣya* of *Tattvārthahigamasūtra* (I, 20, p. 88.)
3. This is not to be confounded with the *āgama* meaning the oldest *Śaiva* canon confirming to the *Vedas* and not entirely separated from the *Vedic* religion like that of later *Śaiva* sects.
4. Vide *Tattvārthabhāṣya* (I, 20) and its commentary (p. 94).
5. See *Haribhadra Sūri's* commentary to *Āvaśyakasūtra* and its *niryukti* (p. 25, edn. *Āgamodaya Samiti*).
6. Vide *Tattvārthabhāṣya* (I, 20, p. 9).
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
8. See *Nandīsūtra* (sūtra 44, p. 202, edn. A. Samiti).
9. The remaining five are (a) *caturviṃśatistava*, (b) *vandanaka*, (c) *pratīkramaya*, (d) *kāyotsarga* and (e) *pratyākhyāna*.
- 10-11. The sacred works which are allowed to be read during the first and the last *pauruṣis* of the day and of the night as well go by the name of *kālīka śruta*; the rest can be read at any time except *kāla-velā* and are known as *utkālīka śruta*. See *Nandīsūtraoṽpi*.

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of sacred works. *Rājaprasānīyasūtra*¹ belongs to the latter class, and it is considered as the *upāṅga* of *Sūtrakṛta*, the 2nd *aṅga*.²

I, for one, fail to realize how these two are related to each other as *aṅga* and *upāṅga*, when there is practically no connection between the contents of these two works, except that both refer to *akriyāvāda* – a subject, by no means uncommon to other *āgamas*, etc.

Upāṅga — Now, a few words about the *upāṅgas* before I proceed further. According to the *Jaina* tradition at least 300 years old, the number of the *upāṅgas* is 12, there being one *upāṅga* corresponding to one *aṅga*. In this connection it will be worth-while to reproduce here the following passage from *Prameyaratnamahājūṣā*, *Sānticaṇḍra Gaṇi's* commentary (pp. 1-2) to *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* :—

“तत्र अङ्गानि आचाराङ्गादीनि प्रतीतानि, तेषामुपाङ्गानि क्रमेण अस्मिन् — १ आचाराङ्गस्य औपपातिकम्, २ सूत्रकदङ्गस्य राजप्रदन्तियम्, ३ स्थानाङ्गस्य जीवा(जीवा)भिगमः, ४ समवायाङ्गस्य प्रज्ञापना, ५ भगवत्याः सूर्यप्रज्ञप्तिः, ६ ज्ञाताधर्मकथाङ्गस्य जम्बूद्वीपप्रज्ञप्तिः, ७ उपासकदशाङ्गस्य चन्द्रप्रज्ञप्तिः..., ८ अन्तकृद्दशाङ्गस्य कल्पिका, ९ अनुत्तरौपपातिकदशाङ्गस्य कल्पावतंसिका, १० प्रदन्त्याकरणस्य पुष्पिता, ११ विपाकश्रुतस्य पुष्पचूलिका, १२ दृष्टिवादस्य दृष्टिदशा (अन्धकदृष्टिदशा) इति”.

The 12 *upāṅgas* are not referred to, in *Samavāya*, the 4th *aṅga*, though, in its 12th *samavāya* there are mentioned several other objects 12 in number. What does this imply?

Furthermore is it not rather very strange that we do not come across any reference to “*upāṅga*,” much less to its number and its relationship with the *aṅga* even in *Nandīsūtra*, where a very big number of *āgamas* is mentioned along with their various divisions and subdivisions?

No doubt, we notice in this *Nandīsūtra*, all the works later on

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1. Some of the works written in a *Sūtra* style are themselves so named.
 2. This is partly supported by Siddhasena Gaṇi's commentary; for, it only helps us to believe it to be an *upāṅga* but it does not enlighten us as to its being an *upāṅga* of a particular *aṅga*.

styled as *upāṅgas*, and that, too, in the very order above referred to, though, at times another work or works intervene.¹

The earliest work to which I have traced up-till-now the use of the word *upāṅga* is *Umāsvāti's Tattvārthabhāṣya* (I, 20, p. 93). It is but natural that we find this word in its commentary (p. 94) composed by *Siddhasena Gaṇi*. But, strange to say, this erudite commentator, too, has not supplied us with a list of the 12 *upāṅgas*; for, he has named only two *upāṅgas* and those also, in an order just the reverse from the one mentioned in *Prameya-ratnamāñjūṣā*.

Moreover, is it not more than significant that we do not find the names of the 12 *upāṅgas* in *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, a magnificent lexicon of *Hemacandra Sūri*, as well as in its commentary by the same author, a *Jaina* polygraph, even when he has respectively stated in these two works "सोपाङ्गान्यङ्गानि" (II, 159) and "सहोपाङ्गैरौपपातिकादिभिर्वर्तन्ते सोपाङ्गानि" (p. 104)? Can this be looked upon as a sufficient ground to infer that he did not endorse the number of the *upāṅgas* as 12 or that he did not believe that there was any order?

If we were to consider the relationship between the *āṅgas* and the *upāṅgas*, in most of the cases we shall find that there is hardly any connection between an *āṅga* and its *upāṅga* so far as the subject-matter is concerned. Will it be too much to say that

1. To elucidate this remark the corresponding portion is being cited as follows :—

"उक्कालिअं अणेगविहं पण्णत्तं, तं — दसवैआलिअं, कप्पिआकप्पिअं, चुल्ल-
कप्पसुअं, महाकप्पसुअं, उववाइअं, रायपसेणिअं, जीवामिगमो, पण्णवणा, महापण्णवणा,
पमायप्पमायं, नंदी, अणुओगदाराइं, देविंदित्थओ, तंदुलवेआलिअं, चंदाविज्झयं, सूरपण्णत्ती,
पोरिसिमंडलं, मंडलपवेसो, विज्जाचरणविणिच्छओ, गणिविज्जा, ज्ञाणविभत्ती, मरणविभत्ती.
आयविसोही, बीयरामसुअं, संलेहणासुअं, विहारकप्पो, चरणविही, आउरपच्चक्ख्वाणं,
महापच्चक्ख्वाणं एवमाइ ... । स किं तं कालिअं ? कालिअं अणेगविहं पण्णत्तं, तं
जहा :— उत्तरज्झयणाइं, दसाआ, कप्पो, ववंहरो, निसीहं, महानिसीहं, इसिमासिआइं,
जंबूदीवपन्नत्ता, दीवसागरपन्नत्ता, चंदपन्नत्ती, खुड्ढिआ विमाणपविभत्ती, महल्लिआ
विमाणपविभत्ती, अंगचुल्लिआ, वग्गचुल्लिआ, विवाहचुल्लिआ, अरुणोववाए, वरुणोववाए,
गरुलोववाए, धरणोववाए, वेसमणोववाए, वेल्धरोववाए, देविंदोववाए, उट्ठणसुर, समुट्ठण-
सुर, नागपरिआवणिआओ, निरयावलियाओ, कप्पिआओ, कप्पवडिसिआओ, पुप्फिआओ,
पुप्फचुल्लिआओ, वण्णीदसाओ, एवमाइयाइं."

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Upāsakadaśāṅga and *Candraprajñapti* as well as *Jñatādharmakathāṅga* and *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, have no common subject, which may enable us to deduce their *aṅgopāṅgabhāva*? *Drṣṭivāda*¹ and *Vṛṣṇidasā* can very well be included in this very category, but this case is reserved, since the contents of *Drṣṭivāda* are not sufficiently known, owing to its being lost.

Thus, the conclusions we can safely arrive at so far as the *Svetāmbara* literature is concerned are that (i) the word *upāṅga* can be traced up to *Tattvārthabhāṣya*, (ii) its number was regarded as more than two, at least by *Siddhasena Gaṇi*, (iii) its order and its relationship with the corresponding *aṅga* date back to *Sānticaṇḍra Gaṇi*'s time at least, and (iv) that there was a difference of opinion regarding them amongst the *Svetāmbaras* in his time.

It will not be amiss to add here that a splendid work like *Tattvārtharājavārtika* has not even mentioned the word *upāṅga*, though it gives an elaborate treatment of the various classifications of *Śruta-jñāna*. Even *Śrutaskandha*, a *Digambara* work is silent on this point. What does this convey?

With this digression, if it can be so called, we shall now examine the title of this 2nd *upāṅga*.

The title — *Rājapraśnīya* is called *Rāyapaśenīya* in Prakrit, but this seems to be hardly justifiable. For, *Paṇha* and *Paśina* are the two Prakrit renderings of the word *Praśna*. Consequently, the Prakrit name of *Rājapraśnīya* ought to be either *Rāyapaṇhīya* or *Rāyapaśinīya*. Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish a linguistic connection between the Sanskrit and Prakrit titles of this *upāṅga*.

This title *Rājapraśnīya* seems to imply a work dealing with the questions asked by a king, a fact corroborated by the contents of this work, since it contains the queries raised by king *Pradeśi*.²

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1. The 14 pūrvas form an important part of this work. Various theories have been propounded as regards their origin etc. The present writer hopes to deal with them at an early date.
 2. This reminds us of *Milinda-questions* in the Buddhist literature.

It may be mentioned in this connection that *Weber* has suggested that the real title ought to be *Rājapradeśīya*, (*Rāyapaesiya*¹ in Prakrit), as it is thoroughly significant.

Siddhasena Gaṇi, in his commentary to *Tattvārthabhāṣya* has referred to this *upāṅga* under altogether a new title viz. *Rājaprasaṅgīya*.² I have not up-till-now come across any *Jaina* work, prior or posterior to this commentary where it is so named. Will any scholar kindly enlighten me as to its propriety and oblige?

Contents — Birth of king *Pradesi* as *Sūryābhadeva*, his celestial grandeur and enjoyments, his staging of a ³drama⁴ and a dance⁵ in the presence of *śramaṇa bhagavan Mahāvīra*, even when He neither gives His assent nor expresses His dissent, description of the *vimāna* of *Sūryābha*, and the questions pertaining to *Jiva*'s identity with body raised by him and their replies by *Keśi nirgrantha*,⁶ a follower of Lord *Pārśva*⁷ are some of the main topics treated at length in *Rājaprasānīyasūtra*.

1. There seems to be a possibility of this word (रायपासिय) being mistaken for रायपसेजिय. Even if it is so, this wrong title must have been in vogue since a very long period.
2. Even on p. 51a of the palymara Ms. No. ⁷ of the Government ¹⁸⁸¹⁻¹² Mss. Collection deposited at the B. O. R. Institute, this is so spelt.
3. A beautiful description of this along with its 32 varieties is one of the many attractive features of *Rājaprasānīyasūtra*.
- 4-5. For a connection between these two viz. *nāṭaka* and *nṛtya* see the last lecture in *Āryavidyāvyākhyānamālā* p. 233 ff.
6. This is the name by which the *Jaina* saints are generally referred to in the non-Jaina literature, e. g. *Majjhimanikāya* I. 370--375 etc. For other Buddhistic references, *Pali English Dictionary* (edited by Rhys Davids) may be consulted.
7. Very recently I happened to notice a casual remark in the *Calcutta Review* May 1932 (p. 268) where the historicity of *Pārśvanātha* is doubted by Dr. P. C. Bagchi M.A., D. Litt., the reviewer. I would like to know the criterion or criteria necessary for establishing the existence of an individual. Will the reviewer or any other scholar be pleased to elucidate this point?

REVIEWS

BUDDHISTIC STUDIES, EDITED BY DR. B. C. LAW, Ph.D., M.A.,
B. L., xii + 900 pp. 4 pl. Thacker, Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta
and Simla, 1931.

Dr. B. C. Law's energetic and versatile abilities have in this work resulted in a large volume of great interest to students of Buddhism. We have here a collection of thirty-six essays contributed by Eastern and Western scholars. It is indeed a matter of congratulation to find East and West engaged in a work of common learning and research, but there is no doubt that as a whole it is an achievement of Eastern scholarship, for more than two-thirds of the chapters are by Indian, Sinhalese and Japanese authorities, and Jain scholarship has also contributed.

One of the merits of a work of this kind is that it serves to bring into relief the obscure or neglected portions of a field of study, and to contribute items which not merely fill up gaps, but which may put the whole subject in a new light. Such is the first chapter in the volume by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on *The Buddhism of Marimekhalai*, an epic (or a portion of an epic) which throws light on the type of Buddhism found in Tamil-speaking lands during the early centuries of the Christian era. The spread of Buddhism to the south is still largely hypothetical, and it is such investigation of details and indirect evidence that we shall be gradually able to see our way more clearly, and piece together an intelligible picture. Another chapter, entitled *Buddhism in Tamil literature* by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, goes partly over the same ground, and each essay supplements the other.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar contributes the second chapter on the *Buddhist Councils*. The various views regarding these nerve-centres of history vary from complete credulity to complete scepticism, and the author marshals the facts that must be accounted for in forming a balanced historical judgment. He also explodes some of the now hoary theories and speculations that have been based upon the facts. Three chapters by the editor deal mainly with the period of the lifetime of the Founder, *Six heretical teachers, Gautama*

Buddha and the Faribrājakas, and Some Ancient Indian Kings. This is a period which the author has made specially his own. In all these we are in a region which, even if it can be said to have been brought within the range of history, still requires the application of modern historical principles. The learned editor has diligently collected the data on which they must work, and applies his usual skill in laying bare and smoothing out the evidence. There are two chapters on different aspects of Indian education, and each writer seems to have succeeded in excluding all the evidence adduced by the other. That on *Ancient Indian education from the Jātakas* is by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, and its range is shown by its title. The present paper, he tells us, is part of a comprehensive work on ancient Indian education in two volumes, Brahmanical and Buddhist, and is now ready for the press. This should add greatly to our knowledge of ancient Indian thought.

What may be called the philosophy of Buddhism is mainly included in the chapters on *The Buddhist Conception of Māra*, by the editor, *Dukkha and Sukha*, by Mr. E. H. Brewster, *Faith in Buddhism*, by Dr. B. M. Barua, *Samsāra or Buddhist philosophy of birth and death*, by Rev. Nārada, *Wanted a philosophy of life, Buddhism*, by Mr. C. E. Ball, *Nibbāna*, by Rev. Nārada, *Man as willer* by Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *on Karma*, by Dr. S. Tachibana, and *Christian Mysticism in the light of the Buddha's doctrine*, by Dr. G. Grimm.

Without being invidious special attention may be drawn to *Chips from a Buddhist Workshop* from the veteran pen of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, and Dr. S. Dasgupta's *Philosophy of Laṅkāvatāra*. These are the two chief essays which deal specially with Mahāyāna developments. The *Chips* is concerned rather with the mode of development of the later doctrines than with their philosophical significance, but it is the only sound method. We must know first how the schools arose and split up if we are to place the literature in an intelligible order of development. It is one of these schools exemplified in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* which Dr. Dasgupta expounds and carefully distinguishes from other forms of Buddhist idealism.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar writes in a refreshingly common-sense way about *Asoka and his Mission*. He shows what Dhamma meant for Asoka, and deals with the painful perverseness of those who are surprised that Nirvāṇa is not mentioned in the inscriptions, as if Nirvāṇa could have had a meaning for lay people who were not aiming at it. History is further represented by Dr. R. Mookerjee on *The Authenticity of Asokan Legends*, Dr. Hem Chandra Rai Chaudhuri on *Buddhism in Western Asia*, *A short History of Ceylon* by Dr. W. Geiger, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* by Dr. W. A. de Silva, *Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China* by Mr. Louis Finot, and *Buddhist Festivals in Ceylon* by Mr. S. Paranavitarne. No less important for history is the long and excellently documented chapter by Mr. C. D. Chatterjee on *Some numismatic data in Pali literature*.

Vinaya is discussed by Dr. M. Nagai in his deeply interesting and candid chapter on *Buddhist Vinaya discipline or Buddhist Commandments*. Mythology and iconography are dealt with in the chapters on *Buddhist worship and idolatry* by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *A comparative study of Hindu and Buddhist Mythology* by Mr. Bankim Chandra Chaudhuri, and By Mr. N. Ray in his *Notes on Bodhisattva Lokanātha and other Mahāyāna gods in Burma* with six excellent photogravures. Grammar is represented by the Rev. R. Siddhartha's chapter on *Origin and development of Pāli language with special reference to Sanskrit grammar* and Dr. A. B. Keith on *The home of Pāli*.

The catholicity of the volume is shown by an excellent chapter contributed by Mr. K. P. Jain on *Mahāvira and Buddha*. Neither religion loses anything by a temperate statement of the principles which each holds essential. Indeed the calm temper of the whole volume is what we should expect from writers who all share devotion to the common principle of *ahiṃsā*, and the editor is to be sincerely congratulated on the success of his enterprise.

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THE CHĀNDOGYAMANTRABHĀṢYA OF GUṆAVISṆU
EDITED BY DURGA MOHAN BHATTACHARYA, Sanskrit Sahi-
tya Parishad, Calcutta 1930.

The work under review is an old and important commentary on select Vedic Mantras that are recited by a Chandoga or Sāmavedin householder in connection with the performance of various domestic rites. Guṇaviṣṇu is a much respected commentator and his readings and interpretations of Vedic Mantras are regarded authoritative in the province of Bengal and in Mithilā in Bihar. The need of a scholarly edition of this work has long been a desideratum and this critical and handsome edition issued under the auspices of the Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad will be welcome to all.

The book was edited in 1906 by Mahāmahopādhyāya Parameshwar Jha of Mithilā. That was a nice edition but there was no division into chapters. It also lacked references to the original sources. In Bengal, parts of Guṇaviṣṇu's Bhāṣya have been printed times without number as explanations of Mantras in the Paddhati compiled by Bhavadeva. But in very few of these there is any serious attempt to settle the real text. In the edition of Pandit Shyamacharan Kaviratna numerous emendations have been freely made without the support of Mss., and what is worse, he has rejected some passages unwarrantedly.

The Mantras commented upon in the Chāndogyamantrabhāṣya are divided into eight sections, all arranged in accordance with the order of the rituals for which the Mantras are meant. The compilation, either made by the commentator himself or handed down to him by tradition in the form of a Mantrapāṭha, contains more than four hundred Vedic Mantras taken from the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the four Vedas. The largest number of them, however, are taken from the Mantra-brāhmaṇa and the Gobhila-Gr̥hya-Sūtra, two Sāmaveda works.

The commentary though sometimes wanting in the elaborate etymological discussions of the celebrated scholiast Sāyana, is marked for its brevity, simplicity and directness of style. The

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commentator seems to have followed at times a school of interpretation different from that followed by Sāyana.

The present editor professor Bhattacharyya has acquitted himself very ably. With the help of various materials detailed in his Introduction he has been able to settle the true text of the commentary which in several places seemed to be hopelessly corrupt.

The Introduction contains a valuable account of the work and its author Guṇaviṣṇu. The data have been gathered not only from the printed texts but also from a number of manuscripts. The discussions show that the editor Professor Bhattacharyya has carefully studied the relevant writings of scholars including Oldenberg, Stöner, Jørgensen and Winternitz and has brought critical ability to bear upon the subject. From the evidences supplied by the works of Aniruddha, Halāyudha, Raghunandana, Śatrughna, Nityānanda and Rāmanātha the very legitimate conclusion is reached that Guṇaviṣṇu lived during the 12th century of the Christian era at the courts of Ballālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. This also was the conclusion of Mahāmahopādhyāya Parameshwar Jha. Passages have been quoted from Sāyana's commentary to show that Sāyana is in several places indebted to Guṇaviṣṇu.

The most notable feature of the present edition is the number of indices and appendices. They are indispensable for the proper utilization of texts of this kind. To the alphabetical index of the Mantras occurring in the text, a very useful list of the 'Viniyogas' of every Mantra has been added, and a concordance of the Mantras covering more than thirty pages together with a list of quotations contained in the body of the work has been appended. In this concordance the editor has not merely used the Vedic Concordance of Bloomfield, but has sometimes corrected it, and, what is more important, he has adduced readings from four new works that had not been used by Bloomfield.

The present text edited is much more improved than that of Mm. Parameshwar Jha. Some of the important improvements noticed in the edition are given below :—

- (1) Portions of the commentary not found in Mahāmaho-
pādhyāya Jha's edition have been supplied in this (pp.
149, 150, 152)
- (2) Some quotations attributed to Śruti in Mm. Jha's edition
have been traced to Smṛti works.
- (3) Errors in quoting Pāṇini's rules as also Śruti passages
have been corrected.
- (4) Correct readings of Mantras with three commentaries,
have been discovered; and in all this the editor has been
guided by the original Vedic text as well as Guṇaviṣṇu's
manuscripts.
- (5) Occasional emendations of the Mantra texts and their
commentaries have been made on a comparison of several
manuscripts with other allied works such as the Brā-
hmaṇa-Sarvasva of Halāyudha and the Sāmaga-Mantra-
Vyākhyāna of Rāmanātha, e. g., 'Sahaḥ' 'Utsahaḥ' in this
edition (p. 152) instead of 'mahah' 'Utsavah' of the
previous edition (p. 172).
- (6) In the Mm. Jha's edition, grammatical disquisitions are
sometimes found supplied in respect of commentaries on
wrong readings of certain Mantras which have been
corrected in the present edition, e. g., 'pañviṃśa' which
should really be 'padviṃśa', has been commented on in
Mm. Jha's edition (p. 55) thus :

Pañviṃśa iti pacer = acaḥ paro viśo nipātanād vargāntaḥ

Jha's edition	Present edition
Vṛṣṭyam, p. 18	Vṛṣṇyam, p. 17 (mantra)
Tvamadyān, p. 19	Tvamadyā, p. 18 (mantra)
Pramiṇo Yudhāyayan, p. 21	Pramṛṇo yudhā jayan p. 19. (mantra)
Viśvarūpe, p. 21.	Viṣurūpe, p. 20. (mantra)
Pañviṃśaḥ, p. 55.	Padviṃśaḥ, p. 49. (mantra)

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Pr̥thuhā, p. 134.

Pr̥thvahā, p. 114 (mantra); (this reading however is given in the foot-note of Jha's edition)

Viprān Viṣṭhayā, p. 163.

Viprā naviṣṭhayā, p. 141. (mantra)

Viṣṭhayā Viśeṣeṇa Sthitayā,
p. 163.

Navīṣṭhayā atyantābhinavayā,
p. 152. (commentary)

Anuneyam, p. 168.

Arthaneyam (= Arthanā + iyam
p. 148 (commentary)

Mahāḥ Utsavaḥ, p. 172.

Sahāḥ utsāhah, p. 152 (commen-
tary)

S. N. PRADHAN

KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ, BY PROF. PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA, M. A., Vidyāvinoda. Published by MR. SURENDRA CHANDRA RAICHAUDHURI, Secretary, Rangpur Sahitya Parishat. Price Rupees Six only. 1338 B. S.

We have here the text, and Bengali translation with elaborate historical and exegetical notes of seven copperplate grants and one Rock Inscription— all belonging to Kings of Assam up to the time of Dharmapāla (*circa* 12th century). Most of these records were already thoroughly studied by the present editor in different Bengali journals and in some cases in English journals as well. The work under review, therefore, is a collection of the papers of the editor, written during the last quarter of a century, with necessary additions and alterations as was required by later thought and further investigations.

This is the second collection of inscriptions to be published in Bengali. The first was the *Gaudalekhamālā* (Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. I) by the late lamented Akṣayakumāra Maitreya published twenty years back in 1319 B. S. Of similar works in other Indian vernaculars reference may be made to the three volumes of Jain Inscriptions edited and published by Mr. Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta. But it must be said to the credit of the editors of the Bengali volumes that they have carried out their task in the right scientific way.

There are some notable peculiarities in several of the grants, as pointed out by the editor, to which the notice of the readers needs be drawn. (1) The absence of imprecatory verses in the concluding portions of grants issued by Kings of Kāmarūpa, save and except the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman which, however, is found to have been issued from Karpasuvārṇa in Bengal. (2) The composition of portions of a grant by the royal donor as in the case of the first eight verses of the Puṣpabhadra copperplate of Dharmapāla (p. 173). (3) The use of epithets of the royal donor after the conclusion of the formal part of the grant as in the case of the Guākuci copperplate of Indrapāla II which has been styled the "Strange copperplate" (pp. 132 f. n. 3).

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Some facts of interest from the point of view of social and cultural history not referred to by the editor may also be noted here. The skill in archery of a Brahman named Himāṅga—one of the donees in the Śubhāṁkarapāṭaka grant of Dharmapāla (first half of the twelfth century)—is described in detail (p. 156). We know of another Brāhmaṇa of Bengal, Kedāramiśra, whose qualities as a warrior as well as a man of letters are referred to (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Vol. XI. p. 243). Another Brāhmaṇa the grand-father of the donee of the Puṣpabhadra copperplate of Dharmapāla is described as having possessed, like the donor, a knowledge of the fine arts (pp. 173, 174) which were generally acquired by Kṣatriyas alone.

The same Brāhmaṇa is also described as having had his intellect developed by means of his study of Mīmāṁsā. It is to be noted that this system of philosophy which required a thorough acquaintance with the Vedic literature was popular from fairly early period in Eastern India where Vedic studies were neglected at least in a later period (*Ind. Ant.* 1929, p. 202).¹

As a matter of fact it may be reasonable to suppose that Vedic studies as well as Vedic rites were not entirely neglected during the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries in Bengal² or Assam. In the records, we are dealing with, it is definitely stated that Bhijjāta studied the Yajurveda with all its accessories (p. 64), that Devadatta was the chief of Vedic scholars, the Vedas having had their aims fulfilled in him, that his son was a regular performer of Vedic sacrifices (*agnyāhūta*) (p. 99), and that Devadhara who was an *adhvaryu* duly practised Vedic rites (p. 78). It does not seem that all these statements were nothing but formal.

The learned editor has suggested some new interpretations of particular words, expressions etc. Some of these are worth noti-

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1. An epithet of this Brāhmaṇa — *Cāṇakya-māṇikyabhū* — may mean, as supposed by the editor, that he was, as it were, the source of the jewels (i. e. the moral maxims) of Cāṇakya. A knowledge of these would, thus, seem to have come to be regarded as highly commendable at that time.
 2. C. Chakravarti — Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute — Vol. XI, pp. 243-4; D. Bhattacharya — *Haraprazāda-Samvardhana-lekhamālā* (in Bengali) — Vol II. pp. 207 ff.

cing. The symbol used at the beginning of most epigraphic records is usually taken to be nothing but *Cṁkūra* or *Prāṇava*. But as Mr. Bhattacharya has rightly pointed out (pp. 55-6) this is the symbol known as *Āñji* in Bengal and used at the beginning of letters of the alphabet until sometime back. It cannot be *prāṇava* as it is, in some cases, found used even before *Prāṇavas*.

But all his interpretations are not free from doubts. According to him (p. 31. f. n. 1) the *Himālaya* is also a *Kulācala*, but this is well-known as a *Varṣaparvata* which separates one *varṣa* from another. In cases where there is reference to eight *Kulācalas* as in the *Mohamudgara* of Śaṅkarācārya the Mahendra and not the *Himālaya* should be counted in the list. As a matter of fact the Mahendra is regarded as a *Kulācala* in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (VIII. 7. 6.).

Prākāmya (p. 101. f. n. 5) is stated to be one of six *Aiśvaryas* while it is really one of eight as appears from the list quoted by the editor himself.

The explanation of the unusual epithet *Govarṇamūnavaidya*—applied to Prasthānakalaśa, the poet who composed the document recorded in the 'First copperplate of Dharmapāla'—as one conversant (*Vaidya*) in the measurement of letters in speech (i. e. prose and poetic composition) is ingenuous (p. 161. f. n. 1). But it cannot be supposed to be free from all doubts.

It may be stated here that the practice of referring to paddy grains in terms of a cardinal number (e. g. thousands) without mentioning the unit of measurement (p. 72)—a practice followed in more than one record—is still found in some parts of Eastern Bengal where, however, 'hundred' is used in place of 'thousand'.

The editor has omitted to take note of some of the latest theories raised in connection with some of the records. Thus there is no reference either in the body of the book or in the section called *Soṁyojanī O Saṁśodhanī* (Addenda and Errata) to the question raised by Mr. Ramtarak Bhattacharya as early as 1919 (in a paper entitled '*Pañcakhaṇḍa O Tāmraśāsna*' read before the sixteenth session of the *Śrīhaṭṭa Vaidik samiti*, and by Mr. J. C. Ghosh (I. H. Q.

--VI. 60ff.) with regard to the location of the land granted in the Nidhanapura copperplate of Bhāṣkaravarman. Neither is there any reference to the issue opened by Mr. Ghosh (*loc. cit.*) and supported by Mr. K. M. Gupta (I. H. Q.--VII. 718ff) with respect to the identification of the donees of the said grant with the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas on the basis, among other things, of what are supposed to be their surnames as found in the record in question.

The identification of Śrāvastī in the Silimpur copperplate (Ep. Ind. XIII. 283 ff.) with some region in Gauda as suggested by Mr. R. G. Basak has been refuted by the present editor (p. 164-5) and according to him it is to be located in some part of Aasam. But it is to be noted that another scholar has of late come forward with further arguments to support Mr. Basak (*Ind. Ant.* 1931 - pp. 14-18).

The learned editor has deviated in one point from the usual practice observed in editing inscriptions. He has, as is done in the edition of old texts, incorporated the emended readings in the body of the book pointing out the readings found in the foot-notes. It is not known if this will be appreciated and followed by epigraphists.

Some minor inaccuracies and misprints are found to have crept into the book. We may mention the following. मविष्वास्तव has become मविष्वास्तव (Introduction p. 19 f. n.), Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar has become Dr. Nanigopal Majumdar (Introduction p. 26, f. n. 2), °रुन्धती has become °रुद्धती (p. 138 l. i).

Question of funds seems to have prevented the learned editor from appending facsimiles of all the plates some of which are in private possession, rendering it difficult to check the readings in doubtful cases, if any.

On the whole, the work is a very important publication, which will be indispensable to every scholar dealing with the history of Eastern India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

